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THE POETICAL WORKS
OF
JOHN MILTON

EDITED
WITH MEMOIR, INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES, AND
AN ESSAY ON MILTON'S ENGLISH
AND VERSIFICATION

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AND NOTES TO THE POEMS

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GENERAL ESSAY
ON
MILTON'S ENGLISH & VERSIFICATION

GENERAL ESSAY

ON

MILTON'S ENGLISH & VERSIFICATION

WHILE much on this subject will be gathered best from the special Notes to the Poems, there are certain pervading characteristics and recurring peculiarities of which it may be well to take some account collectively in a general Essay. It is to be understood that the following remarks relate to Milton's Poetry only, any references to his Prose being but incidental. The remarks may arrange themselves under six heads:—

- I. Milton's Vocabulary.
- II. Spelling and Pronunciation.
- III. Peculiarities of Grammatical Inflection.
- IV. Syntax and Idiom.
- V. The Punctuation.
- VI. Milton's Versification, and his Place in the History of English Verse.

I. MILTON'S VOCABULARY.

From the tolerably complete verbal Indexes that have been prepared for Milton's Poetical Works,¹ it has been computed that

¹ The chief of these Indexes are:—(1) The "Verbal Index to the Poetry of Milton" which accompanied Todd's Second, or 1809, edition of Milton's Poetical Works, and which was also printed in the same year in a separate volume, containing Todd's "Account of the Life and Writings of the Poet." This Index included the Greek, Latin, and Italian poems, as well as the English. (2) "A Complete Concordance to Milton's Poetical Works, by G. Lushington Prendergast," published in twelve quarto parts at Madras in 1857-9. (3) "A Complete Concordance to the Poetical Works of John Milton, by Charles Dexter Cleveland, LL.D.," published in London in 1867: being an improvement on a Verbal Index, based on Todd's, which Mr. Cleveland had prepared for an American edition of the Poetical Works in 1853.

MILTON'S ENGLISH

Milton's total vocabulary in these works, to the exclusion of his prose-writings, consists of about 8000 words. In this computation all separate parts of speech are counted as distinct words, but inflections of any one part of speech are not so counted. By a similar computation, on the same plan, it is found that Shakespeare's vocabulary in his Plays and Poems consists of about 15,000 words. The greater extent of Shakespeare's poetical vocabulary, as compared with Milton's, may be accounted for partly by the greater bulk of the poetical matter from which the vocabulary is gathered; but it is, doubtless, owing in part also to the greater multifariousness of that aggregate of *things* and *notions* amid which Shakespeare's imagination moved for the purposes of his dramas.

An interesting question with respect to any English writer the extent of whose total vocabulary may have been ascertained is the question what proportion of that vocabulary consists of words of the old native English or "Anglo-Saxon" stock, and what of words derived from the Latin or other non-Saxon sources that have contributed to our matured and composite English. "In the vocabulary of the English Bible," says Mr. Marsh (*Lect. on Eng. Lang.*, 4th American edit. pp. 123, 124), "sixty per cent are native; in that of Shakespeare the proportion is very nearly the same; while of the stock of words employed in the poetical works of Milton less than thirty-three per cent are Anglo-Saxon." In other words, while about two-fifths of Shakespeare's vocabulary, or about 6000 words out of the total 15,000 which he uses, are of non-Saxon derivation, the non-Saxon element in Milton's poetical vocabulary amounts to about two-thirds, or to about 5300 words out of the total 8000. Milton's draught upon the Latin and other so-called "foreign" constituents of our speech for the purposes of his poetry would thus appear to have been relatively, but not absolutely, larger than Shakespeare's.

But the proportions of the "Saxon" and the "non-Saxon" elements in an English writer's total vocabulary would by no means indicate the proportions of the same elements in his habitual style. The vocabulary gives the words, so to speak, in a state of quiescence, or as lying in the writer's cabinet for use; but in actual speech or writing some words are in such constant demand that they are continually being taken out of the cabinet and put back again, while others are not called out more than once or twice in a year or in a whole literary lifetime. In order, therefore, to ascertain the proportion of Teutonic and non-Teutonic in a writer's habitual style, a very different plan must be adopted from that of merely counting the Teutonic and non-Teutonic words in his vocabulary. Specimens of different lengths must be taken from his text; and every word in these specimens must be counted, not once only but every time that it occurs. Of various critics who have applied this method to the

styles of the more important English writers, no one has taken greater pains than Mr. Marsh; and the result of his investigations has been in some cases to set aside previous conceptions on the subject. He finds, for example (*Lect. on Eng. Lang.*, pp. 124—126), that even in the last century, when the style of our writers was highly Latinised, the proportion of Saxon to non-Saxon words in any extensive and characteristic passage from the writings of the best authors very rarely falls beneath 70 per cent,—Swift, in the case of one Essay, falling as low as 68 per cent, but usually ranging higher; and Johnson's proportion being 72 per cent, Gibbon's 70 per cent, and Hume's 73 per cent. He finds, moreover, that, in spite of the additions to our Dictionary since that time, mainly of words from non-Teutonic sources, the proportion of Teutonic in the style of our best-known writers of the present century has risen rather than fallen. Macaulay he rates at 75 per cent (one non-Saxon word in four), and other recent prose-writers at about the same, while from examinations of long passages in Tennyson, Browning, and Longfellow, it actually appears that the proportion of Saxon in our poetry is hardly less at this day than it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries or even earlier. Thus, Fennyson's *Lotus Eaters* yields 87 per cent of Saxon, and his *In Memoriam* 89 per cent; Browning's figure is 84 per cent, and Longfellow's 87 per cent; while Spenser, from the examination of a Canto, is rated at 86 per cent, Shakespeare at from 88 to 91 per cent, and even Chaucer only once reaches 93 per cent and is usually nearer 89 or 90. Milton's place in the list is assigned from these computations as follows:—

<i>L'Allegro</i>	90 per cent.
<i>Il Penseroso</i>	83 per cent.
<i>Paradise Lost</i> , Book VI.	80 per cent.

From examinations of various passages in *Paradise Lost*, I am inclined to believe that Mr. Marsh's estimate of 80 per cent of Saxon words will be found about right for the whole poem, if, with him, we always omit the proper names in counting. In various passages of some length, counting the proper names as well, I have found the average to come out at about 75 per cent. But, just as the percentage of Saxon words in *Paradise Lost* is less than in *Il Penseroso* and much less than in *L'Allegro*, so within *Paradise Lost* itself the rate varies according to the poet's mood and the nature of his matter at particular moments. Passages may be hit on, or may be selected,—and not those only which abound in proper names,—where the percentage of Saxon falls as low as 70 or lower. The principle, in short, is that it depends on the *thought* of a writer in any particular passage, on the class of *things* and *notions* with which he is there concerning himself, whether the expression shall show more or less of the Saxon.

There is one way in which a verbal index to a writer might be made a key to his mind. It might be noted not only that a word did occur, but also how many times it occurred; and from the relative degrees of frequency thus noted in the occurrence of words instructive inferences might be drawn. The frequency or infrequency of a word in any writer depends on a composition of causes. Some objects and notions are, in their nature, so much nearer or easier than others to the human apprehension in general that the words denoting them, or associated with them, may fairly be expected to occur in any writer with the corresponding greater degree of frequency. All men, for example, think more frequently of *fire* than of the *Zodiac*. Again, the particular bent of an individual writer, the prevalent direction of his thoughts, and the nature of his theme or purpose, occasion a more than average frequency of recourse to certain words and classes of words. For example, one would expect the words *Angels* and *Heaven* oftener in *Paradise Lost* than in most other poems. In the third place, the mere *form* of a particular work may be such as to preclude, or at least discourage, the use in it of words perfectly well known to the writer and used by him on other occasions. There are words, for example, which, from their pronunciation or structure, as well as from their intellectual associations, will not so readily be brought into verse as into prose. Lastly, a word which is common now may have been far less common at a former period in the history of the language, so that, though it is occasionally to be found in a writer of that period, it is not found so often as we should expect from the nature of its meaning. -

A thorough application of these remarks to the vocabularies of Shakespeare and Milton would yield curious results. As respects Milton, an indication or two must here suffice:—Just as, from the mere statement that Milton's poetical vocabulary consists of but about 8000 words, it is evident that thousands of words, not only in our present English Dictionary, but even in the English Dictionary of Milton's day, were never used by him even once, but, so far as his poems were concerned, were allowed to lie about ungrasped, so it may be expected that, of the words which he did use, there were very many which he used only once. What are called the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα of any writer, indeed,—viz. the words used by him only once in the whole course of his writings,—will be found on examination greatly more numerous than might have been supposed beforehand. Mr. Marsh incidentally quotes the following as instances of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in Shakespeare,—*abrupt, ambiguous, artless, congratulate, improbable, improper, improve, impure, inconvenient, incredible*. But it would only be necessary to run the finger down the columns of the Concordance to Shakespeare to add hundreds, or perhaps thousands, of other words to the list—of which hundreds,

HIS VOCABULARY

or thousands, scores at least would be as remarkable as any of the ten cited. Milton's ἀπαξ λεγόμενα are probably even more numerous proportionally than Shakespeare's. Of the ten Shakespearian words mentioned, three are also ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in Milton's poetry,—to wit *abrupt*, *congratulate* (in the form *congratulant*) and *inconvenient*; four occur three or four times each,—to wit *ambiguous*, *improve*, *impure*, and *incredible*; and three do not occur even once,—to wit *artless*, *improbable*, and *improper*. It may throw light upon this subject if I give a list of the principal ἀπαξ λεγόμενα of Milton's poems under one of the letters of the Alphabet. Under A I find, by the Concordances, without including strictly proper names, the following:—*ability*, *abrupt*, *abruptly*, *absolutely*, *abstemious*, *absurd*, *accessible*, *accomplishment*, *accusation*, *ache*, *acquist*, *acquittance*, *activity*, *actual*, *adamantean*, *adjourn*, *adjust*, *admonishment*, *adrift*, *advantageous*, *adventurer*, *adversities*, *adulterous*, *adultery*, *advocate*, *adust*, *affection*, *afield*, *afloat*, *afresh*, *afternoon*, *agape*, *agate*, *agent*, *aggravation*, *aggregate* (v.), *agitation*, *agreeable*, *aidless*, *alacrity*, *alchemist*, *alchemy*, *alimental*, *allegoric*, *allow*, *allusion*, *alms*, *Alpine*, *altern*, *alternate*, *ambrosia* (the adjective *ambrosial* is not unfrequent), *amerced*, *American*, *amice*, *ammiral* (admiral), *ammunition*, *anarch*, *anchor* (n.), *anciently*, *annex*, *annihilate*, *announce*, *antarctic*, *antipathy*, *antiquity*, *apathy*, *Apocalypse*, *apology*, *apostle*, *appellant*, *appertain*, *appetence*, *applaud*, *appointment*, *apprehensive*, *approbation*, *April*, *aqueduct*, *arable*, *arbitrary*, *arbitrate*, *arborets*, *arborous*, *arch*, *architrave*, *ardent*, *argent*, *arraign*, *arsenal*, *artichute*, *artifice*, *artillery*, *ashore*, *ashy*, *aslope*, *aspirer*, *assailant*, *assassin*, *assessor*, *assiduous*, *assimilate*, *asthma*, *astronomer*, *atheous*, *athwart*, *atone-ment*, *atrophy*, *attach*, *attent*, *attract*, *attune*, *avaunt*, *avarice*, *aver*, *avow*, *austerity*, *auxiliar*. Here, under one letter of the alphabet, are at least 118 words that occur only once in all Milton's poems; and there are places in the vocabulary where the proportion of such words is even greater. Thus, of about 375 words beginning with the letters *Un* which I find in Todd's Index to Milton's Poems, I have counted 100 fewer than 241 as occurring only once,—the reason being that so many of those words are negative adjectives. *Unadorned*, *unattempted*, *unbecoming*, *unbound*, *unbroken*, *unclouded*, *undesirable*, *uneven*, *unfasten*, *ungoverned*, *ungraceful*, *unhurt*, *unkindness*, *unlimited*, *unpaid*, *unreal*, *unsafe*, *unskilful*, *unsound*, *unsteady*, *unsuccessful*, *unwelcome*, *unwilling*, and *unwonted* are a few of such negatives only once used in Milton's poems. Altogether I should not be surprised if between 2000 and 3000 of the 8000 words of Milton's total poetical vocabulary were found to be ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

Passing from words used only once to those used *twice*, *thrice*, or *seldom*, we might have in this class also a list of hundreds. Hence,

again, we might rise to the class of *occasionally-used* words; hence again to words used *pretty frequently*; and hence again to those occurring *very frequently*. In this last class I have noted such words as these:—*Adam, air, all, alone, age, angel, arms, battle, beam, beast, beauty, better, birth, black, bliss, bold, bright, bring, call, care, cause, celestial, change, cloud, come, command, create, darkness, day, death, deep, delight, divine, doubt, dread, earth, end, enemy, equal, eternal, eye, fair, faith, fall, false, far, fate, father, fear, field, fierce, find, fire, firm, first, flower, foe, force, foul, free, fruit, full, garden, gentle, give, glory, glorious, go, God, gold, good, grace, great, green, grove, ground, hand, happy, hard, head, hate, heart, Heaven, Hell, help, high, hill, holy, honour, hope, host, hour, human, ill, immortal, joy, just, King, know, knowledge, land, large, last, law, lead, life, light, long, Lord, lost, loud, love, law, make, man, might, mild, mind, moon, morn, mortal, move, mount and mountain, name, nature, new, night, old, pain, Paradise, part, past, peace, place, power, praise, pride, pure, race, reason, reign, rest, right, rise, sacred, sad, Satan, say, sea, seat, see, seem, sense, serpent, serve, shame, side, sin, sing, sit, soft, son, song, sky, sleep, solemn, sorrow, soul, sound, speak, spirit, stand, star, state, strength, sun, sure, sweet, thing, think, thought, throne, time, tree, true, truth, vain, virtue, voice, walk, war, water, way, well, wide, wild, will, wind, wing, wise, woe, woman,¹ wonder, wood, word, work, world.* Not only some of the verbs but also some of the nouns and adjectives in this list occur so very often (*Earth, Heaven, God, man, high, free, good, fair, glory, happy, large, love, hard, soft, new, old, thing, eye, and death*, are examples) that they may be registered as next in frequency to those mere particles and auxiliaries,—*and, the, but, not, to, for, from, we, our, their, that, which, could, did, will, is, are, were, though, on, ever*, etc. etc.,—which are scattered innumerably over the pages of every writer.

One question more respecting Milton's vocabulary in his poems. Is any proportion of it obsolete? On the whole, whether from the judiciousness with which Milton chose words that had a strong force of vitality in them, or from the power of such a writer to confer future popularity on the words adopted by him, the number of words in Milton's poems that are now obsolete or even archaic is singularly small. Mr. Marsh's estimate (*Lect. on Eng. Lang.*, pp. 264, 265) on this subject is that, while about five or six hundred of Shakespeare's words have gone out of currency or changed their meaning,

¹ If the Concordances are to be relied on, the word *woman* does not occur in any form in Milton's poetry before *Paradise Lost*. Exactly so with the word *female*. On the other hand, the word *lady*, which does not occur once in *Paradise Lost*, is frequent enough in the earlier poems, and occurs twice in the plural in *Par. Reg.* and *Sams. Ag.* Eight times in the earlier poems we have *naiid* or *maiden*; only twice in the later poems. The words *girl* and *lass* do not occur in the poetry at all.

there are not more than a hundred of Milton's words in his poetry which are not as familiar at this day as in that of the poet himself. How far Mr. Marsh is right may appear from the following list of the words or verbal forms in Milton's poetry which I have noted as either obsolete or unusual now:—*acquist* (acquisition, *S. A.* 1755), *adamantean*, *admonishment*, *advantaged*, *adust* (burnt, *P. L.*, XII. 635), *aidless*, *alack*, *alimental*, *altern* (alternate, *P. L.*, VII. 348), *amerced*, *ammiral* (admiral, *P. L.*, I. 294), *appaied* (paid, *P. L.*, XII. 401), *arboret*, *arborous*, *arrowy*, *astonied*, *atheous* (atheist, godless, *P. R.*, I. 487), *attent* (attentive, attentively, *P. R.*, I. 385), *attrite* (rubbed, *P. L.*, X. 1073), *ay* (ah!), *azurn* (azure, *Comus*, 893), *battailous* (battle-full or battle-like, *P. L.*, VI. 81), *bearth* (produce, *P. L.*, IX. 624), *bicker* (to fight, *P. L.*, VI. 766), *blanc* (white, *P. L.*, X. 656), *burdenous* (burdensome, *S. A.* 567), *cataphracts*, *cedarn*, *Chunces*, *circumfluous*, *colure* (an old astronomical term), *concoctive*, *conflagrant*, *conglobed*, *congratulant*, *consolatories* (pieces of consolation, *S. A.* 657), *contrarious*, *corny*, *cressets*, *daffadillies*, *debel* (to wear down, *P. R.*, IV. 605), *democracy*, *demonian*, *disallied*, *dis-glorified*, *disordinate*, *dispatchful*, *displode*, *duelled*, *enterprise* (v.), *etherous*, *exulcerate*, *far-fet* (*P. R.*, II. 401), *feastful*, *feverous*, *fledge* (adj.), *frore* (frozen, *P. L.*, II. 595), *frounced*, *fuelled*, *giantship*, *gkibbed*, *glister*, *gloze*, *gonfalon*, *griding*, *grisamber*, *grunsel*, *gulphy*, *gurge* (whirlpool, *P. L.*, XII. 41), *gymnic*, *hale* (to haul, *P. L.*, II. 596), *haut* (haughty, *Psalms* LXXX. 35), *heroically*, *huddled*, *hutched*, *hyaline*, *idolism*, *idolist*, *illaudable*, *imbathe*, *immanacled*, *immedicable*, *imp* (v. to mend), *imparadised*, *impregn*, *inabstinence*, *increase*, *inly*, *innumeros*, *intelligential*, *interlunar*, *intervolved*, *jaculation*, *kerchieft*, *laver*, *limitary*, *lucent*, *madding* (maddening), *magnific*, *margent* (margin), *marish* (marsh), *meath* (mead), *meteorous*, *misdeem*, *mis-thought*, *moory*, *myrrhine*, *nard*, *nathless*, *nectarous*, *nocent*, *nulled*, *oary* (*P. L.*, VII. 460), *obdured*, *omnific*, *oracle* (v.), *oraculous*, *overdoy*, *paranymph*, *petrific*, *plenipotent*, *pontifice* (a bridge, *P. L.*, X. 348), *propense*, *ramp* (v. to move or bound vehemently, *P. L.*, IV. 343, and *S. A.* 139), *ratha*, *ravin*, *rebeck*, *remediless*, *rined* (adj. skinned, *P. L.*, V. 342), *robustious*, *sciential*, *scrannel* (*Lyc.* 124), *serenate* (serenade), *spet* (spit, flood, *Comus*, 132), *sphery*, *spung*, *statists*, *stubs*, *swage*, *surcuse*, *swinked*, *tedded*, *terrene*, *tiar*, *tine* (to kindle, *P. L.*, X. 1075), *trine*, *uncreate*, *unfumed*, *un-hidebound*, *unrazored*, *unvoyageable*, *unwithdrawing*, *vant-brass* (*S. A.* 1121), *villatic*, *volant*, *voluble*, *yeanling*. Here we have upwards of 150 words which are more or less out of common use now. A good many of them, however, have been used by recent poets; and there is no poet of the present day who would not use some of the others if they occurred to him, or who would not feel himself at liberty to invent similarly unusual words for himself. The indisputably obsolete

words of the list are few ; and of these some were, doubtless, inventions of Milton's ear for the moment, not intended to last.

II. SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION.

Before we discuss this subject it will be proper to present to the reader's own eye (1) Some Specimens of the Spelling, etc., in the original printed editions of the Poems, and (2) Some specimens of the preserved Manuscript Drafts of a considerable portion of them.

The following are passages from the Poems as they were printed in the original editions. For the orthography, etc., of the passages from the First Edition of the Minor Poems (1645) Milton is directly responsible ; but for all the rest he is only indirectly responsible, the care of the press having devolved, in consequence of his blindness, on the printers, or on such friends as could take his instructions.

From the First (1645) Edition of the Minor Poems.

SONNET 11. (There numbered "vii.")

How soon hath Time the subtle thief of youth,
 Stolen on his wing my three and twentieth year !
 My hasting dayes flie on with full career,
 But my late spring no bud or blossom shew'th.
 Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth,
 That I to manhood am arriv'd so near,
 And inward ripenes doth much less appear,
 That som more timely-happy spirits indu'th.
 Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow,
 It shall be still in strictest measure eev'n,
 To that same lot, however mean, or high,
 Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heav'n
 All is, if I have grace to use it so,
 As ever in my great task Masters eye.

"COMUS": LINES 170—243.

The Lady enters.

This way the noise was, if mine ear be true,
 My best guide now, me thought it was the sound
 Of Riot, and ill manag'd Merriment,
 Such as the jocond Flute, or gamesom Pipe

SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION

- Stirs up among the loose unleter'd Hinds,
 When for their teeming Flocks, and granges full
 In wanton dance they praise the bounteous *Pan*,
 And thank the gods amiss. I should be loath
 To meet the rudenesse, and swill'd insolence
 Of such late Wassailers; yet O where els
 Shall I inform my unacquainted feet
 In the blind mazes of this tangl'd Wood?
 My Brothers when they saw me wearied out
 With this long way, resolving here to lodge
 Under the spreading favour of these Pines,
 Stept as they se'd to the next Thicket side
 To bring me Berries, or such cooling fruit
 As the kind hospitable Woods provide.
 They left me then, when the gray-hooded Eev'n
 Like a sad Votarist in Palmers weed
 Rose from the hindmost wheels of *Phæbus* wain.
 But where they are, and why they came not back,
 Is now the labour of my thoughts, 'tis likeliest
 They had ingag'd their wandring steps too far,
 And envious darknes, e're they could return,
 Had stole them from me, els O theevish Night
 Why shouldst thou, but for som felonious end,
 In thy dark lantern thus close up the Stars,
 That nature hung in Heav'n, and fill'd their Lamps
 With everlasting oil, to give due light
 To the misled and lonely Travailer?
 This is the place, as well as I may guess,
 Whence eev'n now the tumult of loud Mirth
 Was rife, and perfet in my list'ning ear,
 Yet nought but single darknes do I find.
 What might this be? A thousand fantasies
 Begin to throng into my memory
 Of calling shapes, and beckning shadows dire,
 And airy tongues, that syllable mens names
 On Sands, and Shoars, and desert Wildernesses.
 These thoughts may startle well, but not astound
 The vertuous mind, that ever walks attended
 By a strong siding champion Conscience.
 O welcom pure ey'd Faith, white-handed Hope,
 Thou hovering Angel girt with golden wings,
 And thou unblemish't form of Chastity,
 I see ye visibly, and now beleve
 That he, the Supreme good, t'whom all things ill
 Are but as slavish officers of vengeance,

Would send a glistening Guardian if need were
 To keep my life and honour unassail'd.
 Was I deceiv'd, or did a sable cloud
 Turn forth her silver lining on the night?
 I did not err, there does a sable cloud
 Turn forth her silver lining on the night,
 And casts a gleam over this tufted Grove.
 I cannot hallow to my Brothers, but
 Such noise as I can make to be heard farthest
 Ile venter, for my new enliv'nd spirits
 Prompt me; and they perhaps are not far off.

• SONG. •

*Sweet Echo, sweetest Nymph that liv'st unseen
 Within thy airy shell
 By slow Meander's margent green,
 And in the violet-imbroider'd vale
 Where the love-forn Nightingale
 Nightly to thee her sad Song mourneth well.
 Canst thou not tell me of a gentle Pair •
 That liketh thy Narcissus are?
 O if thou have
 Hid them in some flowery Cave,
 Tell me but where • •
 Sweet Queen of Parly, Daughter of the Sphear,
 So maist thou be translated to the skies,
 And give resounding grace to all Heav'n's Harmonies.*

“LYCIDAS”: LINES 112—151.

He shook his Miter'd locks, and stern bespake,
 How well could I have spar'd for thee young swain.
 Anow of such as for their bellies sake,
 Creep and intrude, and climb into the fold?
 Of other care they little reck'ning make,
 Then how to scramble at the shearers feast,
 And shove away the worthy bidden guest.
 Blind mouthes! that scarce themselves know how to hold
 A Sheep-hook, or have learn'd ought els the least
 That to the faithfull Herdmans art belongs!
 What recks it them? What need they? They are sped;
 And when they list, their lean and flashy songs

Grate on their scrannel Pipes of wretched straw,
 The hungry Sheep look up, and are not fed,
 But swoln with wind, and the rank mist they draw,
 Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread :
 Besides what the grim Woolf with privy paw
 Daily devours apace, and nothing sed,
 But that two-handed engine at the door,
 Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.

Return *Alpheus*, the dread voice is past,
 That shrunk thy streams ; Return *Sicilian* Muse,
 And call the Vales, and bid them hither cast
 Their Bels, and Flourets of a thousand hues.
 Ye valleys low where the milde whispers use,
 Of shades and wanton winds, and gushing brooks,
 On whose fresh lap the swart Star sparely looks,
 Throw hither all your quaint enameld eyes,
 That on the green terf suck the honied showres,
 And purple all the ground with vernal flowres.
 Bring the rathe Primrose that forsaken dies.
 The tufted Crow-toe, and Pale Gessamine,
 The white Pink, and the Pansie freakt with jeat,
 The glowing Violet.
 The Musk-rose, and the well attir'd Woodbine,
 With Cowslips wan that hang the pensive hed,
 And every flower that sad embroidery wears :
 Bid *Amaranthus* all his beauty shed,
 And Daffadillies fill their cups with tears,
 To strew the Laureat Herse where *Lycid* lies.

From the First (1667) Edition of "Paradise Lost."

BOOK I. : LINES 1—74.

Of Mans First Disobedience, and the Fruit
 Of that Forbidden Tree, whose mortal tast
 Brought Death into the World, and all our woe,
 With loss of *Eden*, till one-greater Man
 Restore us, and regain the blissful Seat,
 Sing Heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top
 Of *Oreb*, or of *Sinai*, didst inspire
 That Shepherd, who first taught the chosen Seed,
 In the Beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth
 Rose out of *Chaos* : Or if *Sion* Hill
 Delight thee more, and *Silva's* Brook that flow'd

Fast by the Oracle of God ; I thence
 Invoke thy aid to my adventrous Song,
 That with no middle flight intends to soar
 Above th' *Aonian* Mount, while it pursues
 Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhime.
 And chiefly Thou O Spirit, that dost prefer
 Before all Temples th' upright heart and pure,
 Instruct me, for Thou know'st ; Thou from the first
 Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
 Dove-like satst brooding on the vast Abyss
 And mad'st it pregnant : What in me is dark
 Illumine, what is low raise and support ;
 That to the highth of this great Argument
 I may assert th' Eternal Providence,¹
 And justify the wayes of God to men.

Say first, for HEAV'N hides nothing from thy view
 Nor the deep Tract of Hell, say first what cause
 Mov'd our Grand Parents in that happy State,
 Favour'd of Heav'n so highly, to fall off
 From their Creator, and transgress his Will
 For one restraint, Lords of the World besides ?
 Who first seduc'd them to that fowl revolt ?
 Th' infernal Serpent ; he it was, whose guile
 Stird up with Envy and Revenge, deceiv'd
 The Mother of Mankind, what time his Pride
 Had cast him out from Heav'n, with all his Host
 Of Rebel Angels, by whose aid aspiring
 To set himself in Glory above his Peers,
 He trusted to have equal'd the most High,
 If he oppos'd ; and with ambitious aim
 Against the Throne and Monarchy of God
 Rais'd impious War in Heav'n and Battel proud
 With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power
 Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Skie
 With hideous ruine and combustion down
 To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
 In Adamantine Chains and penal Fire,
 Who durst defie th' Omnipotent to Arms.
 Nine times the Space that measures Day and Night
 To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
 Lay vanquisht, rowling in the fiery Gulfe
 Confounded though immortal : But his doom
 Reserv'd him to more wrath ; for now the thought

among the ERRATA prefixed to the volume is this direction : " Lib. I.
 th' *Eternal*, Read *Eternal*."

Both of lost happiness and lasting pain
 Torments him ; round he throws his baleful eyes
 That witness'd huge affliction and dismay
 Mixt with obdurate pride and stedfast hate :
 At once as far as Angels kenn he views
 The dismal Situation waste and wilde,
 A Dungeon horrible, on all sides round
 As one great Furnace flam'd, yet from those flames
 No light, but rather darkness visible
 Serv'd only to discover sights of woe,
 Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
 And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
 That comes to all ; but torture without end
 Still urges, and a fiery Deluge, fed
 With ever-burning Sulphur unconsum'd :
 Such place Eternal Justice had prepar'd
 For those rebellious, here their Prison ordain'd
 In utter darkness, and their portion set
 As far remov'd from God and light of Heav'n
 As from the Center thrice to th' utmost Pole.

BOOK I. : LINE'S 283—336.

He scarce had ceas't when the superiour Fiend
 Was moving toward the shore ; his ponderous shield
 Ethereal temper, massy, large and round,
 Behind him cast ; the broad circumference
 Hung on his shoulders like the Moon, whose Orb
 Through Optic Glass the *Tuscan* Artist views
 At Ev'ning from the top of *Fesole*,
 Or in *Valdurno*, to descry new Lands,
 Rivers or Mountaips in her spotty Globe.
 His spear, to equal which the tallest Pine
 Hewn on *Norwegian* hills, to be the Mast
 Of some great Ammiral, were but a wand,
 He walkt with to support uneasie steps
 Over the burning Marle, not like those steps
 On Heavens Azure, and the torrid Clime
 Smote on him sore besides, vaulted with Fire ;
 Nathless he so endur'd, till on the Beach
 Of that inflamed Sea, he stood and call'd
 His Legions, Angel Forms, who lay intrans't
 Thick as Autumnal Leaves that strow the Brooks
 In *Vallombrosa*, where th' *Etrurian* shades
 High overarch't imbowr ; or scatter'd sedge

Afloat, when with fierce Winds *Orion* arm'd
 Hath vex't the Red-Sea Coast, whose waves orethrew
Busiris and his *Memphian* Chivalrie,
 While with perfidious hatred they pursu'd
 The Sojourners of *Goshen*, who beheld
 From the safe shore their floating Carkases
 And broken Chariot Wheels, so thick bestrown
 Abject and lost lay these, covering the Flood,
 Under amazement of their hideous charge.
 He call'd so loud, that all the hollow Deep
 Of Hell resounded. Princes, Potentates,
 Warriors, the Flow'r of Heav'n, once yours, now lost,
 If such astonishment as this can sieze
 Eternal spirits; or have ye chos'n this place
 After the toyl of Battel to repose
 Your wearied vertue, for the case you find
 To slumber here, as in the Vales of Heav'n?
 Or in this abject posture have ye sworn
 To adore the Conquerour? who now beholds
 Cherube and Seraph rowling in the Flood
 With scatter'd Arms and Ensigns, till anon
 His swift pursuers from Heav'n Gates discern
 Th' advantage, and descending tread us down
 Thus drooping, or with linked Thunderbolts
 Transfix us to the bottom of this Gulfe.
 Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n."

*From the First (1671) Edition of "Paradise Regained" and
 "Samson Agonistes."*

"PARADISE REGAINED," IV. 541—595.

So saying he caught him up, and without wing
 Of *Hippogrif* bore through the Air sublime
 Over the Wilderness and o're the Plain;
 Till underneath them fair *Jerusa'em*,
 The holy City lifted high her Towers,
 And higher yet the glorious Temple rear'd
 Her pile, far off appearing like a Mount
 Of Alabaster, top't with Golden Spires:
 There on the highest Pinnacle he set
 The Son of God; and added thus in scorn:
 There stand, if thou wilt stand; to stand upright
 Will ask thee skill; I to thy Fathers house
 Have brought thee, and highest plac't, highest is best,

Now shew thy Progeny ; if not to stand,
Cast thy self down ; safely if Son of God :
For it is written, He will give command
Concerning thee to his Angels, in thir hands
They shall up lift thee, lest at any time
Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone.

To whom thus Jesus : also it is written,
Tempt not the Lord thy God, he said and stood.
But Satan smitten with amazement fell
As when Earths Son *Antæus* (to compare
Small things with greatest) in *Irassa* strove
With *Joves Alcides*, and oft foil'd still rose,
Receiving from his mother Earth new strength,
Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple joyn'd,
Throttld at length in the Air, expir'd and fell ;
So after many a foil the Tempter proud,
Renewing fresh assaults, amidst his pride
Fell whence he stood to see his Victor fall.
And as that *Theban* Monster that propos'd
Her riddle, and him, who solv'd it not, devour'd ;
That once found out and solv'd, for grief and spight
Cast her self headlong from th' *Ismenian* steep,
So strook with dread and anguish fell the Fiend,
And to his crew, that sat consulting, brought
Joyless triumphals of his hop't success,
Ruin, and desperation, and dismay,
Who durst so proudly tempt the Son of God.
So Satan fell and strait a fiery Globe
Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,
Who on their plummy Vans receiv'd him soft
From his uneasie station, and uphore
As on a floating couch through the blithe Air,
Then in a flowry valley set him down
On a green bank, and set before him spread
A table of Celestial Food, Divine,
Ambrosial, Fruits fetcht from the tree of life,
And from the fount of life Ambrosial drink,
That soon refresh'd him wearied, and repair'd,
What hunger, if aught hunger had impair'd,
Or thirst, and as he fed, Angelic Quires
Sung Heavenly Anthems of his victory
Over temptation, and the Tempter proud.

"SAMSON AGONISTES," 1660—1707.

Chor. O dearly-bought revenge, yet glorious !
Living or dying thou hast fulfill'd
The work for which thou wast foretold
To *Israel*, and now ly'st victorious
Among thy slain self-kill'd
Not willingly, but tangl'd in the fold,
Of dire necessity, whose law in death conjoin'd
Thee with thy slaughter'd foes in number more
Then all thy life had slain before.

Semichor. While thir hearts were jocund and sublime,
Drunk with Idolatry, drunk with Wine,
And fat regorg'd of Bulls and Goats,
Chaunting thir Idol, and preferring
Before our living Dread who dwells
In *Silo* his bright Sanctuary :
Among them he a spirit of phrenzie sent,
Who hurt thir minds,
And urg'd them on with mad desire
To call in hast for thir destroyer ;
They only set on sport and play
Unweetingly importun'd
Thir own destruction to come speedy upon them.
So fond are mortal men
Fall'n into wrath divine,
As thir own ruin on themselves to invite,
Insensate left, or to sense reprobate,
And with blindness internal struck.

Semichor. But he though blind of sight,
Despis'd and thought extinguish't quite,
With inward eyes illuminated
His fierce vertue rouz'd
From under ashes into sudden flame,
And as an ev'ning Dragon came,
Assailant on the perched roos's,
And nests in order rang'd
Of tame villatic Fowl ; but as an Eagle
His cloudless thunder bolted on thir heads.
So vertue giv'n for lost,
Deprest, and overthrown, as seem'd,
Like that self-begott'n bird
In the *Arabian* woods embost,
That no second knows nor third.
And lay e'rewhile a Holocaust,

From out her ashie womb now teem'd,
 Revives, reflowerishes, then vigorous most
 When most unactive deem'd,
 And though her body die, her fame survives,
 A secular bird ages of lives.

From the Second (1673) Edition of the Minor Poems.

SONNET "ON THE LATE MASSACHER IN PIEMONT."

Avenge O Lord thy slaughter'd Saints, whose bones
 Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold,
 Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old
 When all our Fathers worship't Stocks and Stones,
 Forget not: in thy book record their groanes
 Who were thy Sheep and in their antient Fold
 Slayn by the bloody *Piemontese* that roll'd
 Mother with Infant down the Rocks. Their moans
 The Vales redoubl'd to the Hills, and they
 To Heav'n. Their martyr'd blood and ashes so
 O're all th' *Italian* fields where still doth sway
 The triple Tyrant: that from these may grow
 A hunder'd-fold, who having learnt thy way
 Early may fly the *Pabyloian* wo.

These specimens are sufficiently representative of the Printed Editions; and we now annex some specimens of the preserved Manuscript Drafts. The first seven of the following pages of facsimile are after photographs taken, by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, from the precious volume of Milton's MSS. described at pp. 102-107 of Vol. I. of this work; the last page is copied, by permission, from the late Mr. S. Leigh Sotheby's *Ramblings in Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton*, p. 196.

From Draft of the "Arcades" (about 1631, but title added after 1639).

Conclusion of "At a Solemn Music" (1630 or 1631) in three successive States before the final one.

First and Second States.

Third State (followed by a fourth, transcribing the same more neatly).

From the Draft of "Comus" (1634); lines 27--45 of present text.
e

•
 Passage in "Lycidas" (1637), as it originally stood, with direction for insertion.

•
 Insertion above directed, from another part of the MS.

Sonnet to Fairfax, 1648.

First Lines of "Paradise Lost," as in the manuscript for Press.

While the foregoing pages of specimens from the original printed editions and from the preserved MS. copies may be interesting as curiosities, they will serve also as data for an inquiry into the subject of Milton's Orthography and Orthoepey; and perhaps the mere aspect of them may already have conveyed some preliminary impressions on that subject. The inquiry, however, is a very extensive and minute one, needing a far larger array of data than can be presented in any mere series of selected specimens. Accurate conclusions are possible only after patient and systematic examination of the original texts entire, with actual chase of representative words and sounds through all the individual cases of their occurrence in those texts. The results of my own investigations in this way I will state as succinctly as may be compatible with the production of instances sufficient for proof. Though Milton is directly concerned, and it is only with respect to him that the conclusions are here offered, they will bear, I believe, on the question of the style of spelling that ought to be adopted in all modern editions, for general use, of our English Classics back to the time of Elizabeth. How far, and with what modifications, they may be applied to the question of the best form of the reproduction of the texts of still older English writers, I do not at present venture to say. That is a question, however, which scholars, I am perfectly sure, will sooner or later find reason for deciding very differently from the practice now generally in fashion, and all the sooner if some portions of the marvellously abundant and exact science of Mr. A. J. Ellis's great work on Early English Pronunciation should be brought to bear upon it. On this side of the adoption of a Universal Glossic, theoretically perfect (see Mr. Ellis's work, Part III., pp. xiii.—xx.), what seems really necessary is a candid and minute study of the actual history of English spelling, with a view to sound rules for the editorial use of our existing alphabet. Meanwhile, our business being with Milton, the facts as regards his spelling may be expressed, definitely enough, in two propositions:—

I. Milton's spelling, whether by his own hand, or through his printers, was very much the spelling of his day.

Every one is familiar with the main differences of that spelling from the spelling now in use; and it is easier to remember them in general effect as seen in old books than to enumerate them individually.—One was the frequent use of the silent *e* final where we have now abandoned it, as *faire, vaine, soone, urne, doe* (do), *keepe, tooke, crowne, deepe, ruine, forlorne, goddesse*; with the corresponding extension *es* in the plural of nouns, as *armes, aires, dayes*. On the other hand, the *e* was occasionally omitted where we retain it, as *fals, vers, els, leavs, tast* (taste), *hast* (haste).—So our final *y*

was frequently represented by *ie*, as *starrie*, *majestie*, *gallie*, *happie*, *flie*, *crie*, *descrie*; while, on the other hand, *y* did service from which it has now been released, as in *ayr*, *voyce*, *tyme*, *tyger*, *lye*, *poysen*, *ycie* (icy), *jubily*.—For our word *than* the almost constant spelling is the older form *then*: e.g. "Less *then* half we find exprest" (*Arcad.* 12); and for our word *lest* we find also the old form *least*. Reversely, we may expect to find *lest* for our *least*, e.g. "The first at *lest* of these I thought deni'd" (*P. L.*, IX. 555), and occasionally even *than* for our *then*: e.g. "Full little thought they *than*, That the mighty Pan" (*Od. Nativ.* 88; where, however, it is the rhyme that induces it).—Whereas we distinguish the possessive case sing. and plur. in nouns by the use of an apostrophe, there was no such constant practice in old writing and printing; and, accordingly, we find *mans* where we should now write *man's*, *fathers* where we should now write *father's* or *fathers'*, *mens* where we should now write *men's*, *Javans issue* for *Javan's issue*, *Joves court* for *Jove's court*, and *as far as Angels kenn* (*P. L.*, I. 59), where it is doubtful whether the meaning is *Angel's ken*, *Angels' ken*, or *Angels ken* (the verb). On the other hand, the apostrophe often occurs before *s* when we do not expect it: e.g. *myrtle's* (plur.), *hero's* (plur.), "Juho *dare's* not give her odds" (*Arcad.* 23), "Of dire *chimera's* and enchanted Iles" (*Com.*, 517), and "Gorgons and *Hydra's*, and *Chimera's* dire" (*P. E.*, II. 628).—Again, the letters used for some of the common vowel-sounds, beyond the *y* and *ie* group, were often different from those on which we have now fixed; and so we find such spellings as *mee*, *hee*, *shee*, *wee*, *yee*, *sed* and *se'd* (said), *æternity*, *sphear*, *vertue*, *neather* (neither), *seaven* (seven), *weild*, *feild*, *preist*, *freinds*, *dicties* (deities), *theefe*, *deceave*, *heer*, *peirc'd*, *spreds*, *threds*, *dores*, *sease* (seize), *row'd*, *eev'n*, *spight*, *Shoars*, *rore*, *yoak*, *raign*, *beleeve*, *travailer* (traveller), *woolf*, *flourets*, *extreams*, *fowl* (foul), *jeat* (jet), *o're* (o'er), *shepheards*, *warriers*, *wraught*, *unsaught*, *wrauth*, *thurst* (thirst), etc.—Add, by way of miscellaneous variations from our present spelling, such frequent or occasional forms as these,—*mortall*, *celestiall*, *battel*, *sollemne* (solemn), *center*, *scepter*, *compell*, *committ*, *goddes* (goddess), *endles* (endless), *ripenes*, *saphire*, *suttle* (subtle), *welcom*, *musick*, *ore* and *o're* (o'en), *Ile* (I'll), *flowres*, *showres*, *laureat*, *farewel*, *warr*, *farr*, *latr*, *persues* (pursues), *onely*, *sents* (scents), *swindges* (swinges), *allarm*, *pittie* (pity), *large-lim'd* (large-limbed), *weele* (wheel). All these spellings, and many more not now customary, occur in Milton's MSS. or his original printed editions; and, with the peculiarities already mentioned, and the use of capital letters at the beginning not only of proper names but also of names of all important objects, and generally also of Italic letters for foreign or classical words, they help to impart to his original printed editions that slight look of uncouthness which ordinary readers find in all books of his period.

II. Just because Milton's spelling was in the main the spelling of his day, one of its most marked characteristics is its variability or want of uniformity; and, on examination, it is found that this variability or want of uniformity affects precisely and chiefly those spellings which differ from ours, and that, in almost every such case, our present spelling was actually used as one of the variations, and had its chance in the competition.

Our present system of English spelling, bad enough as it is from the point of view of Phonology, is at least fixed and steady in all save a few particulars. Not so in the seventeenth century. The subject of English spelling had been much discussed; and there had been attempts and movements towards a Spelling Reform, like that advocated by more recent Phonologists, on the principle of bringing the visible characters into strict accordance with the spoken sounds, or on some tolerable compromise between that principle and respect for etymology. Among the most recent of those Spelling Reformers in Milton's time had been his own teacher Alexander Gill the elder, head-master of St. Paul's School, in his "*Logonomia Anglica*," or Latin treatise on English Grammar, published in 1619, and Charles Butler, M.A., of Magdalen College, Oxford, in his "English Grammar, or the Institution of Letters, Syllables, and Words in the English Tongue," published from the Oxford University Press in 1633. Still nothing like uniformity had been attained. Within a certain range every author or printer might spell according to his own whim at the moment,—the choice between a longer and a shorter form of spelling often determined, in the case of a printer, by the number of types he could get in at the end of a line; and so author differed from author, printer from printer, printers from authors, and the same author or printer from himself yesterday or two minutes ago. Take a passage from the above-mentioned Butler in 1633 on this very point. "So certaine," he says, "is the Orthographie of the Hebrew, Greeke, and Latin; that all Nations, though never so far distant in place, and different in speeche, doe write them alike: whereas many words in our language are written diversly, even at home: neither our new writers agreeing with the old; nor either new or old among themselves. Which gave occasion to Sir John Price (whether more tartly or truly I know not) taxing our Orthographie to preferre his own [the Welsh]: where hee saith, that foure good Secretaries, writing a sentence in English from his mouth, differed all, one from another, in many letters: whereas so many Welch, writing the same in their tongue, varied not in any one letter."

Our first extant specimens of Milton's handwriting are of about the date when Butler wrote this passage; and the next forty years, to which belong the rest of his extant MSS. and all his volumes

printed in his lifetime, do not seem to have made much change in the respect now considered. How wavering and unstable was English spelling through those forty years will be best seen if we take the words collected, or the groups suggested, in last section, and exhibit the varieties of spelling of these very words, or in these groups, that are to be gathered from Milton's MSS. and the printed editions of his Poems.

(1.) *Faire, vaine, soone, urne, doe, keepe, tooke, crowne, deepe, ruine, forlorne, goddesse*, with *armes, aires, 'dayes*: this was the first group I gave, to illustrate the frequency of the silent *e* final in cases where we have now dropt it. Well, without much search, I find in the MSS. and printed editions these alternatives,—*fair, vain, soon, urn, do, keep, took, crown, deep, ruin, forlorn, goddess* and *goddes, arms, airs, days*. So general in the printed editions is the dropping of the final *e* in this class of words that, though they do occasionally retain it, I may note this as one of the differences between those editions and Milton's own MSS. Thus, the word *urn* occurs but once in Milton's poetry (*Lycid.* 20); and in the edition of 1645 it is printed *urn*, while Milton's MS. gives *urne*.

(2.) Take next the group of words given as exemplifying the omission of the final *e* where we insert it: viz. *fals, vers, els, leavs, tast, hast*. For these forms I find easily our present *false, verse, else, leaves, taste, haste*,—the printed editions here again, I think, agreeing with our modern practice more than the MSS. do. The two last words in the list may be prosecuted more particularly.—In the original edition of *Paradise Lost* the second line of the poem is distinctly printed

"Of that Forbidden Tree, whose mortal tast."

So in *Sonnet XX.*, as first printed in 1673—

"Of Attic tast, with wine."

So also twice in the plural—

"Of all tasts else to please thir appetite;"—*P. L.*, VII. 49.

and

"With *Sion's* songs, to all true tasts excelling."—*P. R.*, IV. 347.

Hence some have argued that the word *taste* in Milton's time must have been pronounced *tast*, like *tast* or *past*. But that the inference was hasty and illegitimate would have been seen if the word had been traced through other passages. Four times, as we have seen, it is *tast* or *tasts*; but it occurs sixty-two times in all in the poetry, as noun or verb, and in fifty-eight of these cases with our ordinary spelling *taste*, e.g.—

"To quench the drouth of *Phæbus*, which as they taste
(For most do taste through fond intemperate thirst)."—*Com.*, 66, 67.

"so contriv'd as not to mix

Tastes, not well joynd, inelegant, but bring

Taste after taste upheld with kindest change."—*P. L.*, V. 334—336.

Similarly with the word *haste*. On its first occurrence in *Paradise Lost* (I. 357) it is spelt *hast*; but the word, as noun or verb, occurs thirty-seven times besides in Milton's poetry; and in twenty-five of these places (sixteen of them in *Par. Lost*) we have the normal spelling *haste*, while in twelve (*P. L.*, X. 17, XI. 104; *P. R.*, III. 223, 303, 437; *Sams. Ag.* 2027, 1441, 1678; *Com.* 668, *Od. Nat.* 212, *Ps.* VI. 23, *Ps.* VII. 5) we have again the odd form *hast*.

(3.) The next group was the *y*- and *ie* group. Here also there is instability; for I find *starry* as well as *starrie*, *majesty* as well as *majestie*, and our present forms *guilty*, *happy*, *fly*, *cry*, *descrie*, as well as *guiltie*, *happie*, *flie*, *crie*, *descrie*. Thus I have traced every occurrence of *guilty* in the poems, with this result: in the 1645 edition of the Minor Poems it occurs but once, and then in our present form *guilty*; in *Paradise Lost* it occurs five times, and is always spelt *guiltie* in the original edition; in the Second or 1673 edition of the Minor Poems it occurs twice, and each time with a relapse into the form *guilty*. So, on the other hand, while we have *ayr*, *voyce*, *tyme*, *tyger*, *lyc*, *poyson*, *ycie*, and *jubily*, these words come up also in their more familiar forms as *air*, *voice*, *time*, *tiger*, *lie*, *poison*, *ice*, and *jubilee*. The word *poison* occurs but twice in Milton's poetry,—once as *poyson* (*Com.* 47), and once as *poison* (*Com.* 526); unless we choose to add the adjective *poisonous* in *Sams. Ag.* 563, where the spelling in the original edition is *poysounous*. The adjective *icy* occurs only once, in the compound *ycie-pearled* (*Death of a Fair Infant*, 15); but the noun *ice* occurs six times, and always as *ice*. The rarer word *jubilee* occurs three times, once as *jubily* (*Sol. Mus.* 9), once as *jubilee* (*P. L.*, III. 348), and once as *jubilie* (*P. L.*, VI. 884).

(4.) *Than*, *then*; *least*, *lest*.—As far as my observation goes, *then* is constantly kept as equivalent to our conjunction *than* ("O worse then chains," in *Sams. Ag.* 68, is one of the latest instances); while the same spelling *then* is uniform for our adverb *then*, except in such a case of deviation into *than* for the rhyme's sake as that noted in last section.—But *least* and *lest* are unstable. In the first six occurrences of the conjunction, *lest* in *Paradise Lost*, the spelling in the original edition is *least* (e.g. "least bad men should boast"); but in the next two occurrences of the word (V. 396 and 731) the spelling is *lest*, as now ("No fear lest Dinner wools," and "lest unawares we lose"); after which, in twenty-seven recurrences of the word in the rest of the poem it is invariably again *least*. To make amends, however, the spelling is again *lest* in each of eleven occurrences of the word in *Par. Reg.* and *Sams. Ag.*; while it is so also in three occurrences in *Comus* (156, 406, 940), both in the 1645 edition of the Minor Poems and in that of 1673,—though this last edition prints the word *least* in three places in pieces first published

in it (*Sonnet XIX.* 6, *Ps.* II. 25, and *Ps.* VII. 4). Again, in forty-seven occurrences of the adjective *least* in the total body of the poems, the normal form *least* is kept forty-three times; but the form *lest* happens four times (*P. L.*, IX. 460, 555, and X. 875, 951).

(5.) I have noted the general defect in Milton, as in other old printing, of our apostrophe marking the possessive case, as in *man's*, *men's*, *father's*, and the ambiguity sometimes arising from that defect. Butler in his *Grammar* has no apostrophe in the possessive, but gives *a mans wisdom*, *a horses strength*, *chickens meat*, *knives edges*, as examples of the case singular and plural. Occasionally, however, in Milton's original editions we do have the apostrophe: e.g. *P. L.*, I. 466 "*Gaza's* frontier bounds," *Pens.* 29 "Of woody *Ida's* inmost grove," *Com.* 232 "By slow *Meander's* margent green." In the Second (or 1673) edition of the *Minor Poems* I find *man's work* (*Sonnet XIX.* 10), *Assembly's ears* (*Vat. Ex.* 28), and other instances of our present form.

(6.) *Vowel-sounds generally, and their Spellings.*—Here we may systematise a little.—On a rough analysis, which satisfies most grammarians, though it stops short of the perfect one proposed by Mr. Ellis and others, there are twelve or thirteen simple vowel-sounds in English, and four diphthongs proper. Let us go over them one by one, inquiring into Milton's practice with respect to each:—

The Short A sound (as in *man*).—This sound is represented in chief by the letter *a*, but also occasionally by *e* (*clerk*, *serjeant*, *Darby*, *Berkshire*).—Milton's usage for the sound is ours; but in the prose heading of his *Arcades*, both in 1645 and 1673, the heroine of the piece is called "The Countess Dowager of *Darby*." The words *clerk* and *serjeant* do not occur in the poetry; but *clerk*, spelt so, occurs in his prose-writings.

The Long A sound (as in *far*, *father*).—Its representative in chief is *a*; but it is also represented by *al*, as in *alms*, *palm*, *psalm*.—These three words are always spelt so, in Milton, save that *palm* twice, out of eight times, becomes *palme*. His usage of *balm* is more peculiar. He begins (*Com.* 674, 991) with *balm* and *balmy*, spelt as now; the noun appears next in *Par. Lost*, and there as *Baume* (l. 774); in five subsequent appearances in the same poem it is *balme*, while the adjective, four times repeated, is *balmie*; finally, in *Sams. Ag.*, where we have the noun twice, it is again *balm*.

The Short E sound (as in *met*).—Its representative in chief is *e*; but it is also represented by *a*, *ea*, *ai*, *ie*, *ei*, *eo*, *ay*, *ey*: e.g. *any*, *Thames*, *bread*, *said*, *friend*, *their*, (unemphatic), *jeopardy*, *foray*, *they* (unemphatic).—We have noted the occurrence in Milton of such spellings for this sound as *spreds*, *sed* and *se'd* (for *said*), *seaven*, and *freind*. Well, these are unstable; for he gives us also *spreads*, *said* (for which *sed* or *se'd* is but a rare freak with him, for the look of the

rhyme: *L'Al.* 103, *Hobs.* I. 17, *Lyc.* 129), *seven* and *friend*, just as now. *Threads* occurs but twice, and both times as *threds*. *Jet* occurs but once, and then as *jeat*, but rhyming to *ziolet* (*Lyc.* 144). *Thir* frequently occurs for the unemphatic *their* (e.g. the last line of *P. L.*, "Through *Eden* took thir solitarie way"); but the form *their* is also common enough. We have *ern* and *heerbs* in the same page of *L'Allegro*; but our present spellings *earn* and *herb* are the normal ones in the poetry.

The Long E sound proper, often called the Long A sound (as in *there*).—This is, however, seldom represented in English by *e*: more frequently by *a*, *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*, *ea*, *cig*, *eigh*—e.g. *name*, *main*, *say*, *vein*, *prey*, *yea*, *reign*, *weight*.—Take, in this group, these spellings in Milton: *strein* (for strain: *Od. Nat.* 17), *raign*, *ayr*. These are unusual now; but in Milton too they are mere casual deviations from the more usual *strain*, *reign*, *air*. The spelling *strein* was merely suggested by *vein* to which it rhymes, and which, though there and generally spelt *vein*, is sometimes *veine*. He has the spellings *ayr* and *air* within eighteen lines of each other (*Pens.*), and both *aircs* and *airs* for the plural.

The Short I sound (as in *thin*, *him*): chief representative *i*; but represented also by *y*, *e*, *ee*, *ie*, and *ui*; e.g. *hymn*, *pity*, *me* (unemphatic), *been* (unemphatic), *pierce*, *pitied*, *build*. In this group Milton's spelling is ours, with allowance for such occasional forms as *guillie*, *majestie*, etc., already noticed, and for a stray word like *peirc'd*. These are simply occasional, however, for he has *guilty*, *majesty*, etc., when he likes, and lets *peirc'd* in other places become *pierc'd*.—In nineteen passages which I have looked at in the original editions the usual form *been* occurs eleven times, while eight times there is the slighter form *bin*. Pure caprice seems to have determined the variation; for, though once or twice *been* may be a little emphatic, it occurs also when there is no more emphasis than *bin* would have conveyed.

The Long I sound proper (though hardly the mere *i* of *thin* lengthened) generally called the long *E* sound (as in *dique*, *pique*).—It is rarely represented by *i*: more frequently by *e*, *ee*, *ea*, *ei*, *ie*, and sometimes by *æ*, *æ*, *ey*, and *ay*: e.g. *me*, *see*, *bead*, *deceive*, *believe*, *Cæsar*, *Phæbus*, *key*, *quay*.—The usage in the poems for this sound is rather complicated. It was common in Milton's time to spell monosyllabic words containing this sound with a double *e*: thus, *mee*, *hee*, *shee*, *wee*, *yee*, *bee* (the verb, as well as the noun). Butler, however, who adopts the habit, and recommends the double *e* generally for this long sound, notes that such words were still often written with the single *e* as now: *me*, *he*, *she*, *we*, *ye*, *be*. Now, Milton has both forms of spelling, sometimes *me*, etc., and sometimes *mee*, etc.: whether on any principle may be inquired hereafter.

Certainly no principle can be detected in such spellings of his for the same sound as *sphear*, *neather* (neither), *weild*, *feild*, *preist*, *dieties* (deities), *theefe*, *deceave*, *heer*, *neer*, *sease* (seize), *eev'n*, *beleeve*, *extreams*. He keeps indeed, I think, to *sphear* or *spheare* (though I find *spherse* in the plural: *At a Vac. Ex.* 40); but he is as ready as any one now would be to write words of this class in our present forms, and so gives us *neither*, *weild*, *field*, *priest*, *deities*, *thief*, *deceive*, *here*, *near*, *seize*, *even*, *believe*, *extremes*. He has even more than two ways of spelling some of these and similar words: thus *seize*, *sicze*, *sease*, *seise*.

A Short O sound (as in *God*, *not*): represented chiefly by *o*, but sometimes by *a*, *au*, and *oe*: e.g. *salt*, *want*, *vault*, *does* (3d pers. sing. of the verb *do*). I have noted nothing peculiar in Milton's spelling here.

The same sound prolonged, and therefore capable of being called the long O sound, though not usually called so (as in *broad*): It is not represented by *o* singly, but by *oa*, *ough*, *a* singly (whence it is sometimes called the open A sound), *au*, *aw*, *awe*, *ough*: e.g. *broad*, *thought*, *all*, *fall*, *wrath*, *haul*, *awe*, *daws*, *bawl*, *naught*.—Milton has *wrauth*, but also *wrath*; *naught*, but also *nought*; *wraught*, but also *wrought*; *aw*, but also *awe*; *haut* once, from stress of rhyme (*Ps.* LXXX. 33), but also *haughty* and *haughtie*.

Another Long O sound, usually so called, though distinct from the former (as in *go*, *shore*, *note*).—The chief representative of this sound is *o*; but it is represented also by *oa*, *oe*, *oo*, *ou*, *ow*, *o'e*, *co*, *ew*, *ough*: e.g. *boast*, *woe*, *door*, *soul*, *low*, *o'er*, *yeoman*, *sew*, *though*.—In Milton, we have seen, there are such spellings as *dores*, *shoars*, *rore*, *yoak*. He has *dore* and *dores* uniformly, I think, through *Paradise Lost*; but he gives *'door* and *doors* elsewhere (*Lycid.* 130, *Sams. Ag.* 77). So also we have *shores*, *roar* and *yoke*, as in our ordinary spelling. The word *goal* occurs twice, once as *gole* and once as *goal*. He has *oke*, but also *oak* and *oake*.—The contraction *o'er*, for *over*, is generally, so far as I have observed, spelt *or'e* with the apostrophe in the wrong place, or *ore* without any apostrophe: but I can find no meaning in this perversity.—Two interesting words in this long O group are *show* and *roll*. Milton's practice with respect to them will be discussed hereafter; meanwhile it is enough to state that he spells the first in his poetry both *show* and *shew*, and that for the second he gives us only once *roll* (in the form *roll'd*), and in every other case of the occurrence of the word, *i.e.* thirty-seven times, *rowl*, *rowle*, *roul*, or *roule*, either so or in the related forms of *rowl'd*, *rould*, *rowing*, *rouling*, etc. The inquiry will involve words of similar sound, as *scroll*, *control*, *fold*, etc.

The Short U sound proper (as in *full*, *put*).—It is represented chiefly by *u*; but also by *o*, *oo*, *ou*, *oul*, *ough*: e.g. *woman*, *book*, *you*

(unemphatic), *could*, and *through* (unemphatic).—So far as I have observed, Milton's practice in such words conforms to the present.

The Long U sound proper (as in *truth*).—It is represented by *u*; but also by *ue*, *ui*, *ū*, *oo*, *oe*, *ou*, *ew*: e.g. *true*, *fruit*, *move*, *soothe*, *shoe*, *youth*, *brew*.—Here also Milton's spelling in the main conforms to ours. He has *remoov'd*, but also *remov'd*; *crue* (the noun), but generally *crew*; *boosom'd*, but also *bosom'd*; *woolf*, but also *wolf*; *turneys*, but also *tournament*; etc.

The Short U sound (as in *but*).—Though represented by *u*, it is represented also by *o*, *oa*, *ou*: e.g. *son*, *blood*, *young*.—There is an interchangeability between this sound and the two last *u* sounds, some provincial speakers pronouncing *put* as if it rhymed to *hut*, and Dr. Johnson himself having preserved his provincial *poonch* for *punch*. I have found no evidence that this was other than a provincial habit in Milton's time.—He has *com* and *welcom*, but also *come* and *welcome*; *jocond*, but also *jocund*; *som*, but also *some*; *don*, but also *done*; *courb* once (*P. L.*, XI. 643), but *curb* five times; *floud*, but also *flood*; *yonger*, but also *younger*, etc.

A nondescript E sound, intermediate between short i and short u (as in *her*, *minster*).—This is represented also by *i*, *y*, if not sometimes by *u*: e.g. *sir*, *virtue*, *myrrh*, *surname*; and indeed the combinations *er*, *ar*, *ir*, *or*, *our*, *ur*, *re*, have a tendency in common habit in certain cases to this one sound: e.g. *baker*, *beggar*, *stir*, *stationery*, *stationary*, *sailor*, *ardour*, *murmur*, *sepulchre*.—In Milton *virtue* and *virtuous* are, I think, nearly always spelt *vertue* or *vertu* and *vertuous*, as was common in his time; but *virtue* does occur (e.g. *P. R.*, II. 431, 455), and *virtual*, which occurs but twice, is both times so. I find *warriers* and *persecuters* in his text, but also *warriors* and *warriours*. *Beggery* occurs once (*S. A.* 69), and *sepulcher* or *sepulchers* twice; but in the main the spellings even for this obscure sound are ours.

The Four Diphthongs proper.—These are heard in the words *fine*, *thou*, *oil*, *muse*. The first, still often called the long *i* sound, is represented not only by that letter, but also by *y*, *ie*, *ye*, *ay*, *is*, *ig*, *igh*, *eye*, *uy*, *ois*, *eigh*: e.g. *cry*, *die*, *dye*, *ay*, *isle*, *sign*, *high*, *eye*, *buy*, *aisle*, *height*. The second, represented by *ou*, is represented also by *ow*, *ough*: e.g. *owl*, *plough*. The third, represented by *oi*, is represented also by *oy* and *uoy*: e.g. *boy*, *buoy*. The fourth, still often called the long *U* sound, is represented not only by *u*, but also by *eu*, *ew*, *ewe*, *iew*, *ue*, *ui*, *eau*, *ieu*: e.g. *rheum*, *few*, *ewe*, *view*, *sue*, *suit*, *beauty*, *lieu*.—Some of Milton's spellings in these diphthong groups have already been noted. We may add a few more instances. (1) He has both *isle* and *ile*, *island* and *iland*, *rites* and *rights*, *spite* and *spight* (within some lines of each other, *P. L.*, II. 385—393), *eye* and *ey*, *lie* and *lye*, *nigh* and *ny* (*Sonnet I.* 10). He has *aries* at

least once for *arise*. The word *rime*, though spelt so in the prose preface to *Par. Lost*, is spelt once *rhyme* in the poetry (*Lyc.* 12), and *rhime* in the only other case where it occurs there (*P. L.*, I. 16). We have *die* and *di'd* for "colour" and "coloured"; but, to make up, there is a slip once or twice into *dye* and *dy'd* for our verb of mortality.—(2) *Plowman* occurs twice, and each time in that form; but in the MS. of the *Sonnet to Cromwell* we have *plough'd*. *Bought* and *boughs* or *boughes* is normal in the text, but once at least there is *bowes*. The adjective *foul*, for "unclean," which is a frequent word, occurs in *Par. Lost* first as *fowl* (I. 33), and the very next time (I. 135) as *foul*. The word *flower* is very unstable. I find it, in the singular, in no fewer than six forms—*flower*, *flowr*, *flowre*, *flour*, *floure*, and *flourc*; and it is about the same in the plural. Similarly we have *tower* in three forms—*tower*, *towe*, *towr* (all three forms occurring within eight lines of each other, *P. L.*, XII. 44–52); and so with *shower*, *hour*, and other words. (3) In this diphthong group we have indifferently *choice* and *choyce*, *voice* and *voyce*, etc. (4) In this group Milton has *lewd* and *leud*, *hue* and *hew* (noun), *blue*, *blu*, and *blew* (all for the colour), *eve* and *ews* (the animal), *suite* and *suitable*, etc.

Consonantal and Miscellaneous Spellings.—A promiscuous assemblage of examples will suffice to prove that here too the spellings in Milton are variable, and that, even where his text has a different spelling from ours in one or in several places, it accepts ours in others:—*warr*, *dinn*, *lipps*, *mortall*, *celstiall*, *faithfull*, *musicall*, *committ*, *compell*, *farewel*, *mattin*, *sollemne*, etc., found also as *war*, *din*, *lips*, *mortal*, *celestial*, *faithful*, *musical*, *commit*, *compels*, *farewell*, *matin*, *solemn*, etc.; *endles*, *darknes*, *sweetnes*, etc., found also as *endless*, *darkness*, *sweetness*, etc. (*ripenesse* in *Sonnet* III. in Milton's own MS. appearing as *ripenes* in the same when printed under his own eye); *musick*, *majestick*, etc., found also as *music*, *majestic*, etc.; *lincked* found also as *linked*; *sulfurous* and *sulphurous*; *partriark* and *patriarch* in two consecutive pages (*P. L.*, 117–151); *murtherer*, but also *murder*, and *mur'd'rous*; *chrystal* and *chrySTALL*, but also *crystal*; *authority*, but also *authoritie* and *authoritie*.*

Ample proof has now been furnished of both parts of our proposition—viz. not only of the general fact that Milton's spelling, like the spelling of most of his contemporaries, was unstable and variable, but also of the more special fact that, in the cases where he varied his spelling, it was most frequently a mere accident, a mere turn of the wrist, whether he should give us a spelling that we now think odd or the one now adopted and authorised. Neither part of the proposition has been sufficiently attended to by Milton inquirers and literary and linguistic archæologists; but perhaps the second less than the first. Yet it is not unimportant.

Would it not be well, it might be asked, in reprinting Milton's Poems, to retain punctiliously his own spelling? Now, whatever may be the propriety, for philological purposes, of having plenty of exact reprints of our old English books, or of portions of such, and exact representations in type of the spelling of old English MSS., common sense seems to have settled that, in modern editions of such great authors as Bacon, Shakespeare, and Milton, just as in all modern editions of the authorised English Bible for general use, the spelling of our own time ought to be adopted, except in cases where there is something significant, etymologically or phonetically, in an archaic spelling in the original editions. Messrs. Clark and Aldis Wright, in their Preface to the Cambridge Edition of Shakespeare, have given their reasons for following this plan in that work; and their reasoning applies to Milton's Poetry. Though we have used again and again the phrase "Milton's spelling," it is impossible to say what Milton's spelling really is. There is an extant mass of his own manuscript, containing the drafts of a portion of his earlier English Poems. There, certainly, so far as the mass goes, we have Milton's own spelling. But then the spelling there differs in numberless particulars from the spelling of the same pieces when printed in 1645. The spelling in the volume of that year may be called Milton's own too, inasmuch as he had then the use of his eyesight, and it is to be taken for granted that he revised the proofs. But which is *most* Milton's spelling,—that of the MSS. so far as they go, or that of the printed volume? Farther, for all the later poetry, including *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, we have neither a spelling set up by the printers from Milton's own manuscript, nor a spelling passed by Milton's personal revision after the printers, but only the discordant spellings of different printers, set up from the discordant spellings of no one knows how many different amanuenses to whom a blind man had dictated, and revised not by the blind man himself, but only by the readers of the printing offices, or by friends reading the proofs aloud for his benefit, with perhaps a shot of correction now and then from his own mouth when his quick ear detected anything wrong. How, in such a complexity of circumstances, shall we determine Milton's own spelling for his Poetical Works collectively? We have, it is true, the original editions of his English Prose Pamphlets, all of which as far as 1649 may be assumed to have been set up from his own manuscripts, or at least revised by himself for the press. Might not these assist us in an attempt for the recovery of Milton's own spelling for his poems? Very little. In the first place, there is no reason to believe that the spelling of these pamphlets, even if it were uniform, is the spelling of the MSS. from which they were set up. The spelling of many pieces in the 1645 edition of the poems, as we have seen, differs

incessantly from the spelling of the same pieces in the extant MSS.; and the spelling of the First Book of *Paradise Lost* in the original edition differs incessantly, we may now add, from that of the same Book in the preserved MS. copy in the hand of an amanuensis from which the printers set up the text. In the very first page we find *blissful seat* in the printed edition substituted for *blissfull seate* in the press-copy, *mortal* for *mortall*, *loss* for *losse*, *Brook* for *brooke*, *soar* for *soare*, *pursues* for *persues*, *chiefly* for *cheifly*, *dark* for *darke*, etc. How are we to know that the printers of the Prose Pamphlets were more strict to the manuscript copies? If it is replied that Milton at all events adopted the spelling of the printers of those pamphlets, and so made it his, that only brings out afresh the fact that, within a certain range, he did not mind how words were spelt. For the same instability is to be detected in the spelling of the prose pamphlets as in that of the poems. There were different printers; they differed from each other; and each differed from himself from page to page and moment to moment. In short, Milton's own spelling of his poems, in any definite sense of the term, is not a real and recoverable existence anywhere in nature, but at best a vortex of verbal forms, with certain steadyish main features amid a fringing confusion of incompatible atoms, whirling in the Cambridge, Horton, and London air of the seventeenth century, and modified in London by cross-gusts between divers printing-offices, and between those offices and Milton's houses in Bread Street, St. Bride's Churchyard, Aldersgate Street, Barbican, High Holborn, Jewin Street, Bunhill Fields, and other places.

"Well, but," it may be said, "no ideal reconstruction is necessary. Why not accept the original printed editions in their series? Why not reproduce these page after page, and vote the spelling in its totality, with all its variations, to be Milton's?"—This may seem plausible; but it breaks down on consideration. The simple fact that we are in possession of a mass of Milton's English poetry in his own handwriting, the spelling of which differs from that of the same pieces as printed in the First and Second editions of his Minor Poems, falls like a crushing blow on the proposal. Could we recover Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece*, some of his *Sonnets*, and his *Hamlet* or *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in his own handwriting, what a joy there would be! Should we then adhere to the quartos, even, if it could be proved that Shakespeare revised the proofs? Would not the cry be "No intervention of printers here: let us have every jot and tittle of the great hand, as it paralleled and descended the paper, and the ink fell from the pen's point!"? Why should it be otherwise with Milton's extant MSS.? If we are to have the original spelling and nothing else, why should not these, as far as they will serve, be followed, rather than the printed copies? Then, again, have we not Lawes's printed copy of *Comus* in 1637,

and the Bridgewater MS. of the same, and have we not *Lycidas* in its original form in the Cambridge volume of Memorial Verses on King published in 1638? What are the claims of these, and of one or two other fragments, orthographically?

Suppose, however, in this absolute impossibility of getting at a standard spelling, we were to agree to adopt the spelling of Milton's original printed editions enumerated above, and vote *it* to be the standard. What, even with that violent solution of the difficulty, ought to be the policy in a modern edition of Milton's poems? Apart from the interest that might attach to an exact orthographic reprint regarded as a bibliographical curiosity, the sole purpose it would serve would be to exhibit that very phenomenon of *variability of spelling* which we have been illustrating. A standard spelling in the original editions! There is no such thing. There is utter instability, incessant change, causeless and yet conscious inconsistency. In view of all else that we expect and require in a modern edition of Milton, is it worth while to refabricate a collective edition of the poems expressly to exhibit the phenomenon of the variability, in Milton's case as, in others, of the seventeenth century spelling? The phenomenon is certainly interesting, and worthy of exhibition. But, in the interest of the phenomenon itself, there are better and more economic means. For scholars who want to study the phenomenon, access to copies of the original editions is not too difficult; and for most people, or in the main for scholars too, a series of specimens of literal reprint will amply suffice. There *ought* to be such specimens, and all that is essential in the phenomenon may be elicited from a moderate number of them. With such material, and with an Essay on the subject, collecting and specifying instances, the phenomenon in question might be better brought out in all its bearings than in a collective reprint from the original editions merely; where, in fact, the phenomenon eludes notice by its very diffusion. Then, that matter having been provided for, a collective edition of the poems for general use may fairly consist, like our copies of the authorised English Bible, or our standard editions of Bacon and Shakespeare, of the most authentic text from the original editions made to conform to our now authorised orthography, except in cases where an archaic form ought to be preserved for some etymological or phonetic significance which our present spelling would conceal. Should there be any doubt in the matter still, it will be removed, I think, by recollecting that it is more than mere variability of spelling that has been proved concerning the original editions. What has been proved is variability, at every point where we select a word and trace it, between two spellings, or among a certain number of competing spellings, of which our own present authorised spelling is generally *one*. Hardly a modern spelling of an English word but is an

authorised spelling in Milton's original editions, if not in one passage, yet in another or others; and in most cases the most microscopic scrutiny can detect no reason why the spelling ever varies from this, except the fact that people did not then care for orthographic uniformity. Now, as *we* do care for it, we do no wrong to an author of that time by fixing him to one of his own spellings, or to a spelling to which we are sure, from strictly analogous instances in his own text, he would have had no objection. Because Milton's original editions give us *flower*, but also five variations from it, *flour*, *flowre*, *flour*, *floure*, and *flower*, did he mean to tie down his readers in all time coming to the sextuple spelling rather than the single? At the utmost, would he not have asked, in the interest of the history of English orthography, that the fact that the sextuple spelling was allowed in his day should be remembered in a footnote or the like, begging posterity at the same time to fix him to one of the spellings in the text if they found reason for it, on the single condition that they should not tamper at any point with sound or meaning, vocable or metre?

This brings us to another branch of our inquiry. Are there any peculiarities of Milton's spelling which are really significant, and ought therefore to be noted or preserved? There are, and we proceed now to take account of them:—

PECULIARITIES WHICH MAY BE NOTED, BUT NEED NOT BE PRESERVED.

Mee, hee, shee, wee, yee.—That Milton had an intention in spelling these pronouns sometimes with a single *e* and sometimes with a double may be inferred from the fact that, in the Errata prefixed to the First edition of *Par. Lost*, he directs the word *we* in Book II. 414 to be changed into *wee*. On turning to the passage, it is seen that the reason was that the word *we* there has to be pronounced emphatically. In general, therefore, we may assume that he meant *mee*, *hee*, etc., to be the forms when the words were emphatic, and *me*, *he*, etc., when they were not. But, in fact, his own texts are not steady to this practice (see note *P. L.*, 160—165); and it is needless.

Then for than.—Though, as far as I have observed, the original texts keep to *then*, as writings of that date generally do, it seems unnecessary to recur to a spelling so strange to our present habits,—the rather because our form *than* was used in Milton's time, and is a good old one in pre-Elizabethan English.—As to *least* for *lest* we need be in no doubt. Milton himself yields to *lest*, and may be fixed to it.

Hynderd and Childern.—Among the Errata prefixed to the First edition of *Par. Lost* is the direction "Lib. I. v. 760 for *hundreds* r.

hunderds"; which may be taken as vouching that Milton's ear preferred the latter pronunciation. Perhaps one ought to have obliged him here, especially as in the only three other occurrences of the word in his poetry (*Arcades* 22, *Sonnet XIII.* and *Par. Reg.*, III. 287) it is *hunderd* or *hunder'd*. Todd has, but Keightley has not; and the reasons seem to be that *hundred* or *hundreth* is the old English form, that Milton himself has *hundreda* in Latin, and that people who still pronounce *hunderd* are accustomed to the spelling *hundred*.—The form *childern* for *children* occurs four times in *Par. Lost*, and is worth noting, but, as we have *childrens* for *children's* in the same poem (I. 395), and *children* twice in *Comus*, once in *Par. Reg.*, and once in *Sams. Ag.*, there is no need to revive *childern*.

Ventrous and *Adventrous*.—The first occurs three times, spelt so or *vent'rous*; the second six times, spelt *so* or *advent'rous*. Now, as Milton once has the verb in the form *venter* (*Comus*, 228), and again in the form *ventring*, one might have kept these spellings, as perhaps significant of a neglect of the *u* in the pronunciation. But not only has Milton in other places *venture* and *adventure* (this uniformly) and *adventurer*; he has also the form *venturing* (*S. A.* 1373). Hence for *ventrous* and *adventrous* we may print *venturous* or *adventurous* without objection.

Furder and *Fardest*.—Milton, I think, never has the form *farther* in his poetry, and never the form *furthest*; but out of fifteen times in which he uses the word *further* he prints it three times *furder*, and in seven occurrences of *farthest* it is thrice *fardest*. No reason can be detected in the several cases for the change from the *th* to the *d*; and, as the *th* is most frequent with himself, that may be the rule.

Wardrobe.—The word *wardrobe* occurs twice (*Lyc.* 47, and *Vac. Ex.* 18). In the first case it is spelt *wardrop* in print, but *wardrobe* in the Cambridge MS.; in the second *wardrobe*. This may have been a pronunciation of the time; but it is erroneous, ungraceful, and not worth keeping.

Liveless for *lifeless*.—As the word occurs but three times, and always so, it might be kept, if only as a companion to our word *live-long*, which Milton also has twice; but it is hardly worth while.

Alabaster for *alobaster*.—The word occurs three times, twice with the *l* (*Com.* 660, and *P. L.*, IV. 544), and once without it (*P. R.*, IV. 548). As the proper word is *alabaster*, and is as old as Chaucer in that form, the insertion of the *l* was but a temporary freak.

Maister for *master*.—In the MS. of Milton's *Sonnet II.* in his own hand the last line runs thus—"as ever in my great task-maisters eye"; whence, and also because in the First edition of *Par. Lost* we have the forms *maistring* and *maistrie* for *mastering* and *mastery* (IX. 125, II. 899, and IX. 29), it might be inferred that Milton meant to keep up the earlier form of spelling. But, as in the printed

copy of *Sonnet II.* in the Edition of 1645 the spelling is *task Masters*, and we have the spelling *master* or *masters* six times besides in the original printed texts (*Od. Nat.* 34; *Com.* 501, 725; *P. L.*, VII. 505; *S. A.* 1215, 1404), Milton himself authorises our modern form.

Perfet and *Imperfet*: *Verdit*.—One of the most noticeable peculiarities of Milton's spelling is his oscillation between *perfect* and *perfet*, *imperfect* and *imperfet*.—The word *perfect* occurs thirty-one times in his poetry, thirty times as the adjective, and only once as the verb (*P. L.*, XI. 36). In eleven occurrences of the adjective the spelling is *perfect*, as now; in the remaining nineteen occurrences of the adjective, and in the single occurrence of the verb, the spelling is *perfet*. The spelling *perfect* predominates in the Minor Poems, occurring five times, while *perfet* occurs but twice (*Com.* 203, *Lyc.* 82); in the first two occurrences of the word in *Par. Lost* it is *perfect* (I. 550, II. 764), but uniformly through the rest of the poem, or sixteen times, it is *perfet*; in *Par. Reg.* it occurs five times, with a relapse into *perfect* in the first four, but a return to *perfet* the last time (IV. 468); and in *Sams. Ag.* it occurs but once, and then in the form *perfet*.—The negative adjective occurs four times in all—three times in *Par. Lost*, as *imperfet* (IX. 338, 345, and XII. 300), and once as *imperfect* (*Vac. Ex.* 3).—There seems not the least doubt, therefore, that Milton preferred, at least occasionally, the French form (*parfait, imparfait*) to the direct Latin (*perfectus, imperfectus*). The French form indeed seems to have been the older; for we have *parfit*, *parfite*, and *parfitly* in our texts of Chaucer. All in all, as Milton's oscillation between the two forms is curious, it might not have been amiss to have kept both in the text; but, if there was to be uniformity, the predominance of *perfect* in the Minor Poems, the setting out with it in *Par. Lost*, and the return to it in *Par. Reg.*, co-operated in its favour with present custom.—There are no such reasons additional to present custom in the similar case of the French form *verdit* for *verdict*. Milton has the word twice only (*S. A.* 324, 1228); and in both cases the original gives *verdit*.

Show or *shew*.—At present either spelling of the word is legitimate, though *show* is the more common. There is little doubt, however, that *shew* is the more ancient spelling, that the word was pronounced correspondingly (like *shoe*), and that the spelling *show* came in with the fixing of pronunciation to our present practice. It is, accordingly, a very interesting word in Milton. If I am right in my counting, it occurs seventy-two times in all in his poetry,—fourteen times as the noun, singular or plural, and fifty-eight times as the verb in various forms, including the past participle. Now, out of these seventy-two times, we have the *ew* spelling fifty-eight times, and the *ow* spelling fourteen times. In each of these cases of the *ow* spelling it may, of course, stand; and, indeed, in *Sonnet XXI.* 12, *Arc.* 79,

Ps. CXIV. 5^o it *must* stand, on account of the rhymes there (*show—know*; *show—go*; and *shown—known*). There is no doubt, therefore, that the pronunciation *show* was already familiar. There is room for doubt, however, whether it was yet universal. For, out of the fifty-eight instances of the *ew* spelling, there are *five* in which that spelling is essential for the rhyme: viz. *II Pens.* 171 (*shew* rhyming to *dew*), *Com.* 51 (*shew* rhyming to *true*), *Ps.* LXXXV. 26 (*shew* rhyming to *renew*), *Ps.* LXXXVI. 54 (*shew* again rhyming to *true*), *Sonnet* II. 4 (*shew'th* rhyming to *youth, truth, and indu'th*). In these places, of course, the *ew* spelling ought to stand. The question is about the remaining fifty-three instances of the *ew* spelling. Are we to assume that the *ew* pronunciation was intended in all these, or that the *ow* pronunciation was intended, or is permissible, in them all, or in some of them? On the whole, I believe we should not err in using both the *ow* spelling and the *ow* pronunciation in all these fifty-three cases of *ew* in the originals. But, if once or twice in these cases the printer does slip into the *ew* spelling, the inconsistency will matter the less inasmuch as, though the *ow* pronunciation is now universal, the *ew* spelling is not obsolete.

The word "Roll" and its symphonies.—As I have already noted (*ante*, p. 36) the word *roll* occurs thirty-eight times in the poetry, our present spelling appearing only once among them, in the form *roll'd*, while all the other thirty-seven times we have *rowl*, *rowle*, *roul*, or *roule*, with *rowl'd*, *rould*, *rowling*, *rouling*, etc. Now, there can be no doubt that Milton knew and used our present pronunciation of the words *roll*, *rolled*. The single occurrence of the spelling *roll'd* in the Piedmontese Sonnet would prove this, even if the word did not rhyme there with *cold*, *old*, and *fold*, spelt so. Besides which, we have the word *enroll* five times in the poetry,—twice, it is true, as *enrowle* and *inrould* (*Ps.* LXXXVII. 23, and *P. L.*, XII. 523), but three times in the unmistakable forms of *enroll'd* (*S. A.* 653, 1736) and *enrol'd* (*S. A.* 1224). The question is, however, whether, when the word occurs with the *ow* or *ou* spelling, it is always or ever to be pronounced as that spelling would now suggest. In many cases, I can vouch, a reader of the original editions, coming on the spellings *rowle*, *rowl*, *roul*, *rowl'd*, *rowling*, etc., is tempted, partly by the sight of such spellings, partly by a sense of the fitness of the sound they suggest at the places where they occur, to wish the spellings kept, and our pronunciation adjusted to them: e.g.

- "Reignd where these Heavn's now rowl."—*P. L.*, V. 578.

"on each hand the flames

Drivn backward slope their pointing spires, and rowld

In billows, leave i' th' midst a horrid Vale."—*P. L.*, I. 222—224.

"Rowld inward, and a spacious Gap disclos'd."—*P. L.*, VI. 861.

"Lay vanquisht, rowling in the fiery Gulfe."—*P. L.*, I. 52.

"And towards the Gate rowling her bestial train."—*P. L.*, II. 873.

Did Milton, in all these cases, or in any of them, intend the sound which the spelling suggests to us? The following might seem to decide the matter:—

“ When at the brook of Kishon old
They were repulst and slain,
• At Endor quite cut off, and nowl'd
As dung upon the plain.”—*Ps.* LXXXIII. 37—40.

Here *rowl'd* rhymes to *old*. But take another passage:—

“ Let th' enemy pursue my soul
And overtake it, let him tread
My life down to the earth and roul
In the dust my glory dead,
In the dust and there out spread
Lodge it with dishonour foul.”—*Ps.* VII. 13—18.

What are we to do here? Either keeping our modern pronunciations of the three rhyming words, *soul*, *roll*, and *foul*, we must accept the imperfect rhyme; or, as there is no doubt that our pronunciation of *foul* was also the old one, we must make the other two words conform in sound to it, and so read *sowl*, *rowl*, *fowl*. It may seem even comic to think of the second alternative, and suppose that the pronunciations *sowl*, *ould*, etc., which we hear occasionally from the lips of old Irish pensioners and the like, were accepted pronunciations in Milton's days. But really the inquiry must take that range. It includes such words as *old*, *bold*, *cold*, *fold*, *told*, *control*, *scroll*, etc. *Old* is one of Milton's most frequent words; and, though I cannot certify that I have examined every occurrence of it, I have examined a great many without once finding the spelling *ould*. But I have found *bould* once (*P. L.*, XI. 642) in twenty-seven occurrences of the word *bold*, and *tould* once (*P. L.*, XI. 298) in nineteen occurrences of *told*. In twenty occurrences of the word *fold*, as noun or verb, I have found exactly one half with our present spelling, but the other half as *fould*, *foulds*, *foulded*. *Controule* (*P. L.*, V. 803) and *controul* (*Od. Nat.* 228) are the only occurrences of that word; and we have never *scroll*, but only *scrowle* twice (*P. L.*, XII. 336, *Ps.* LXXXVII. 21). Nor is Milton singular in such spellings. In Richardson's Dictionary there are examples of *rowle* and *roule* as well as *roll*, and of *scrowle* and *scroul* as well as *scroll* from earlier writers back to Chaucer,—Spenser frequently indulging in *rowle*. On the other hand the spelling *roll* had become commoner with some of Milton's contemporaries, and even some of his seniors, than we find it in himself. Thus *roll* or *rolle*, rhyming to such words as *pole* and *soul*, and *roll'd* or even *rold*, rhyming to such words as *gold* and *uphold*, are common in the poems of Drummond of Hawthornden as early as 1616; where I do not think *rowl* or *rowl'd* will easily be found, but where I light at this moment on one

sonnet containing the word *scroule* rhyming to *soule*, *maie* and *pole*.—This last instance might suggest the true solution; which is that, even when the spelling was *scroule* or *scrowle*, *rfoul* or *roul*, the pronunciation had come to be definitely *scroll* and *roll*. Observe that we still retain *ou* and *ow* in many words where the sound is that of the simple long *o*: e.g. *soul*, *mould*, *shoulder*, *poultry*, *mourn*, *fourth*; *know*, *blow*, *below*, *snow*, *own*, *bestow*. All the difference seems to be that in the seventeenth century *ou* and *ow* for long *o* were kept generally or occasionally in words from which we have now dismissed them,—*roll*, *scroll*, *control*, *fold*, *bold*, *told*, etc., being among the number. Butler in his *English Grammar*, indeed (1633), expressly recognises *ow* as in certain cases the proper spelling for the long *o* sound, and would rather appropriate *ou* to the diphthongal purpose. Thus he proposes *sou* for the name of the animal and *sow* for the verb; *foul* for “unclean,” as *nōw*, but *soul* instead of *soul*; *sour* for the adjective, as *now*, but *fowr* for the number; *crown* where we write *crown*, but *known* as we now have it. People did not accept this discrimination between the *ou* and the *ow*, but went on using both sounds indifferently, sometimes for the long *o* sound and sometimes for others.

Spelling of the Past Tense, and Past Participle of weak Verbs.—

Two practices in the old texts are to be noticed under this head: viz. (1) the use of the apostrophe in past tenses and participles in *ed* when the *e* is not to be sounded, as *lov'd*, *flow'd*, *mov'd*, *favour'd*, *espi'd*, *rais'd*, *oppos'd*, *flam'd*, *reserv'd*, *prepar'd*, *ordain'd*, *unconsum'd*, *injur'd*; (2) the recurrence of the *t* form for the *ed* where the sound is actually *t* and not *d*, as in *vanquish't*, *mark't*, *banish't*, *belicht*, *kick't*, *look't*, *mix't*, *encamp't*, *tipt*, *prest*, etc.

(1.) The former practice is still kept up in a lax way in our poetry; and such forms as *lov'd*, *mov'd*, *adorn'd*, *steer'd*, are still expected whenever we open a book of verse. Wordsworth, however, set the example of abandoning the habit, and writing *loved*, *moved*, *adorned*, *steered*, even when the *e* is not to be sounded. He was right; and it would be well if such forms as *lov'd*, *steer'd*, *adorn'd* (with *Hegv'ns*, *giv'n*, and the like) were banished from our verse. They serve no purpose.—for who ever wants now, except by special direction, to say *lovèd*, *steerèd*, *adornèd*; and they are an eyesore in our printed pages, already sufficiently ticked with apostrophes in possessive cases and elsewhere. The fact is, such forms as *lov'd*, *steer'd*, *adorn'd*, were once habitual in English prose also; and we have feebly retained in our verse-printing what we have swept out of our prose-printing without harm. Probably the origin of the habit was that in former times the suffix *ed* was oftener sounded in full than now, and that, when the habit of the contracted pronunciation became more common, the apostrophe was a convenient means for

marking it. The disfigurement of old printed pages by this device was the less because the apostrophe was not then much used in possessive cases and inverted commas were rare. But that Milton and his contemporaries found the apostrophe troublesome even in this case appears from their often dropping it. Milton has *rowld* as often as *rowld*; and his pages abound with such spellings as *appeerd*, *barbd*, *embattelld*.

(2.) The Miltonic forms *vanguisht*, *markt*, *lookt*, *mixt*, *belcht*, etc., have been admired by some late writers. But more has been made of the trifle than it is worth. It is well, of course, to remember that there were two forms of the præterite suffix in Old English,—the *d* form (appearing variously in old writings as *ed*, *id*, *yd*, *od*, and *ud*), and the *t* form (appearing variously as *et*, *it*, *yt*, etc.) But this is not quite the question. The *t* form, which belonged to the Northern English, still survives and prevails among the Scotch; who continue to say *plantit*, *grantit*, *thankit*, *lookit*, *landit*, *kickit*, etc., just as their poet Barbour did five hundred years ago. But in Southern or Standard English it is the *d* form that is normal; and the question is about such casual deviations from it as those noted in Milton. Let us look at the facts.—Words ending either in the flat dental *d*, or in the sharp dental *t*, are in a peculiar predicament. Neither the *d* simple nor the *t* simple can be added to them; and therefore, if they take the suffix at all, it must be the full *ed* or *it* as *landed* or *landit*, *planted* or *plantit*. The English, having chosen the *d* form, say *landed*, *planted*.—Next is the category of words ending in any other of the flat consonant sounds than *d*: viz. *b*, *v*, flat *th* (as in *thine*), *g*, *z*, *zh* (as in *azure*), *dsh*, *ng*. Here there is a physical necessity that the suffix, if contracted to the consonant only, must be *d* or *ed* sounding *d*. You must say *robbed* (i.e. *robbd*), *loved*, *wreathed*, *rigged*, *blazed*, *rouged*, *pledged*, and *hanged*; for the vocal organs cannot utter monosyllabically the combinations *robt*, *lov*, *wreatht*, *rigt*, *blast*, *rouzht*, *pledgt*, and *hangt*. If one thinks one has succeeded, it is because one has unawares changed the terminal flat sound of the root into its corresponding sharp: *ropt*, *lust*, *breath* (*th* as in *three*, not as in *thine*), *rikt*, *blaist*, *roosh*, *pleicht*, *hankt*.—A third category of verbs consists of those that end in any of the sharp consonant sounds except *t*: viz. *p*, *f*, sharp *th* (as in *three*), *k*, *s*, *sh*, *tch*. Here the fact is exactly reversed. Though we spell *slapped*, *quaffed*, *frothed*, *slacked*, *passed*, *slashed*, *watched*, we cannot pronounce these words monosyllabically except as *slapt*, *quaft*, *frotht*, *slackt*, *past*, *slashes*, *watcht*. If we think we have succeeded in saying *slapd*, *quafd*, etc., it is because unawares we have changed the sharp terminal of the root into the corresponding flat and said *slabd*, *quavd*, etc.—There remains as a fourth category of verbs all those that end in any of our elementary sounds not yet mentioned: i.e. in one of the liquids

l, m, n, r, or in one of the vowels. Now here it is positively optional, so far as vocal possibility is concerned, whether we shall add *d* or *t*. We can say *killed* or *kilt*, *slammed* or *slamt*, *grinned* or *grint*, *murmured* or *murmurt*, *displayed* or *displayt*, *bestowed* or *bestowt*, etc. In fact, however, the English rule is *d*, and *t* is the exception. We have a few words like *dwelt*, *dealt*, *spelt*, *smelt*, *spilt*, *dreamt*, *learnt*, which it is customary to write and pronounce so, though *spelled*, *spilled*, *smelled*, *dreamed*, *learned*, are not out of fashion.—These being the facts, it is not difficult to come to a decision on the matter in question. Wherever in Milton we have a verb of the fourth category with a *t* for the præterite suffix, it will naturally be kept, to indicate that the pronunciation is to be *t* and not *d*. Instances of this, however, are not more numerous in his text than in our present practice: perhaps less numerous; for, though I find *learnt* I also find *learn'd*, and I find *dream'd* or *dream'd* three times, but never *dreamt*. The only doubt, then, is about præterites of verbs of the third category. The instances first quoted,—*vanquisht*, *markt*, *lookt*, *mixt*, *belcht*,—are, it will be observed, all of this category; and it is in such instances that Landor and other purists in spelling would not only preserve Milton's spelling in his own text; but imitate him themselves. Well, it is not a matter of necessity in order to direct to the pronunciation; for, as we have seen, let us write *vanquished*, *marked*, *looked*, *mixed*, *belched*, as persistently as we please, no English reader can pronounce them otherwise than *vanquisht*, *lookt*, etc. The sole intrinsic reason to be given, then, for the *t* spelling in such words is that it is phonetically truer, and at the same time more curt, than the other. If once, however, we raise the flag of phonetic accuracy in English spelling, there is a world more for us to do than write *lookt* and *mixt*, while our neighbours write *looked* and *mixed*. Still, in reprinting Milton, the plea might avail if he had himself been constant to his own supposed habit. But he was not so. His admirers in this minute matter, besides forgetting that any credit in it for a great part of his life belonged to the printers, have not sufficiently examined the original texts of his Poems. Not only there do we find many instances of the awkward suffix form '*t*' instead of simple *t*,—e.g. *plac't*, *provok't*, *eschp't*, *danc't*; we find also frequent aberrations into the *d* form of the suffix where the sound is, and cannot but be, *t*. If I find *plac't*, I also find *plac'd*; if I find *express*, I also find *express'd*; if I find *washt*, I also find *wash'd*; and so I find *pass'd*, *passd*, *march'd*, *lik'd*, *pluck'd*, *shriek'd*, *possess'd*, *ask'd*, *retrench'd*, etc. Are we to rectify all these into the *t* form, or are we to follow slavishly the texts in their reasonless changings from *t* to '*t*', and from both to *d* or '*d*', and back again? Surely the most sensible plan is to conform to present usage, and print uniformly *ed* in this category of præterites, unless where, as

does happen sometimes, the *t* form recommends itself by a subtle twitch of fitness at the moment: e.g. *P. L.*, VI. 580, where the cannon in Heaven are seen, and behind each

“ A Seraph stood, and in his hand a Reed
Stood waving *tipt* with fire.”

PECULIARITIES WORTH PRESERVING.

Highth: drouth: bearth.—The word *height*, spelt as now, occurs in the 1645 edition of the Minor Poems (*Arc.* 75); but, with a single exception, in every other of thirty-four occurrences of the word in Milton's poetry (twenty-six of them in *Par. Lost*, four in *Par. Reg.*, and three in *Sams. Ag.*) it is spelt *highth*. The single exception is at *P. L.*, IX. 167, where the spelling is *hight*. There can be no doubt that Milton approved of the spelling and pronunciation *highth* as indicating more correctly the formation of the word by the addition of the suffix *th* to the adjective *high*. He seems more dubious about the derivative verb, for he has once *hight'nd* (*P. L.*, VI. 629), and once *hight'nd* (*P. L.*, IX. 793).—The word *drought* does not occur in the poetry, but the form *drouth* four times and *droughth* once (*P. R.*, I. 325). It is to be inferred that Milton preferred the *th* termination of the word, whether it meant “thirst” (for which *drouth* is still a Scottish word) or “scarcity of water” (*Com.* 928).—Twice in the poetry we have the peculiar word *bearth*, viz. :—

“ Help to disburden Nature of her Bearth.”—*P. L.*, IX. 624.

“ Out of the tender mouths of latest bearth.”—*Ps.* VIII. 4.

In all modern editions the word in both places is printed *birth*. This seems improper. The word *birth*, so spelt, is frequent in the poetry; but in at least the first of the two instances of *bearth* the spelling seems to imply a peculiar meaning. It there means “collective produce.”

Souvan: harald.—That Milton's ear preferred the Italian form *souvan* (*souvano*) to the French form *sovereign*, which was the commoner in his time, as it is now, is evident from the fact that his original texts give us nineteen times *souvan*, thrice *sou'ran*, and once *soveran* (*Com.* 41), while only once have we *sou'raign* (*P. R.*, I. 84). So we have *souvantie* once and *sou'rantie* once.—In the Minor Poems we have *herald* and *heraldry* as now (*Lyc.* 89, *Od. Circ.* 10); but, whenever the word occurs in *Par. Lost*, it is in the form *harald*, from the Italian *haraldo* (I. 752, II. 518, XI. 660). In the single occurrence of the word after *Par. Lost* (*Par. Reg.*, II. 279) there is a relapse into *herald*. Milton probably thought the sound *harald* more heroic, and therefore more suitable for *Par. Lost*.

As examples of a few stray peculiarities take the following :—

For *charioteer* we have *charioter* (*P. L.*, VI. 390, *Od. Fair Inf.*, 8); and, though in both cases the pronunciation *charioteer* will suit, and in the second there is a temptation to that pronunciation by the rhyme *neer*, it is not unlikely that *chariotër* was the sound intended; for Milton uses the double *e* in *mountaneer* (*Com.* 426).—In the same line in which this last word occurs we have *bandite* for *bandit*, with a lengthened pronunciation of the second syllable.—Four times for *landscape* we have *lantskip* (*L'All.* 70, *P. L.*, II. 491, IV. 153, V. 142). The *t* is insignificant and awkward; but the *skip* is to be kept.—*Senteries* for *sentriës* occurs *P. L.*, II. 412, and is to be kept.—We have both *wreck* and *wrack* in Milton,—*wreck* *P. R.*, II. 228 and *S. A.* 1044; but more frequently *wrack* (so or as *rack*, *ship-wrackt*, etc.) The second, where it occurs, ought to be kept, as a genuine old form.—*Stupendious*, though a solecism or vulgarism now, cannot always have been so; for Richardson gives instances of it from Howell, Henry More, and Barrow. Milton has the word but twice, and both times as *stupendious* (*P. L.*, X. 351, *S. A.* 1627).—*Terf* or *terse* for *turf* is one of the spellings of Milton that have escaped notice. It cannot be accidental, for it occurs wherever the word is used in the poetry,—*i.e.* four times in all. The pronunciation seems to have been *terf* or *tirf*.

Voutsafe.—This is one of the quaintest peculiarities of Milton's spelling. Three times in the poetry we have our present spelling *vouchsafe* (*P. R.*, II. 210, *Ps.* LXXX. 14 and 30); but the word occurs seventeen times besides, and always as *voutsafe*, *voutsaf'st*, *voutsafes*, *voutsaf't*, *voutsaf'd*, or *voutsaft*. Now, as the word is compounded of *vouch* and *safe*, and as *vouchsafe*, *vouchsave*, or the like, with the *vouch* fully preserved, was the usual spelling of Milton's predecessors and contemporaries, he must have had a reason for the elliptical form *voutsafe*. I believe it was his dislike to the sound *ch*, or to that sound combined with *s*.—Milton evidently made a study of that quality of style which Bentham called "pronunciability." His fine ear taught him not only to seek for musical effects and cadences at large, but also to be fastidious as to syllables, and to avoid harsh or difficult conjunctions of consonants, except when there might be a musical reason for harshness or difficulty. In the management of the letter *s*, the frequency of which in English is one of the faults of the speech, he will be found, I believe, most careful and skilful. More rarely, I think, than in Shakespeare will one word ending in *s* be found followed immediately in Milton by another word beginning with the same letter; or, if he does occasionally pen such a phrase as "*Moab's sons*," it will be difficult to find in him, I believe, such a harsher example as *earth's substance*, of which many writers would think nothing. The same delicacy of ear is even more apparent in his management of the *sh* sound. He has

it often, of course, because it was often inevitable; but it may be noted that he rejects it in his verse when he conveniently can. He writes *Basan* for *Bashan* (*P. L.*, I. 398), *Sittim* for *Shittim* (*P. L.*, I. 413), *Silo* for *Shiloh* (*S. A.* 1674), *Asdod* for *Ashdod* (*S. A.* 981), etc. Still more, however, does he seem to have been wary of the compound sound *ch* as in *church*. Of his sensitiveness to this sound in excess there is a curious proof in his prose pamphlet entitled *An Apology against a Pamphlet called A Modest Confutation*, etc., where, having occasion to quote these lines from one of the Satires of his opponent, Bishop Hall,

"Teach each hollow grove to sound his love,
Wearying echo with one changeless word,"

he adds, ironically, "And so he well might, and all his auditory besides, with his *teach each*!" There can be little doubt, I think, that it was to avoid this *teach each* sound that he took the liberty of Miltonising the good old English word *vouchsafe* into *voutsafe*.

• There are some cases where, though there is no peculiarity in the spelling of Milton's texts, a difference of pronunciation is to be borne in mind. Such are his occasional differences from our present accentuation,—*aspéct* for *aspect*, *surfáce* for *surface*, *infámons* for *infamous*, *blasphémous* for *blasphemous*, *brigad* for *brigade*; and his occasional elongations of words,—as when he makes three syllables of *conscience*, five of *contemplation*, etc. As the metre itself will direct the reader in such cases, it is hardly necessary for the printer to mark them.

III. PECULIARITIES OF GRAMMATICAL INFLECTION.

Such of these as need be noticed here distribute themselves, of course, among the parts of speech subject to inflection. These we shall take in this order,—Noun, Adjective (with Adverb), Verb, Pronoun.

NOUN.

• Under the head of GENDER I have remarked nothing unusual; nor under the head of NUMBER anything more peculiar than the occasional spelling *childern*, already adverted to, and the occurrence once of the word *shoon* for *shoes* (*Com.* 635). There is a little more under CASE, as follows:—

• It has been already mentioned that the apostrophe in possessive cases is rare in Milton's text, but that occasionally, and chiefly in proper names, we do find our apostrophe in possessives, as in the examples already quoted,—"*Gaza's* frontier bounds," "*Meander's* margin," "*Neptune's* mace," etc. On the other hand, as we have

seen, the apostrophe is sometimes inserted not as a possessive mark at all, but merely as a plural mark: *hero's* for *heroes*, *myrtle's* for *myrtles*, *Gorgons and Hydra's*, etc.—In modern English, practice varies as to the possessive singular of nouns already ending in *s*. We say the *lass's beauty*; but we hear also *Mars' hill* (as in the English Bible, Acts xvii. 22); while such forms as *James' book*, *Burns' Poems*, *Dickens' Works*, *Lycurgus' Laws*, *Socrates' disciples*, *Aristophanes' comedies*, are common in writing and in printing, even where the pronunciations of the persons using them may be *James's book*, *Burns's Poems*, etc. The better way in writing would be the regular one, *James's book*, *Burns's Poems*, *Dickens's Works*, etc., though euphony in the case of words of more than two syllables might advise avoiding the inflection altogether by saying "the laws of Lycurgus," etc. Milton has *asses jaw* (i.e. in our spelling, *ass's jaw*); but his general practice in such words is not to double the *s*: thus *Nereus wrinkled look*, *Glaucus spell*. The necessities of metre would naturally constrain to such forms.—In a possessive followed by the word *sake* or the word *side* dislike to the double sibilant makes us sometimes drop the inflection. In addition to "for righteousness' sake" such phrases as "for thy name sake" and "for mercy sake" are allowed to pass; *bedside* is normal, and *river side* nearly so. Milton's practice in this respect is rather interesting. He is generally regular: e.g. he has (we insert the apostrophe and spell as now) *anger's sake*, *truth's sake*, *empire's sake*, *glory's sake*, *honour's sake*, *bellie's sake*; but he has also *goodness' sake* (Ps. VI. 8), "for intermission sake" (S. A. 1629), and the line "And for his Maker's image sake exempt" (P. L., XI. 514). So, though he has *brethren's side* (Od. Pas. 21) and *by mother's side* (P. R., II. 136 and III. 154), he has *forest side* (P. L., I. 782), "by mossy fountain side" (P. R., II. 184), and *thicket side* (Com. 185).

ADJECTIVE.

The line in *Lycidas* "Bring the *rathe* primrose that forsaken dies" presents us with the rare positive of our word *rather*. The positive *mickle* for *much* occurs once (Com. 31).—In Milton, as in other writers of his time, adjectives of two syllables and more, which we generally compare now by the expletives *more* and *most*, received sometimes the regular inflection for comparison: e.g. *famousest* (S. A. 982), *virtuosest* (P. L., VIII. 550), *exquisitest* (P. R., II. 346).—The curious double comparisons found in Shakespeare and others (*more braver*, *less happier*, *most unkindest*, etc.) are strange to Milton, unless *chiefest* is taken into the category.—It has already been noted that Milton does not use the word *farther* in his poetry, nor the word *furthest*, but only *further* and *farthest*, spelt so, or

sometimes ~~furder~~ and *fardest*. The *d* instead of the *th* may be regarded as an alternative old inflection.

VERB.

CONJUGATION.—*Bin* for *been* (see *ante*, p. 35), *spred* for *spread*, *wraught*, *saught*, etc., for *wrought*, *sought*, etc. (see *ante*, p. 36), may be regarded as mere varieties of spelling. Seven times in the poetry we have the word *wept* as now; but once, whether intentionally or not, the form is *weept* (*Ep. March. Winch.* 56). The præterite of the verb *eat* occurs but four times (*L'All.* 102, *P. L.*, IX. 781, *P. R.*, I. 352 and II. 274), never as *ate*, but each time in the form *eat*. That the pronunciation corresponded to the spelling seems proved by the first occurrence, where *eat* rhymes to *feat* :—

“ With stories told of many a feat,
How *Faery Mab* the junkets eat.”

In the past participles of those peculiar verbs which are themselves derived from Latin past participles, Milton, like Shakespeare and others, sometimes prefers the original Latin form to the elongated form with the *ed* suffix : e.g.,

“ Who ever by consulting at thy shrine
Return'd the wiser, or the more *instruct* ? ”—*P. R.*, I. 439.

“ What I can do or offer is *suspect*.”—*P. R.*, II. 399.

“ Which when Bēelzebub perceiv'd, then whom,
Satan *except*, none higher sat.”—*P. L.*, II. 300.

“ Of pleasure *situate* in Hill and Dale.”—*P. L.*, VI. 641.

“ But to destruction sacred and *devote*.”—*P. L.*, III. 208.

“ Bright effluence of bright essence *increate*.”—*P. L.*, III. 6.

Mr. Abbott, in his *Shakespearian Grammar*, quoting similar instances from Shakespeare and Bacon, includes them under a more general law. Quoting from Dr. Morris, he observes that it was not uncommon in Early English to drop the suffix for the past tense and the past participle in verbs, whether Latin or Anglo-Saxon, ending already in the sound of *d* or *t*; and he gives, as examples from Shakespeare, *acquit* for *acquitted*, *bloat* for *bloated*, *disjoint* for *disjointed*, *enshield* for *enshielded*, *graft* for *grafted*, *quit* for *quitted*, *taint* for *tainted*, *wed* for *wedded*, *waft* for *wafted*, *wet* for *wetted*, *whist* for *whisted* (i.e. *hushed*). Instances of this kind are, I think, rarer in Milton; but we find *uplift* for *uplifted* (*P. L.*, I. 193), *yield* standing probably for the past indicative *yielded* (*S. A.* 259), and (*Od. Nat.* 64) the Shakespearian *whist* for *whisted* :—

“ The windes with wonder *whist*
Smoothly the waters kist.”

The following are some other peculiarities in the conjugation of strong verbs, with references to passages:—

Sung for *sang*; *sprung* for *sprang*; *sunk* for *sank*; and *frore* for *frozen* (*P. L.*, II. 595); *shaked* for *shaken* (*Od. F. Inf.* 44); *shook* for *shaken* (*P. L.*, VI. 219); *stole* for *stolen* (*P. L.*, IV. 719); *took* for *taken* (*Com.* 558); *mistook* for *mistaken* (*Arc.* 4); *strook* for *struck* (*P. L.*, II. 165 and other places).

The Miltonic conjugations of *sing* and *strike* are especially interesting, and are discussed more minutely in the Notes to *P. L.*, III. 383 and *P. L.*, II. 165. •

Mr. Abbott informs us that the old participial prefix *y* (standing for the German *ge*) is found only two or three times in Shakespeare, as in *yclept*, *yclad*, *yslaked*. In Spenser, with his studied archaism, it is frequent. Milton has it but rarely,—*ychained* (*Od. Nat.* 155), *yclept* (*L'All.* 12). See notes on these passages: also on *rushy-fringed* (*Com.* 890), and *star-yppointing* (*On Shak.* 4).

INFLECTION FOR PERSON AND MOOD.—Once (*P. L.*, XI. 369) we have *slept* for *sleptst*; where, if it is not a misprint, the *t* is omitted for ease of sound.—Milton had learnt to prefer the *s* inflection, originally Northern English, to the *th* inflection, more South-English, for the third person singular indicative. Thus he has *loves*, rather than *loveth*; *brings*, for *bringeth*; *sees*, for *seeth*; *seems*, for *seemeth*. Occasionally, however, he has the *th* form: e.g. *singeth* (*L'All.* 65), *saith* (*Ps.* II. 11), *lieth* (*Ep. Hobs.* II. 1), *shewth* and *indw'ith* (*Sonnet* II.). He has *quoeth* twice (*Lyc.* 107 and *Ep. Hobs.* II. 17). *Hath* is incessant with him, while *has* is rather rare. *Doth* he is so far from avoiding that Todd's verbal index registers twenty-four occurrences of it against only one of *does* (*Com.* 223). He uses the verb *be* indicatively (e.g. *Com.* 12, "Yet some there *be*") as well as subjunctively (*L'All.* 132, "If Jonson's learned sock *be* on"), imperatively (*P. L.*, X. 769, "*Be* it so"), and infinitively (*P. L.*, X. 877, "longing to *be* seen").

PRONOUNS.

Like Shakespeare and others of our older writers, Milton employs the nominative plural form *ye* occasionally for "the objective *you*": e.g. *Com.* 216, "I see *ye* visibly," and 1020, "She can teach *ye* how to climb."—The form, *thir*, which he frequently substitutes for *their*, is a mere way of unemphatic spelling, and can hardly be regarded as commemorating the older *hira* and *hir*, the original possessives plural of the third personal pronoun, for which *their* came in by loan from the possessive plural of the demonstrative.—By far the most important inquiry, however, under the present head, relates

to Milton's use of the possessive singular of the third personal pronoun (which some grammarians now prefer to call the demonstrative pronoun of the third person) in its three gender forms, *his*, *her*, *its*.

HIS, HER, ITS :—The brunt of the inquiry falls on the form of *its*. This word, it is well known, is one of the greatest curiosities in the English language, not being a genuine old English word at all, but an upstart of the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, seldom used even then, or for a good while afterwards, and not fully admitted till the reign of Charles II. It may be well here to give its history a little more in detail. The best essays on the subject known to me are those of the late Professor Craik (*English of Shakespeare*, ed. 1859, pp. 97—104), the late Mr. Thomas Watts of the British Museum (quoted in Latham's *English Language*, ed. 1862, pp. 527—529), and Mr. W. Aldis Wright (*Bible Word-Book*, under the word *It*); but additional facts have been brought to light by Dr. Morris (*Early English Alliterative Poems*, Preface, xxvi., xxvii., and *Historical Outlines of English Accidence*, pp. 119—124). Farther research is even yet desirable, and every addition will help.

In the old English, called Anglo-Saxon, the third personal pronoun was declined thus :—

	<i>Singular.</i>			<i>Plural.</i>
	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	All Genders.
Nom.	<i>he</i>	<i>heo</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>hi</i>
Gen.	<i>his</i>	<i>hire</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>hira</i>
Dat. and Abl.	<i>him</i>	<i>hire</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>him</i>
Acc.	<i>hine</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>hi</i>

The neuter nominative and accusative, it will be seen, was *hit*, and the neuter possessive, as well as the masculine possessive, was *his*. But "neuter" in Anglo-Saxon did not mean precisely what it does in modern English. We have no proper grammatical recognition of gender in modern English nouns, but make all names for male living beings masculine, all names for females feminine, and all names for lifeless things neuter, except when we personify them. In old English, or Anglo-Saxon, however, just as in Greek and Latin, and modern German, there was a true grammatical distinction of gender, and the names of lifeless things were distributed into the three genders,—masculine, feminine, and neuter. Thus, *gást* (*breath* or *wind*) is masculine in Anglo-Saxon; and so, in John iii. 8, where our present version has, "The wind bloweth where *it* listeth, and thou hearest the sound *thereof*," the A.-S. has "*Gást* *qréthath* thar *he* wile, and thú gehýrst *his* stefne." Again, *Judea*, the name of the country, is feminine; and so, in Luke xxi. 21, where our version has "Then let them which are in Judea flee to the moun-

tains; and let them which are in the midst of *it* depart out," the A.-S. has "Thonne fleoth on muntas tha the on Judea synd; and nyther ne astigath tha the on *hyre* middele synd." Finally, *sæd* (a seed) and *treow* (a tree) are both neuter; and so, in Matt. xiii. 32, where our version, respecting the mustard seed, says, "Which indeed is the least of all seeds: but, when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches of *it*," the A.-S. has "Thæt is ealra sæda læst: sóthlice thonne *hit* wyxth, *hit* is ealra wyrta mæst, and *hit* wyrth treow; swá thæt hoofnan fuhlas cumath and eardiath on *his* bogum." Take another example. In Mark ix. 43—47, where our authorised version has "If thy hand offend thee, cut *it* off . . . and if thy foot offend thee, cut *it* off . . . and if thine eye offend thee, pluck *it* out," the neuter accusative *it* serving for all the three nouns, we read in the Anglo-Saxon thus:—"Gif thin hand thé swicath, ceorf *hi* of . . . and gif thin fót swicath thé, ceorf *hine* of . . . gif thin eage thé swicath, weorp *hit* út"; where the grammatical genders, in A.-S. of the three nouns, *hand* (fem.) *foot* (masc.) and *eye* (neut.), are precisely discriminated by the form of the accusative of the pronoun fitted to each. *

Like every other portion of English inflected speech, the third personal pronoun sustained remarkable changes in passing out of the old Englisc or Anglo-Saxon stage of the book-language into what is called Early English, or the book-English of the fourteenth century. Even in that century, however, there was no uniformity in the usage of different parts of the pronoun by English writers, each district or dialect having forms for some parts peculiar to itself. Chaucer, for example, persevered in the forms *her*, *hire*, or *hir*, for the possessive plural, and *hem* for the accusative plural, long after northern writers had adopted *their* and *them*. Perhaps not till the close of the fifteenth century, or the first half of the sixteenth, when compromises among the dialects for the formation of a standard book-speech had been pretty well completed, could a fixed declension of the pronoun for all literary England have been written down. Then, in our usual spelling, it stood as follows:—

	<i>Singular.</i>			<i>Plural.</i>
	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	All Genders.
Nom.	<i>he</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>they</i>
Gen.	<i>his</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>their</i>
Acc. and Dat.	<i>him</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>them</i>

On comparing this with the declension in the old literary Englisc or Anglo-Saxon, what had happened in the interval, it will be seen, consisted of three things:—1. *Neglect and confusion of Inflections.* This is seen in the loss of the proper old A.-S. accusative sing. masc.

hine (still traceable in such phrases in Devonshire and the south of England generally as "I seed 'en": "Heave a stone at 'en"); also in the loss of the old fem. acc. sing. *hi*, and of the old dative neut. *him* (which had been maintained till pretty late in some districts); and further in the extension of *him* from the dat. sing. masc. to the purposes of the acc. sing. masc. as well, so as to cover the lost *hine*, and the similar extension of *her* from the gen. and dat. sing. fem. to the acc. sing. fem., so as to cover the lost *hi*. II. *Interblending with other Pronouns*. This is seen in the substitution of *she* for the old nom. fem. sing. *heó*,—said *she* being the nom. fem. sing. of the old definite article, or demonstrative pronoun, *se*, *seó*, *that* (appropriated by northern writers for the purpose as early as the twelfth century, and passing through such variations as *seó*, *scho*, *sco*, *sce*, *sche*); and it is also seen in the substitution of the plural cases of that same definite article, or demonstrative pronoun,—*tha*, *thdra*, *thdm*, *tha*,—bodily, though with the usual corruption and confusion of inflections, for the cashiered old native plurals *hi*, *hira*, *him*, *hi*. This last substitution was introduced in the North in the thirteenth century; and Chaucer, as we have said, stood out against it, as far as the genitive and accusative cases were concerned. III. *The operation of the H-dropping Tendency*. This tendency, so natural to the Southern English, had plenty of scope in a pronoun all whose parts originally began with *h*. Even yet, in rapid colloquial speech, we hear, from persons in whom the h-dropping tendency is by no means pronounced, such phrases as "I did say it to 'im, but 'e drove me to it by 'is conduct to 'er"; and that the same habit was common long ago, not among uneducated persons merely, is proved by the fact that in Early English writings we find 'a as a distinct form for *he* (perpetuated in Dame Quickly's English, and other such English, in Shakespeare and the Elizabethans, e.g. "'a must needs," 2 *Hen. VI.* IV. 2), and 'em for *hem* or *them* (frequent even in the classical writing of Addison's time, e.g. "take 'em and wear 'em"). The stress of the tendency, however, fell on the neuter singular of the pronoun. The old A.-S. *hit* passed, in books, at first optionally, into *it*, but at last decidedly and conclusively into *it*. The dropping of the *h* in *hit* is as early as the twelfth century; in the fourteenth century *it* and *hit* are found competing with each other, some districts and dialects preferring one, and others the other; in Chaucer's texts both are found, though *it* predominates; but by the sixteenth century *hit* is obsolete in literature and *it* established. Not that the form *hit* had even then totally vanished. It seems to have persevered for some time in the vernacular of Lancashire and the Western Midlands generally; and it persists yet most strongly in the vernacular Scotch. In any village over a large part of Scotland to this day one hears continually from a schoolboy such phrases

as "That's *hit*" for "That's *it*," and this not from any casual insertion of the aspirate (which is a fault unknown in that region), but from the unbroken tradition of the genuine A.-S. *hit*. Even there, however, just as over all England, *it* has been substantially universal in book-speech since the sixteenth century.

How about the *possessive* or *genitive* forms of the pronoun between the fourteenth century and the sixteenth? So far there was no difficulty. *His*, the proper old masculine possessive, went with *he* (nom.) and *him* (acc.) for males; *her*, the proper old feminine possessive, went with *she* (nom.) and *her* (acc.) for females; and the arrangement has held good to our day. Where the difficulty came to be felt was in the case of the much more numerous neuter nouns, or names for all inanimate objects. *His* was still, theoretically, as we have marked it in the last declension, the proper neuter poss. sing. as well as the proper masc. poss. sing.; but practice and theory had begun to conflict. So long indeed as the *hit* form of the nominative or accusative neuter was kept up generally, or in any district, the difficulty hardly appeared. The old neuter possessive *his* could still vindicate itself by its obvious etymological connexion with *hit*. But, when the *h* was dropped, and *hit* became *it* generally or locally, there came a flutter among the grammarians. What had *his* to do with *it*? Was not *his* the masculine possessive, going properly with *he* and *him*? Why let *it*, which had not an *h* to show for itself, claim the same form? In this emergency we see a struggle of methods:—(1) To distribute the confusion by obliging the feminine form *her* to relieve the supposed masculine form *his* occasionally in the duty of serving as a possessive for *it*. The late Mr. Thomas Watts's quotations of Numbers iv. 9 from some of our versions of the Bible in chronological series are very pertinent here. In Wycliffe's Bible (1389) the text runs, "And thei shulen take the iacyntyn mantil with the which thei shulen cover the candelstik with the lanterns and *her* toonges and snyters." In the contemporary variety of Wycliffe's called Purvey's, however, we find "Thei schulen take also a mentill of iacynt with which thei schulen hile the candelstike with *hise* lanternes and tongis and snytels." In Tyndale's Pentateuch (1530) there is a return to *her* in the text and its continuation, thus: "And they shall take a cloth of iacynte and cover the candelsticke of light and *hir* lampes and *hir* snuffers and fyre pannes, and all *hir* oyle vessels which they occupye aboute *it*, and shall put upon *her* and op all *hir* instrumentes a coverynge of taxus skynnes, and put it upon staves." In Coverdale's version (1535) *his* reappears: "And they shal take a yalowe clothe and cover the candilstick of light therwith, and *his* lampes, with *his* snuffers and outquenchers." In Matthews's Bible (1537) we have the feminine again, "And, they shall take a cloth of iacincte, and

cover the candelstycke of lyght and *her* lampes and *her* snoffers and fyre panes." Finally, in our authorised version (1611), "And they shall take a cloth of blue, and cover the candlestick of the light, and *his* lamps, and *his* tongs, and *his* snuffdishes, and all the oil vessels thereof, wherewith they minister unto *it*." These vicissitudes of *his* and *her* in one passage seem clearly to prove that between the fourteenth century and the seventeenth *her* was allowed to compete with *his* in the office of possessive for the neuter *it*. Here we may detect, if we choose, a survival of the idea of grammatical gender, even in a case where the recollection of the Anglo-Saxon gender of a particular noun had perished; for *candel-stæf* and *candel-sticca*, the two words for "candlestick" in A.-S., are both masculine. (2) Another plan was to avoid giving *it* a possessive form at all, and resort to such substitutes as *of it*, *thereof*, or the repetition of the possessive of the noun designated by the pronoun. We have an example in Matth. xiii. 32, in the authorised version, where the old Englist *on his bogum*, or "on his boughs" (*i.e.* the boughs of the tree from the mustard-seed), is evaded and becomes "in the branches of it"; and another in John iii. 8 in the same version, where the Anglo-Saxon *thú gehýrst his* (*i.e.* the wind's) *stefne* becomes "thou hearest the sound *thereof*." (3) Still the need of a distinct possessive for *it* was felt; and, at length, a third plan was adopted. The hint for this plan seems to have been furnished by the dialect of the West Midlands (Lancashire, etc.) There, if not elsewhere in England, the habit of ignoring inflections in every possible case had been pushed so far as to bring about such phrases as "The King wife" for "the King's wife" (perpetuated perhaps in such occasional phrases yet as "hell-fire," "river-side," "Lady-day"), and the same habit had been extended to the neuter pronoun *hit*, so as to make it indeclinable, or the same for nominative, possessive, and accusative. "*Hit* dedes of dethe duren there yet" ("Its deeds of death endure there yet") and "Of *hit* woe will I wete" ("Of its woe will I wit") are examples quoted by Dr. Morris from English poems of that dialect in the fourteenth century; and he reports that this possessive use of *hit* is quite common in those poems. Now, by extension, this possessive use of *hit* was easily transferred, in other dialects, to the *it* which had become the substitute for *hit*; and thus, in the sixteenth century, if not earlier, the duties of the possessive case, in addition to those of the other two, were imposed on the simple *it*. Mr. Aldis Wright, in his *Bible Word-Book*, quotes instances from Udal's *Erasmus* (1548), and from the Geneva Bible (1579): *e.g.* "Love and devocion towards God also hath *it* infancie, and it hath *it* comying forward in groweth of age"; "The evangelicall simplicitee hath a politike cast of *it* owne too"; "The world hath *it* glorie." There is no doubt that such instances from

sixteenth century writings could be multiplied, and that *it* was then a rather favourite competitor in certain districts with *his*, *her*, *of it*, *thereof*, etc., for the place of the possessive neuter of the third personal pronoun. In the Lancashire dialect the idiom still lasts, "it mother" still passing there for "its mother." (4) But a possessive in *t* was an anomaly; and so there sprang up a fourth device. As *it* was a stray and seemingly kinless word, why not subject it to the common rule, and form a possessive for it by the ordinary plan of clapping on an *s*? As they said "*Kit's* hat," or "*Bet's* bonnet," why not say of the hat "it's band," or of the bonnet "it's ribbon"? The only impediment seemed to be that colloquially the form *it's* was in use for *it is*, as in the phrase "*it's true*." But then that could be got rid of by pronouncing and writing the contraction for *it is* in another way, '*its*,' so as to leave *it's* free for the new purpose. Accordingly we find *it's* as a possessive creeping into use late in the sixteenth century. Where, or by whom, it was first used will perhaps never be known. I should not wonder if the form was of northern origin, *s* being a favourite inflectional factotum in northern parts, and the form *it* having been adopted there for book-use, though *hit* was vernacular. The oldest instances of *it's* quoted by Mr. Aldis Wright are from Florio's *World of Wordes* (1598), and the same writer's *Montaigne* (1603); but, as instances are frequent there—"for it's owne sake," "science had it's of-spring," "doe it's best," "it's name," etc.—it seems likely that Florio only confirmed a previous custom. At all events, the mongrel had been born in Florio's time, and had begun a career more remarkable than has fallen to the chance of perhaps any other word in the English language.

The career, as we now know, was to end in absolute victory. *Its* has become the established neuter possessive of the third personal pronoun in English; it is so habitual a word with us that it is almost sure to occur once or twice in any few continuous sentences; we are puzzled to think how it could ever have been opposed, or how people could have got on without it. And yet it *was* opposed; it had to fight its way, and beat its competitors by long effort and trial; and it was not till late in the seventeenth century that the victory was finally won. The further history of the word as far as 1674, the date of Milton's death, is all that concerns us here.

In our authorised version of the Bible (1611) the word *its* does not once occur. In one passage in our modern copies, indeed (Levit. xxv. 5), we read "That which groweth of *its* own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reap"; but this is a printer's substitution for the text of the original edition, "That which groweth of *it* owne accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reape." While in this passage the authorised version uses that now obsolete possessive form *it*

which we have marked as the *third* method in ^cour historical enumeration, the prevailing methods there are the *first* and *second*. Evasion by "*of it*," "*thereof*," etc., is common enough; but, where the evasion is not resorted to, the true old form *his*, without recourse to the alternative *her*, is the rule. Whether this was from a cognisance of the fact that *his* was the true old neuter form, as well as the masculine, it might be difficult to determine. The example already given from Numbers iv. 9—"the candlestick of the light, and *his* lamps, and *his* tongs, and *his* snuffdishes, and all the oil vessels thereof, wherewith they minister unto *it*"—rather suggests that it was; and so do Gen. i. 11, "The fruit-tree yielding fruit after *his* kind, whose seed is in itself," and the phrase, Luke xiv. 34, "If the salt have lost *his* savour, wherewith shall *it* be seasoned?" In any case, the utter omission of the word *its* from the authorised version, though that word was already in existence in London, seems to prove that it was not considered sufficiently respectable for an elevated purpose.

Nevertheless, the word was pushing itself into use at that time colloquially, and in popular, and especially dramatic, literature. Shakespeare's practice with respect to it may be taken as significant of what was going on around him. Mr. Aldis Wright finds the possessive form *it* in the First Folio exactly fifteen times, and the form *its* exactly ten times; and he quotes (*Bible Word-Book*) all the instances of each. Shakespeare, he proves, accepted *its* as a word that might be used occasionally, and that sometimes recommended itself by a necessity or a kind of emphatic fitness. Overwhelmingly predominant, however, in his text is the continued use of *his* where we should now employ *its*. Hardly a page or two of any good edition, when carefully read, but will furnish an example. Thus:—

"When yond same star that's westward from the pole
Had made *his* course to illume that part of heaven
Where now *it* shines."—*Hamlet*, I. i.

"Give thy thoughts no tongue,
Nor any unproportioned thought *his* act."—*Ibid.* I. 3.

"The summer's flower is to the summer sweet,
Though to *itself* *it* only live and die;
But, if that flower with base infection meet,
The basest weed outbraves *his* dignity."—*Sonnet* xciv.

"Since I left you, mine eye is in my mind;
And that which governs me to go about
Doth part *his* function and is partly blind,
Seems seeing, but effectually is out;
For *it* no form delivers to the heart
Of bird, of flower, or shape, which *it* doth latch:
Of *his* quick objects hath the mind no part,
Nor *his* own vision holds what *it* doth catch."—*Sonnet* cxiii.

"Since *nature* cannot choose *his* origin,"—*Hamlet*, I. 4.

There are also instances in Shakespeare of *her* where we should now use *its*, though these are rarer, and in some of them one may detect a tinge of that personifying mode of thought which might suggest *her* now in similar cases: *e.g.*—

“Let virtue be as wax,
And melt in *her* own fire.”—*Hamlet*, III. 4.

“For holy offices I have a time; a time
To think upon the part of business which
I bear i’ the state; and nature does require
Her times of preservation.”—*Henry VIII.*, III. 2.

Some instances of *its* have been produced, I believe, from Bacon; and it has been found in Sylvester’s *Du Bartas* (1605), and not unfrequently in Ben Jonson, and the dramatists and other popular writers of the reigns of James and Charles I. I have myself come upon it easily enough in the prose and verse of Drummond of Hawthornden between 1616 and 1630, sometimes in cases where a contemporary southern writer would pretty surely have used *his*; I have, on the whole, an impression that the northern writers and speakers of that time used it more frequently than the southern; but, as I have found it in the title of a London book of 1651 in so emphatic a form as this, “England’s Deliverance from the Northern Presbyter compared with *it*’s deliverance from the Roman Papacy,” and as I have also found it apparently quite at home in Sir Henry Vane’s mystical treatise “*The Retired Man’s Meditations*,” published in 1655, and in other writings of that date, I cannot doubt that the word was quite an acceptable one in London in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The exact position of the word in England in the beginning of Charles’s reign is perhaps best indicated in Butler’s *English Grammar* of 1633. There it distinctly figures as a recognised word; for Butler, in his table of the Possessives of the three Personal Pronouns, at p. 40, gives them, in due form, thus:—(1) *Sing.* MY, *Plur.* OUR; (2) *Sing.* THY, *Plur.* YOUR; (3) *Sing.* HIS, HER, ITS, *Plur.* THEIR. Yet the reader is staggered by Butler’s own practice in the pages of this very Grammar. Thus, speaking of the letter W, he writes, “W hath taken *his* name, not of *his* force, as other letters, but of *his* shape, which consisteth of two U’s.” Again he writes, “A vowel hath a perfect sound, without the help of another letter: and therefore *his* only force or sound is *his* name.” So one of his sections is headed “Of a Verb: 1, Of *His* Cases and other Accidents.” I have indeed met in his Grammar the phrase “What an eas and certainti it wolde bee, both to the readers and writers, that every letter were content with *his* own sound”; and there may be other such examples: but certainly *his* came more naturally to him than *its*.

What of Milton? By diligent search one may come, here and there, on an *its* in his prose-writings; but that even in his prose he disliked and avoided the form seems proved by such passages as the following in his Elementary Latin Grammar entitled *Accidence Commen't Grammar* (published in 1669, though doubtless written long before):—"The Superlative exceedeth *his* Positive in the highest degree, as *-durissimus*, hardest; and it is formed of the first case of *his* Positive that ends in *is*, by putting thereto *simus*"; "There be three Concords or Agreements: The first is of the Adjective with *his* Substantive; The Second is of the Verb with *his* Nominative Case; The Third is of the Relative with *his* Antecedent." Here, it will be observed, Milton exactly conforms to Butler in 1633, or is even more resolute for the use of *his* as a true neuter possessive than Butler had been. Let us pass, however, from Milton's prose to his poetry.

In Milton's poetry, I believe, it has been definitely ascertained, he uses the word *its* only three times, viz. *Od. Nat.* 106, *Par. Lost*, I. 254, and *Par. Lost*, IV. 813. Here are those three memorable passages:—

- "Nature that heard such sound
Beneath the hollow round
Of *Cynthia's* seat, the Airy region thrilling,
Now was almost won
To think her part was don,
And that her reign had here *its* last fulfilling;
She knew such harmony alone
Could hold all Heav'n and Earth in happier union."—*Od. Nat.* 101—108.
- "Hail horrors, hail
Infernal world, and thou profoundest Hell
Receive thy new Possessor: One who brings
A mind not to be chang'd by Place or Time.
The mind is *its* own place, and in it self
Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n."—*Par. Lost*, I. 250—255.
- "Him thus intent *Ithuriel* with his Spear
Touch'd lightly; for no falshood can endure
Touch of Celestial temper, but returns
Of force to *its* own likeness: up he starts
Discover'd and surpriz'd."—*Par. Lost*, IV. 810—814.

Three times, therefore, in his whole life did Milton use the word *its* in his poetry,—once about Christmas-day 1629, when he was one-and-twenty years of age; and twice between 1658 and 1665, when he was between his fiftieth year and his fifty-seventh. If the passages are studied, it will be seen that there was a certain necessity for using *its* in each case. *Her* in the first passage would have been ambiguous between "Nature" and "reign"; and, though *his* might have passed, hardly well. In the second passage *his* would have been ambiguous between the speaker, Satan, and "mind"; and,

though *her* might have passed, it would have been with a loss of the emphasis implied in *its*. In the third passage, *his* would again have been ambiguous between the person, Satan, and the abstract noun "falsehood"; and, though *her* might have passed, it would have personified "falsehood" rather incongruously with the occasion,—which is Satan's return to his own shape, not a feminine one, at the touch of Ithuriel's spear.—The only wonder is that a similar stress of meaning and context did not oblige Milton to write or dictate *its* much more frequently.

How does he get on without it? Marvellously well. In the first place, the very idea of peculiar mental turn or act involved in the word *its* or its equivalents (*of it*, *thereof*, etc.) was somehow far rarer in the writing of Milton's time than it is in writing now. Mr. Craik's remark on this subject is both true and acute. "The most curious thing of all in the history of the word *its*," he says, "is the extent to which, before its recognition as a word admissible in serious composition, even the occasion for its employment was avoided or eluded. This is very remarkable in Shakespeare. The very conception which we express by *its* probably does not occur once in his works for ten times that it is to be found in any modern writer. So that we may say the invention, or adoption, of this form has changed not only our English style, but even our manner of thinking." What Mr. Craik here says of Shakespeare is true of Milton. Perhaps it is even truer of Milton. That he was much more chary of the use of the word *its* than Shakespeare had been appears from the fact that, though Shakespeare had used the word ten times before 1616, Milton in his literary life, stretching from 1625 to 1674, used it in his poetry but three times. But even of the substitutes or equivalents he is chancier than Shakespeare. The odd possessive form *it*, found in Shakespeare fifteen times, is not found in Milton's poetry once. The word *thereof*, if Todd's verbal index is to be trusted, occurs but seven times, all in *Paradise Lost*. In not one of these occurrences, however, does the word stand for our possessive *its*, but only for "*of it*" in a different sense from *its*; and indeed six of them are mere quotations of the Scripture text, "In the day that thou eatest thereof." In short, for the expression of our conception *its* in a single word, when he did want to express it, Milton confined himself, even more strictly than Shakespeare, to the alternative of *his* or *her*.

● On the whole, *her* seems to have been Milton's favourite. Here are a few examples:—

"His form had not yet lost
All *her* Original brightness."—*P. L.*, I. 592.

"Th' ascending pile
Stood fixt *her* stately highth."—*P. L.*, I. 723.

"Th' Ethereal mould
Incapable of stain would soon expel
Her mischief."—*P. L.*, II. 141.

"This Desert soile
Wants not *her* hidden lustre, Gemms and Gold."—*P. L.*, II. 271.

"If I that Region lost, }
All usurpation thence expell'd, reduce
To *her* original darkness."—*P. L.*, II. 984.

But, though Milton uses *her* for our *its* (sometimes with an approach to personification, but not always) in cases where Shakespeare would have used *his*, Mr. Craik is wrong, I think, in saying that his personifications by *his* are rare, and still more wrong in saying he "never uses *his* in a neuter sense." Surely, the grammatical terms *Superlative*, *Adjective*, *Verb*, and *Relative*, are neuter enough; and yet to each of these, as we have seen, Milton fits the word *his*. But take a few examples from his poetry:—

- "The Thunder,
Wing'd with red Lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath spent *his* shafts."—*P. L.*, I. 176.
- "Southward through *Eden* went a River large,
Nor chang'd *his* course."—*P. L.*, IV. 224.
- "the neather Flood,
Which from *his* darksome passage now appeers."—*Ibid.* 232.
- "There stood a Hill not far whose griesly top
Belch'd fire and rowling smoak; the rest entire
Shon with a glossie scurff, undoubted sign
That in *his* womb was hid metallic Ore,
The work of Sulphur."—*P. L.*, I. 673.
- "It was a Mountain at whose verdant feet
A spacious plain outstretch't in circuit wide
Lay pleasant; from *his* side two rivers flow'd."—*P. R.*, III. 255.
- "Error by *his* own arms is best evinc't."—*P. R.*, IV. 235.

Here is a passage in which *his* and *her*, both in a neuter sense, are companions:—

"O that torment should not be confin'd
To the bodies wounds and sores
With maladies innumerable
In heart, head, brest, and reins;
But must secret passage find
To th' inmost mind,
There exercise all *his* fierce accidents,
And on *her* purest spirits prey!"—*S. A.* 612, 613.

"This little Essay on the history of the word *Its* in connexion with Milton may be concluded with a practical application.

In the Library of the British Museum there is a copy of the tiny First (1645) edition of Milton's *Minor Poems*, on the blank

page at the end of which some old possessor of the volume has left written, in minute handwriting, the following piece of verse. We print it in our present spelling :—

“ AN EPITAPH.

He whom Heaven did call away
Out of this hermitage of clay
Has left some relics in this urn
As a pledge of his return.
Meanwhile the Muses do deplore
The loss of this their paramour,
With whom he sported ere the day
Budded forth its tender ray.
And now Apollo leaves his lays,
And puts on cypress for his bays ;
The sacred sisters tune their quills
Only to the blubbering rills,
And while his doom they think upon
Make their own tears their Helicon,
Leaving the two-topt mount divine
To turn votaries to his shrine.

Think not, reader, me less blest,
Sleeping in this narrow cist,
Than if my ashes did be hid
Under some stately pyramid.
If a rich tomb makes happy, then
That bee was happier far than men
Who, busy in the thymy wood,
Was fettered by the golden flood,
Which from the amber-weeping tree
Distilleth down so plenteously ;
For so this little wanton elf
Most gloriously enshrined itself—
A tomb whose beauty might compare
With Cleopatra's sepulchre.

In this little bed my dust
Incurtained round I here intrust,
While my more pure and nobler part
Lies entombed in every heart.

Then pass on gently, ye that mourn ;
Touch not this mine hollowed urn.
These ashes which do here remain
A vital tincture still retain ;
A seminal form within the deeps
Of this little chaos sleeps ;
The thread of life untwisted is
Into its first consistencies ;
Infant nature cradled here
In its principles appear ;
This plant thus calcined into dust
In its ashes rest it must,
Until sweet Psyche shall inspire
A softening and prolific fire,
And in her fostering arms enfold

This heavy and this earthy mould.
 Then as I am I'll be no more.
 But bloom and blossom [as] b[efore],
 When this cold numbness shall retreat
 By a more than chemic heat."

Subscribed, immediately under the last line, are two initials, the first unfortunately so blurred by the Museum Library stamp that it cannot be distinctly made out, but the second distinctly "M"; and appended is the date "10^{ber} 1647," i.e. "December 1647."

My acquaintance with these lines dates from about 1858, when, having occasion to consult the volume containing them, I read them and took a note of them. Knowing the handwriting not to be Milton's, and seeing no reason otherwise for believing Milton to be the author, I thought nothing more necessary at the time; but in May 1866, recurring to the volume for another purpose, I thought it as well to make a copy of the pretty little curiosity, leading it in my note-book "Copy of MS. lines, in a contemporary hand (not Milton's) on the fly-page at the end of a copy of Milton's Poems, edit. 1645, in Brit. Mus. (press-mark 238 h. 5)." Thinking it not unlikely that the blurred first initial might be "J" I added "J. M." as the subscribed initials, 'only attaching a query to the "J" to signify uncertainty.

My friend, Mr. Henry Morley, Professor of English Literature in University College, London, chancing afterwards to consult the same volume, was also attracted by the lines, and, not doubting that the handwriting was Milton's, and that the signature was "J. M.," very naturally concluded that the piece was a hitherto unknown poem by Milton, written by him for preservation, in Dec. 1647, in one of his copies of his volume of Minor Poems printed two years before. He communicated it, therefore, to the *Times* newspaper, where it was published under the title "An unpublished Poem by Milton," and with the signature as "J. M.," on the 16th of July 1868. Immediately there arose a controversy on the subject, which lasted some weeks. The controversy took a wide range, and passed at length into a mere cloud of verbal criticism, with illustrative quotations from old poets, only slightly relevant to the real question. Important and relevant evidence on the negative side, however, did come out at once. Mr. Bond and Mr. Rye of the British Museum and Mr. W. Aldis Wright of Cambridge, with other authorities, at once declared the handwriting *not* to be Milton's,—to be so different from Milton's that it was inconceivable how any one acquainted with Milton's hand could possibly mistake the one for the other. It was found also, on close examination of the dubious initial of the signature, that it was most probably not a "J"; and Mr. Bond made so sure that it was a *P* that, in sending to the *Times* (July 30) an

exact transcript of the original, letter for letter, he gave the subscription as positively "*P. M.*, 10th, 1647." These items of evidence at once arrested the tendency to agree with Mr. Morley in ascribing the poem to Milton. Nevertheless, as people had taken a liking for the quaint little thing itself, argument for the possibility of its being Milton's did not wholly cease; and I believe there are still some persons who think that, after all, it *may* be Milton's.

This is not the place for renewing the controversy in its whole extent; and I need only repeat my conviction that the sum of the evidence, external and internal, taken in every possible form of both kinds, is absolutely conclusive against the hypothesis that the poem is Milton's. One item of the internal argument, however, does concern us here. It may be called the argument from the *its* test. I proposed this test at the time, and I still rely upon it.

We have seen Milton's habit in respect of the word *its*. We have seen how wonderfully he eludes the very necessity for using such a word, how the word occurs but three times in all his poetry, and how in every other case, where the necessity for such a word is not eluded, he uses *his* or *her* where we should now use *its*. How stands the Epitaph in this respect? It consists of but fifty-four lines, and yet the word *its* occurs four times in it:—

- " Ere the day
Budded forth *its* tender ray."
" The thread of life untwisted is
Into *its* first consistencies."
" Infant nature cradled here
In *its* principles appear."
" This plant thus calcined into dust
In *its* ashes rest it must
Until sweet Psyche," etc.

Now, if the professed date of the Epitaph had been some date before the end of the sixteenth century, and if the question had been as to the authenticity of the Epitaph as professing to be of such a date, these four occurrences of *its* in it would have proved it to be a forgery. The Chatterton antiques fell before this test among others. The question, however, is not whether the poem is a genuine production of somebody in 1647. That is not denied. The word *its*, as we have seen, had crept pretty widely into use by that time, and was favoured in particular districts and by particular writers; and the Epitaph, were it nothing else, would be an interesting additional illustration of the fact. But the *its* starts into great consequence when it is proposed to attribute the piece to Milton. Can it be supposed that a pronominal form which occurs but *three* times in the whole body of Milton's poetry, ranging over the entire fifty years of his literary life from 1624 to 1674, should occur *four* times in a

single piece of fifty-four lines written by him some hour in December 1647? Mr. Morley suggests that, whatever was Milton's general habit, the exigencies of the thought and syntax in this particular piece required the four occurrences of the word *its*. This, however, would but alter the form of the marvel. How was it that the very necessity for the use of the word, though Milton felt it but *three times* at long intervals through the rest of fifty years, came upon him with such resistless force in one fell hour in December 1647 as to extract from him then *four* repetitions of the word? But I deny that there was in fact any such exigency in this piece as to require Milton to depart from his custom of *his* or *her*. Take the first occurrence of *its* in the piece:—

“ With whom he sported ere the day
Budded forth *its* tender ray.”

Here I do not see that the very flight ambiguity that might arise from the use of *his* would have prevented Milton from using that form, as he has in *Comus*, 977-8:—

“ And those happy climes that lie
Where day never shuts *his* eye.”

Take, again, the third instance, with its abominable grammar—

“ Infant nature cradled here
In *its* principles appear.”

Here it would surely have been more natural for Milton to use *her*. Thus, *Par. Lost*, II. 911:—

“ The womb of Nature, and perhaps *her* grave.”

For, in this case, in face of the fact that the writer almost *personifies* “nature” by the epithet “infant” and the image “cradled,” how can one find a reason for the use of *its* in a supposed desire of the writer strongly to indicate lifelessness or sexlessness? Such a subtlety might apply better in the other two cases:—

“ The thread of life untwisted is
Into *its* first consistencies.”

“ This plant thus calcined into dust
In *its* ashes rest it must.”

I have found no passage in Milton in which “thread” occurs in a connexion to show whether he would have used *his* or *her* with it. Nor for “plant” either have I found any such passage, unless this (*Can.* 620—623) be one:—

“ well-skilled
In every virtuous plant and healing herb
That spreads *her* verdant leaf to the morning ray.”

In short, the Epitaph must have been written by one of those persons

in Britain in 1647 who had adopted the word *its* regularly into their vocabulary, and whose thinking had taken on the peculiar syntactical trick which familiarity with the word prompts and facilitates. Milton, most conspicuously, was not one of those persons.

IV. SYNTAX AND IDIOM.

Prefixed to Dr. E. A. Abbott's excellent *Shakespearian Grammar* is a little essay, in which the author sums up his observations of the differences between Elizabethan English and the present English. Although he includes all parts of Grammar, the stress of his remarks is on what we here call Syntax and Idiom.

"Elizabethan English, on a superficial view, appears to present "this great point of difference from the English of modern times, "that in the former any irregularities whatever, whether in the "formation of words or in the combination of words into sentences, "are allowable."—Such is Mr. Abbott's general proposition; and he goes on to class under two heads the most notable of the so-called "irregularities":—I. "In the first place, almost any part of speech "can be used as any other part of speech. An adverb can be used "as a verb, 'They *askance* their eyes'; as a noun, 'the *backward* "and abysm of time'; or as an adjective, 'a *seldom* pleasure.' Any "noun, adjective, or neuter verb can be used as an active verb. "You can '*happy*' your friend, '*malice*' or '*foot*' your enemy, or " '*fall*' an axe on his neck. An adjective can be used as an adverb, "and you can speak and act '*easy*,' '*free*,' '*excellent*'; or as a noun, "and you can talk of '*fair*' instead of 'beauty,' and '*a pale*' instead "of 'a paleness.' . . ." II. "In the second place, every variety of "apparent grammatical inaccuracy meets us:—*he* for *him*, *him* for " *he*; *spoke* and *took* for *spoken* and *taken*; plural nominatives with "singular verbs; relatives omitted where they are now considered "necessary; unnecessary antecedents inserted; *shall* for *will*, *should* "for *would*, *would* for *wish*; *to* omitted after 'I ought,' inserted "after 'I durst'; double negatives; double comparatives and super- "latives; *such* followed by *which*, *that* by *as*; *as* used for '*as if*,' " *that* for '*so that*'; and, lastly, some verbs apparently with two "nominatives, and others without any nominative at all. To this "long list of irregularities it may be added that many words, and "particularly prepositions and the infinitives of verbs, are used in a "sense different from the modern."—Some of Mr. Abbott's accompanying explanations are worth remembering. He points out that the origin of some of the apparent anomalies of the Elizabethan idiom is to be sought for farther back, in the earlier state of the

native speech, and that, in fact, though English had by Shakespeare's time shaken off most of its once abundant inflections, and was ready to shake off such as remained, yet the old grammar survived in certain strong radical mechanisms, to which all the new matter of the composite and still growing vocabulary had to adjust itself, and also in a lingering habit, or blind occasional trick, of inflections that had been forgotten. He calls attention to the wealth and variety of matter with which, in the age of Elizabeth, this apparatus of speech, and the English mind that owned it, had to deal. There were not only the hereditary notions, and those already imported and represented in the Romance and other additions to the old native vocabulary; there were also the new thoughts and feelings bred by the energetic inquiries, actions, and discoveries of the age itself. Especially, there was an influx of new knowledge, including new ideas and speculations about language itself, and about scholarship and literary taste, from those classical studies which had been recently revived, and from the translations of Latin and Greek authors which had become common. Here was certainly a vast strain upon the grammatical apparatus; and some of the effects can be marked. What of the influence of classical studies in particular? Mr. Abbott is of opinion that it was confined mainly "to single words and to the rhythm of the sentence," and that the syntax remained English. In saying this, however, he recognises within the word "English" a certain spirited power of the English writers of the Elizabethan time to make syntax bend to their whim or will. Hence anomalies in the Elizabethan style, especially redundancies and ellipses, that cannot be otherwise accounted for. "Clearness," says Mr. Abbott, "was preferred to grammatical correctness, and brevity both to correctness and clearness. Hence it was common to place words in the order in which they came uppermost in the mind, without much regard to syntax; and the result was a forcible and perfectly unambiguous, but ungrammatical, sentence." For the rest, though Mr. Abbott admits that the *regularising* of the English syntax and idiom which has gone on from Elizabeth's time to this has been a natural process, determined by that law of specialisation of function or division of labour which holds among words as among other things, and one form of which is the passing of the real and literal into the merely algebraic and symbolic, he yet regrets some of the results. "For freedom, for brevity, and for vigour," he says, "Elizabethan is superior to modern English"; and, after recapitulating his previous observations, and adding, as yet one other influence in the formation of the Elizabethan book-English, a certain humorsome deference of the popular writers to the spoken idiom round them, with its colloquialisms and rapid contractions, he concludes that all causes together "combined to give a liveliness and wakefulness to Shakespearian

"English which are wanting in the grammatical monotony of the present day."

This general conclusion may be disputed. Take Shakespeare away, and there have certainly been English writers of the present century as great, as strong, as lively, as racy, as any of the Elizabethans. Add the irregularities and flashing freedoms of syntax to be found in the writings of such men, the true compeers of the higher Elizabethans, to the irregularities of a different kind diffused through that public slipshod to which a great deal of the lower Elizabethan literature really corresponds, and it may be doubted whether "grammatical monotony" is yet our characteristic. Indeed, many of those very Elizabethanisms which Mr. Abbott has noted so carefully in the body of his work, and which our strict School Grammars now ignore as obsolete, are *not* obsolete at all, but will be found current yet in conversation and in books, if we choose to look for them. Nor are some of the details of Mr. Abbott's philological exposition free from exception. Apart from these, however, his description of the actual Elizabethan English is the best yet given, and even in the few sentences we have quoted from it there is the essence of much exact information, acquired by no superficial survey, but by a careful collection and study of instances.

Well, the Elizabethan syntax, such as Mr. Abbott has described it, was that which Milton inherited. Though he was but beginning to speak, read, and write, when Shakespeare died, and though his life stretched forward sixty years from that point, Shakespeare's syntax, in its main features, is to be traced through all his English writings. All or most of those irregularities or apparent anomalies of idiom which Mr. Abbott has enumerated as, most essentially Elizabethan or Shakespearian might be illustrated also by examples from Milton.

With all this, however, and without denying that freedom, ease, and alertness from moment to moment, were qualities of the Elizabethan syntax, one may venture at once on the assertion that one of the most marked characteristics of Milton from first to last was his adoption and use of a highly disciplined syntax. One cannot pass from a reading in Spenser or a reading in Shakespeare to any of Milton's poems without a feeling of the fact. Accuracy, disciplined accuracy, is discernible in the word-texture of all his poems. There is, however, a gradation chronologically. In the Minor Poems, grace, harmony, sweetness, and beauty of image and colouring, all but veil the strictness of the purely logical connexion of idea with idea and clause with clause. Sometimes even, as in parts of *Comus*, the Shakespearian syntax seems to suffice, or the syntax seems as easy as the Shakespearian, and it is only the unfailing perfection of the finish, with perhaps a greater slowness in the movement, that

suggests the presence of a something different. When it is inquired what this is, one can only say, in reading the more level passages, that it consists in a greater scholarliness, a more habitual consciousness that there is a thing called syntax to trouble writers at all. One remembers here Milton's treatise of Latin Grammar, entitled *Accedence commen't Grammar*. "Syntaxis or Construction," he there says, "consisteth either in the agreement of words together in "number, gender, case, and person, which is called *Concord*, or the "governing of one the other in such case or mood as is to follow." Shakespeare, of course, knew as much, and could have discoursed about Syntaxis as well as about any other subject, if necessary; but, in fact, he had left his Syntaxis behind him at Stratford Grammar School, and went through the world practising Syntaxis without thinking about Syntaxis. *Not so Milton. *Concord* and *government* were ideas of his daily drill, and, when he wrote English, he carried them with him. Hence that scholarly care rather than mere Shakespearian ease which we discern in the style of his Minor Poems, even where the ease is greatest. Then we may call it *finish*. Even in those Minor Poems, however, when the thought becomes more powerful or complex, the syntax passes farther away from the Shakespearian, and what was finish before becomes *weight* or *musical density*. Some of the most Miltonic passages in the Minor Poems exhibit this density of syntax. In the series of Sonnets written between 1640 and 1660 the density is even more apparent, from the necessary stringency of the Sonnet form itself; and these, like a chain of islets, bring us from the earlier poems to the great poems of the later life. In *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, the Miltonic, in syntax as in all else, is seen at its fullest. It is in them that Milton's most formed syntax is to be studied. Variety, no doubt! Parts and passages of rich, or even sweet and simple beauty, as in the earlier poems, and where still the effect of the disciplined accuracy of idiom is that of consummate finish! Other parts and passages, however, where the close syntactical regulation takes, as before, the form of compact musical weight! Finally, passages and parts which so pass all previous bounds, both in length of sentence and in multiplicity of ideas to be organised into one sentence, that Milton's syntactical art is taxed to its utmost, and even then, but for the harmonising majesty of the verse, the resulting structure might be called not dense merely, but *contorted* or *gnarled*!

But we may be more precise. That highly-disciplined syntax which Milton favoured from the first, and to which he tended more and more, was, in fact, the classical syntax, or, to be more exact, an adaptation of the syntax of the Latin tongue. It could hardly fail to be so. The very notion of a syntax, or system of concord and

government among words, seems to belong only to an inflected language; for what is concord but amicable correspondency of inflection, or government but enforced variation of inflection? It is only because English retains a few habits of inflection still that it can be said to have a syntax at all in any other sense than that of a usual way of ordering or arranging words; and, even now, questions in English syntax are often settled best practically, if a settlement is wanted, by a reference to Latin construction. If I say "Admitting that you are right, you will be blamed," or if I even venture on so hideous a variety of the same form as "Proceeding half a mile along the pathway, a magnificent cascade burst into view," who is to check me, or who is likely to check me, if it be not one who thinks of concord in the Latin participle and is shocked accordingly? Hence, in fact, the unrelated or misrelated participle is by far the most common form of English slipshod at the present day. In Shakespeare's time, too, or in Milton's, any weakness in the native syntactical instinct that had come down from the times of the highly-inflected Old English either had to remain a weakness, an easy tolerance of variety, or had to be remedied by an importation of rule from the Latin. Now, whatever Shakespeare did on such occasions (and decided Latinisms in construction are very rare in *him*), Milton did import rule from the Latin. Even in his Minor Poems, where the syntax is most like the easy native syntax of Shakespeare and the Elizabethans, Latin constructions and idioms, and even positive flakes of translated Latin, may be detected. But the Latinism grew upon him, and its increase seems to have kept pace with that very progress of his syntax, from scholarly finish to compact musical density, and so to occasional gnarled complexity, which we have described. In his middle life, it is to be remembered, Milton was a writer of great prose-pamphlets of laboured Latin, intended for European circulation. It was after this rebaptism in Latin that he returned to English in his *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson*. Need we wonder that, for this among other reasons, the Latinism of his English style there attained its maximum? Such, at all events, is the fact.

An example or two will verify what has been said. Let the scholarly reader observe microscopically the syntax of the following passages from *Paradise Lost*:—

"This was at first resolved,

If we were wise, against so great a foe
 Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.
 I laugh when those who at the spear are bold
 And venturous, if that fail them, shrink, and fear
 What yet they know must follow—to endure
 Exile, and ignominy, or bonds, or pain,
 The sentence of their conqueror. This is now

Our doom ; which if we can sustain and bear,
 Our Supreme Foe in time may much remit
 His anger, and perhaps, thus far removed,
 Not mind us not offending, satisfied
 With what is punished."—II. 201—213.

" If this be our condition, thus to dwell
 In narrow circuit straitened by a foe,
 Subtle or violent, we not endued
 Single with like defence wherever met,
 How are we happy, still in fear of harm ?
 But harm precedes not sin : only our foe
 Tempting affronts us with his foul esteem
 Of our integrity : his foul esteem
 Sticks no dishonour on our front, but turns
 Foul on himself ; then wherefore shunned or feared
 By us, who rather double honour gain
 From his surmise proved false, find peace within,
 Favour from Heaven, our witness, from the event ?
 And what is faith, love, virtue, unassayed
 Alone, without exterior help sustained ?
 Let us not then suspect our happy state
 Left so imperfect by the Maker wise
 As not secure to single or combined.
 Frail is our happiness, if this be so ;
 And Eden were no Eden, thus exposed."—IX. 322—341.

" He, after Eve seduced, unminded slunk
 Into the wood fast by, and, changing shape
 To observe the sequel, saw his guileful act
 By Eve, though all unweeting, seconded
 Upon her husband—saw their shame that sought
 Vain covertures ; but, when he saw descend
 The Son of God to judge them, terrified
 He fled, not hoping to escape, but shun
 The present—fearing, guilty, what his wrath
 Might suddenly inflict ; that past, returned
 By night, and, listening where the hapless pair
 Sat in their sad discourse and various plaint,
 Thence gathered his own doom, which understood
 Not instant, but of future time, with joy
 And tidings fraught, to Hell he now returned,
 And at the brink of Chaos, near the foot
 Of this new wondrous pontifice, unhopèd
 Met who to meet him came, his offspring dear."—X. 333—349.

Here what have we ? A use, it is true, of certain native mechanisms, so that the syntax is part English ; but these mechanisms aided, and all but supplanted, by Latin constructions. It is not only that Latin phrases and idioms are translated ; it is that Milton bends, arranges, and builds up his own uninflected or scarce-inflected English on the system of the Latin syntax. Observe, generally, the fondness for those participial constructions by which the Latins saved conjunctions and connecting particles, and gave their syntax its character of brevity and strength. Such constructions abound even in the

short pieces quoted, both in the form of the case relative and in that of the case absolute. Though the case absolute had survived in native English, one can see that in such instances as "*we not endued*," "*that past*," "*which understood*," it was really the Latin ablative absolute that was in Milton's mind.

Illustrations of the Latinism of Milton's construction and idiom might be endless; but the following may here suffice:—

SPECIAL LATINISMS.—"After Eve seduced," for "After the seduction of Eve," is one instance, already quoted, of a well-known special Latinism: "*Post urbem conditam*." Mr. Abbott produces but one example of this formation from Shakespeare, and that a doubtful one. But it recurs in Milton. Thus:—"After the Tuscan mariners transformed" (*Com.* 48); "Never since created Man" (*P. L.*, I. 573); "After summons read" (*P. L.*, I. 798); "After Heaven seen" (*P. L.*, III. 552); "After his charge received" (*P. L.*, V. 248); "From his surmise proved false" (*P. L.*, IX. 333); "At that tasted fruit" (*P. L.*, X. 687); "In punished Man" (*P. L.*, X. 803); "Repenting him of Man depraved" (*P. L.*, XI. 886); "Since first her salutation heard" (*P. R.*, II. 107). With these, as containing substantially the same idiom, may be associated such as the following:—

"For me be witness all the host of Heaven
If counsels different, or danger shunned
By me, have lost our hopes."—*P. L.*, I. 635—637.

"This question asked
Puts me in doubt."—*P. L.*, IV. 887, 888.

"best witness of thy virtue tried."—*P. L.*, IX. 317.

"the way found prosperous once
Induces best to hope of like success."—*P. R.*, I. 104, 105.

"prevented by thy eyes put out."—*S. A.* 1103.

Among Milton's special Latinisms we are inclined to class a good many of his case-absolute phrases; for, though the dative absolute was an Anglo-Saxon idiom, and the nominative absolute, as a recollection of it, is frequent in early and Elizabethan English, Milton's case-absolute seems often, as we have said, imagined in the Latin, e.g.—

"till, the signal given,
Behold a wonder."—*P. L.*, I. 776, 777.

"This said, he paused not."—*P. L.*, V. 64.

"The Angelic quires,
On each hand parting, to his speed gave way
Through all the empyreal road, till, at the gate
Of Heaven *arrived*, the gate self-opened wide
On golden hinges turning, as by work
Divine the sovran Architect had framed.

From hence—*no cloud, or, to obstruct the sight,
Star interposed, however small—he sees,
Not unconform to other shining globes,
Earth, and the Garden of God.*—*P. L.*, V. 251—260.

' Let us seek Death, or, he not found, supply
With our own hands his office."—*P. L.*, X. 1001, 1002.

Once or twice the accusative is used absolutely instead of the nominative: *e.g.* "us dispossessed" (*P. L.*, VII. 142); "me overthrown" (*S. A.* 463).

MISCELLANEOUS LATINISMS.—The following (some of them representative of recurring forms) may suggest the wealth of Latinisms, with sometimes a Græcism, scattered through Milton's text:—

"Spare to interpose them oft."—*Sonnet XX.*

"Peace is despaired;

For who can think submission?"—*P. L.*, I. 660, 661.

"Whatever doing, what can we suffer more?"—*P. L.*, II. 162.

"What sit we then projecting peace and war?"—*P. L.*, II. 329.

"Of the Eternal coeternal beam

May I express thee unblamed?"—*P. L.*, III. 2, 3.

"Or hear'st thou rather pure Ethereal stream?"—*P. L.*, III. 7.

"I will clear their senses dark

What may suffice."—*P. L.*, III. 188, 189.

"to change torment with [for] ease."—*P. L.*, IV. 892, 893.

"Yet evil whence? In thee can harbour none,
Created pure."—*P. L.*, V. 99, 100.

"acry shapes

Which Reason, joining or disjoining, frames

All what we affirm, or what deny."—*P. L.*, V. 105—107.

"Haste hither, Eve, and, worth thy sight, behold
Eastward among those trees what glorious shape
Comes this way moving."—*P. L.*, V. 308—310.

"on all sides to his aid was run

By Angels many and strong."—*P. L.*, VI. 335, 336.

"Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints."—*P. L.*, VI. 808.

"me higher argument remains."—*P. L.*, IX. 41—43.

"Greasily she ingorged without restraint,

And knew not eating death."—*P. L.*, IX. 791, 792.

"Sagacious of his quarry from afar."—*P. L.*, X. 281.

"more wakeful than to drowse."—*P. L.*, XI. 131.

The Latinism of Milton's constructions will pursue us through a good deal of what follows; but it is best to throw the farther peculiarities of his syntax that seem most worthy of notice into an independent classification.

ELLIPSES.—"The Elizabethan authors," says Mr. Abbott,

"objected to scarcely any ellipsis, provided the deficiency could be easily supplied from the context"; and, as respects Shakespeare, he illustrates the remark through fifteen pages of examples and comments. The ellipses in Milton are perhaps not so numerous as in Shakespeare; but they are frequent and interesting.

Some may be called *Ellipses in thought*, inasmuch as what is omitted is some idea or link in the meaning which it is taken for granted the reader will supply for himself. An example is *P. L.*, I. 587—589 :—

"Thus far these beyond
Compare of mortal prowess, yet observed
Their great commander ;"

where, if the context is studied, it will be seen that Milton in the phrase "*Thus far*," etc., requires his readers to perform for themselves a sum in proportion with data he has furnished. Another example is *Par. Lost*, II. 70—73 :—

"But perhaps
The way seems difficult, and steep to scale
With upright wing against a higher foe !
Let such [as are of this opinion] bethink them," etc.

Of what are called mere *ellipses of expression*, or *grammatical ellipses* (though, strictly considered, these resolve themselves into ellipses of thought too), there is a great variety of kinds, not a few being really Latinisms.

Omission of the Nominative to a Verb.—This, which is not uncommon in Shakespeare and the other Elizabethans, Mr. Abbott attributes, in *them*, partly to a lingering sense of Old English verb-inflections, partly to the influence of Latin, partly to the rapidity of Elizabethan pronunciation, which slurred such nominatives as *I* and *he*. To which of these causes Milton's ellipses of the kind are most generally owing will be best judged from a few examples :—

"O wert thou that just Maid who once before
Forsook the hated earth, O tell me sooth,
And camest [thou] again to visit us once more?"—*D. F. I.* 50—52.

"His trust was with the Eternal to be deemed
Equal in strength, and rather than be less
[He] Cared not to be at all."—*P. L.*, II. 46—48.

"and know'st [thou] for whom?"—*P. L.*, II. 730.

"On whom the great Creator hath bestowed
Worlds, and on whom [he] hath all these graces poured."—*P. L.*, III. 673, 674.

"then [she] strews."—*P. L.*, V. 348.

"One Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and [they] up to him return."—*P. L.*, V. 469, 470.

"This is my Son beloved : in him [I] am pleased."—*P. R.*, I. 85.

Omission of the Verb "to be."—This, also Elizabethan, is pretty frequent (sometimes as a Latinism) in Milton, e.g. :—

"Hail, foreign wonder!

Whom certain these rough shades did never breed,
Unless [thou art] the goddess that," etc.—*Com.* 265—267.

"though my soul [is] more bent

To serve therewith my Maker."—*Sonnet XIX.*

"Though . . . their children's cries [were] unheard."—*P. L.*, I. 394, 395.

"Yet confessed [to be] later than Heaven and Earth."—*P. L.*, I. 508.

"[Being] Uncertain which, in ocean or in air."—*P. L.*, III. 76.

"The tempter, ere [he was] the accuser, of mankind."—*P. L.*, IV. 10.

"Though I [am] unpitied."—*P. L.*, IV. 375.

"Is pain to them

Less pain, less to be fled? or [art] thou than they
Less hardy?"—*P. L.*, IV. 918—920.

"pretending first

[It to be] Wise to fly pain."—*P. L.*, IV. 947, 948.

"and gav'st them names,

Needless [to be] to thee repeated."—*P. L.*, VII. 493, 494.

"Death as oft accused

Of tardy execution, since [it had been] denounced
The day of his offence."—*P. L.*, X. 852—854.

"though my pardon

[Be] No way assured."—*S. A.* 738, 739.

Omission of Antecedent.—Examples of this (generally Latinisms) are :—

"in bulk as large

As [those] whom the fables name of monstrous size."—*P. L.*, I. 196, 197.

"Will envy [him] whom the highest place exposes."—*P. L.*, II. 27.

"To find [one] who might direct his wandering flight."—*P. L.*, III. 631.

"to subdue

By force [those] who reason for their law refuse."—*P. L.*, VI. 40, 41.

"returning [thither] whence it rolled."—*P. L.*, VI. 879.

"Sent from [him] whose sovran goodness I adore."—*P. L.*, VIII. 647.

"and soon found of whom they spake

I am [he]."—*P. R.*, I. 262, 263.

Peculiar Miltonic Ellipsis.—It is not safe to give this name to a form of which there may already be registered examples from other authors than Milton; but, as it has struck me first in Milton, and as the Miltonic examples of it are memorable, let the name stand for the present. The ellipsis may be described as a peculiar omission of the word "*of*" by which a phrase compounded of an adjective and a substantive is made to do duty as an adjective. The Miltonic examples of it, though memorable, are few. I have noted the following :—

"He scarce had ceased when the superior Fiend
Was moving toward the shore; his ponderous shield,
Ethereal temper, massy, large, and round,
Behind him cast."—*P. L.*, I. 283—286.

"feathered mail,
Sky-tinctured grain."—*P. L.*, V. 284, 285.

"Brass, iron, *stony mould*."—*P. L.*, VI. 576.

"Up led by thee,
Into the Heaven of Heavens I have presumed,
An earthly guest, and drawn empyreal air,
Thy tempering."—*P. L.*, VII. 12—15.

"Under his forming hands a creature grew,
Man-like, but *different sex*."—*P. L.*, VIII. 470, 471.

Miscellaneous Ellipses.—The variety of these may be indicated by the following specimens. Some, it will be seen, are again Latinisms in reality:—

"Daily devours apace, and nothing sail."—*Lycid.* 129.

"While smooth Adonis from his native rock
Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded."—*P. L.*, I. 450—452.

"More glorious and more dread than from no fall."—*P. L.*, II. 16.

"Let us not then pursue,
By force impossible, by leave obtained
Unacceptable, though in Heaven, our state
Of splendid vassalage."—*P. L.*, II. 249—252.

"a place [of which it was] foretold [that it] should be."—*P. L.*, II. 830, 831.

"Direct my course :
Directed, no mean recompense it brings
To your behoof."—*P. L.*, II. 980—982.

"Man shall not quite be lost, but saved who will."—*P. L.*, III. 173.

"The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warned
Their sinful state."—*P. L.*, III. 185, 186.

"No sooner did thy dear and only Son
Perceive thee purposed not to doom frail Man
So strictly, but much more to pity inclined,
He
. offered himself to die
For Man's offence."—*P. L.*, III. 403—410.

"stars
Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move."—*P. L.*, III. 718, 719.

"whereof here needs no account,
But rather to tell how," etc.—*P. L.*, IV. 235, 236.

"Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same
Or undiminished brightness, to be known
As when thou stood'st in Heaven."—*P. L.*, IV. 835—837.

"Freely we serve,
Because we freely love, as in our will
To love or not."—*P. L.*, V. 538—540.

"Hast thou turned the least of these
To fight—or, if to fall, but that they rise
Unvanquished."—*P. L.*, VI. 284—286.

"greater now in thy return
Than from the giant-Angels."—*P. L.*, VII. 604, 605.

"Such pleasure she reserved,
Adam relating, she sole auditress."—*P. L.*, VIII. 50, 51.

"Her husband [as] the relater she preferred."—*P. L.*, VIII. 52.

"Whose virtue on itself works no effect,
But in the fruitful Earth."—*P. L.*, VIII. 95, 96.

"Let it suffice thee that thou know'st
Us happy, and without Love no happiness."—*P. L.*, VIII. 620, 621.

"Thee, Serpent, noblest beast of all the field
I knew, but not with human voice endued."—*P. L.*, IX. 560, 561.

"punished in the shape he sinned [in]."—*P. L.*, X. 516.

"This had been
Perhaps thy capital seat, from whence had spread
All generations, and had hither come,
From all the ends of the Earth, to celebrate
And reverence thee."—*P. L.*, XI. 342—346.

"Which argues [thee] overjust and self-displeased
For self-offence."—*S. A.* 514, 515.

"Knowing [myself], as needs I must, by thee betrayed."—*S. A.* 840.

GRAMMATICAL SUPERFLUITIES.—These are, as might be expected, not nearly so numerous in Milton. Indeed, it would be very difficult to find a distinct and positive instance. The little prose-note appended to the early poem called *The Passion* might seem to be one: "This subject the author finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished." But, though this is an anomalous construction now, the anomaly does not lie in superfluity. Read "The author, finding this subject to be," etc., and all is rectified without the loss of a word. So with the following apparent instances:—

"I know thee, stranger, who thou art."—*P. L.*, II. 990.

"The other sort . . .
Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell."—*P. L.*, VI. 376—380.

"Thoughts, which how found they harbour in thy breast,
Adam, misthought of her to thee so dear?"—*P. L.*, IX. 288, 289.

"To whom Michael thus, he also moved, replied."—*P. L.*, XI. 453.

"I see him, but thou canst not, with what faith
He leaves his gods."—*P. L.*, XII. 128, 129.

In each of these cases, though there seems to be a grammatical excess, it will be found that the excess is required by the meaning. Take the first and the last of the quoted passages. They are

examples of a usage which Mr. Abbott finds frequent in Shakespeare, and which he calls "The redundant object." It may easily be defended. "I know, stranger, who thou art," and "I see, but thou canst not, with what faith he leaves his gods," would not convey what is meant—viz., first, the recognition or optical discernment of a person, and, secondly, a fact about that person. Nor, even by present usage, could the word *he* in "To whom Michael thus, he also moved, replied," be omitted without loss of the intended emphasis. In the two remaining examples retrenchment would equally enfeeble the sense. The phrase "The other sort," in the one, and the noun "Thoughts" in the other, may be taken as instances of an emphatic Elizabethan form which Mr. Abbott names "the noun absolute"; or the two whole sentences may be taken as instances of a subtle grammatical figure, which Mr. Abbott calls "Construction changed by change of Thought," and of which we have more to say.

Seeming redundancies also rather than real are Milton's occasional *double negatives*. There are two forms, however, of this idiom. There is, first, the double negative, usually so called, of such Shakespearian and Early English phrases as "He *denied* you had in him *no* right," "*Forbade* the boy he should *not* pass these bounds," where the second negative word does not undo the first, but only intensifies the negation already made in it. Distinct from this is another double negative, constructed on the ordinary grammatical principle that "two negatives make an affirmative," and serving, in fact, as a rather emphatic affirmative. Of the following four passages the first two are examples of the first kind of double negative, the last two of the second; and it will be seen that in none of them is there properly redundancy:—

"*nor* from Hell

One step, *no* more than from himself, can fly."—*P. L.*, IV. 21, 22.

"*Nor* in their liquid texture mortal wound

Receive, *no* more than can the fluid air."—*P. L.*, VI. 348, 349.

"*Nor* did they *not* perceive the evil plight

In which they were, or the fierce pains *not* feel :

Yet," etc.—*P. L.*, I. 335—337.

"*nor* could his eye *not* ken

The empire of Negus."—*P. L.*, XI. 396, 397.

Thus hard pressed for examples of real grammatical superfluity in Milton, I may present these as the best I have found—

"Yet to their General's voice they soon obeyed."—*P. L.*, I. 337.

"without more train

Accompanied than *with* his own complete

Perfections."—*P. L.*, V. 351—353.

With these I may associate Milton's pretty frequent use of the

adverbial forms *from hence*, *from thence*, *from whence*, instead of the simpler adverbs *hence*, *thence*, *whence*. He uses these simple adverbs too, and *hence* and *whence* oftener in proportion than *thence*.

CONSTRUCTION CHANGED BY CHANGE OF THOUGHT.—Perhaps there is no subtler observation in Mr. Abbott's Shakespearian Grammar than that which occasioned his invention or adoption of this useful name for a rather frequent and troublesome, but very interesting, class of Shakespearian idioms (*Sh. Gr.* § 415). It is all the more welcome because it is a recognition of the more general and far-reaching principle that all the so-called Figures of Speech, including all grammatical variations and irregularities, however minute, are to be referred ultimately to equivalent turns, modifications, changes of manœuvre, in the act of thinking.

First let us give two of Mr. Abbott's Shakespearian instances:—

“ Purpose is but the slave to memory,
Which now, like fruit unripe, *sticks* on the tree,
But *fall* unshaken when they mellow be.”—*Hamlet*, III. 2.

Here the change of number from *sticks* to *fall* evidently indicates a change in Shakespeare's act of thinking as he wrote. He was first thinking of one piece of fruit, or of fruit as one mass, sticking to a tree; but next moment he sees the shower of separate pieces of fruit falling numerously. Again, in the passage

“ Rather proclaim it, Westmoreland, through our host,
That he which hath no stomach to this fight
Let him depart.”—*Henry V.* IV. 3,

we see the King first only telling Westmoreland what to proclaim, but immediately, in his indignation at the idea called up, passing into the direct imperative, as if he were facing the army and making the proclamation himself.

If the reader will now go back on our collection of Miltonic Ellipses (pp. 78—82) he will be able to explain some of the most puzzling of them on this principle. Here, however, are a few cases in which the *afterthought*, or *change of front*, if we may so call it, in Milton's mind, and the corresponding change of construction in the sentence, may be better observed:—

“ Or did of late Earth's sons besiege the wall
Of sheeny Heaven, and thou some goddess fled.”—*D. F. I.* 47, 48.

“ the stars
That Nature hung in heaven, and filled their lamps
With everlasting oil.”—*Com.* 197—199.

“ There *does* a sable cloud
Turn forth her silver lining to the Night,
And casts a gleam over this tufted grove.”—*Com.* 223—225.

- " So little knows
Any, but God alone, to value right
The good before him, but perverts best things."—*P. L.*, IV. 201—203.
- " Much less can bird with beast or fish with fowl
So well converse, nor with the ox the ape."—*P. L.*, VIII. 395, 396.
- " [O flowers] . . . *which* I bred up with tender hand
From the first opening bud, and gave *ye* names."—*P. L.*, XI. 276, 277.
- " Who was that just man, *whom* had not Heaven
Rescued, *had* in his righteousness been lost."—*P. L.*, XI. 681, 682.

- " Let no man seek
Henceforth to be foretold what shall befall
Him or his children—evil, he may be sure,
Which *neither* his foreknowing can prevent,
And he the future evil shall no less
In apprehension than in substance feel
Grievous to bear."—*P. L.*, XI. 770—776.
- " Deservedly thou griev'st, composed of lies
From the beginning, and in lies wilt end."—*P. R.*, I. 407, 408.
- " Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject
The perfect season offered with my aid
To win thy destined seat, but wilt prolong
All to the push of fate," &c.—*P. R.*, IV. 467—470.

" thoughts that, like a deadly swarm
Of hornets armed, no sooner found alone
But rush upon me thronging."—*S. xl.* 19—21.

Change of tense, it will be noted, is a very natural form of this curious kind of change of construction; and a few more examples may be given, illustrating this fact:—

- " It *was* the winter wild
While the heaven-born child
All meanly wrapt in the rude manger *lies*."—*Od. Nat.* 29—31.
- " And the full wrath beside
Of vengeful justice *bore* for our excess,
And *seals* obedience first with wounding smart."—*Upon the Circ.* 23—25.
- " I *did* but prompt the age to quit their clogs
By the known rules of ancient liberty,
When *straight* a barbarous noise *environs* me."—*Sonnet XII.*
- " *Took* leave, and toward the coast of Earth beneath,
Down from the ecliptic, sped with hoped success,
Throws his steep flight in many an aery wheel,
Nor *staid* till on Niphat's top he *lights*."—*P. L.*, III. 739—742.

INTERCHANGES OF PARTS OF SPEECH.—The most frequent of these by far is the use of an *Adjective for an Adverb*. This, common in the Elizabethan writers, is incessant in Milton. Examples are "Meanwhile inhabit *lax*, ye Powers of Heaven" (*Par. Lost*, VII. 162), "which plain infers" (*Par. Lost*, IX. 285), "I bring thee voluntary" (*Par. Reg.*, II. 394). And so in every page we have

obscure for obscurely, chief for chiefly, safe for safely, frequent for frequently, equal for equally, idle for idly, brief for briefly, easy for easily, attentive for attentively, certain for certainly, advised for advisedly, more glad for more gladly, sager for more sagely, or the like.—Next in frequency is the substitution of an *Adjective for a Substantive*: e.g. “those rebellious” (*Par. Lost*, I. 71), “this essential” (*Par. Lost*, II. 97), “the vast Abrupt” (*Par. Lost*, II. 409), “this profound” (*Par. Lost*, II. 980), “the esteem of wise” (*Par. Lost*, IV. 886), “these rebelled” (*Par. Lost*, VI. 737), “great or bright infers not excellence” (*Par. Lost*, VIII. 90, 91), “My earthly by his heavenly overpowered” (*Par. Lost*, VIII. 453), “grounded on just and right” (*Par. Lost*, VIII. 572), “whose higher intellectual more I shun” (*Par. Lost*, IX. 483), “by putting off human” (*Par. Lost*, IX. 713, 714), “the Grand” (*Par. Lost*, X. 427), “the stony” (*Par. Lost*, XI. 4), “the magnetic” (*Par. Reg.*, II. 168).—There are some instances of *Verb for Noun*: e.g. “beyond compare” (*Par. Lost*, I. 587, 588), “without disturb” (*Par. Lost*, VI. 549), “at his dispose” (*Par. Reg.*, III. 34 and 369), “the unsearchable dispose” (*S. A.* 1746).—Of *Substantive for Adjective* the peculiar Miltonic idioms, “ethereal temper,” “sky-tinctured grain,” “different sex,” already noted (*ante*, pp. 80, 81), may be taken as compound instances; “carbuncle his eyes” (*Par. Lost*, IX. 500) is a simpler one.—“Where he abides, think there thy native soil” (*Par. Lost*, XI. 292) may possibly be construed as an instance of adverb for noun; but there are not so many instances of this and other odd substitutions in Milton as Mr. Abbott reports among the Elizabethans. “As they sat *recline*” (*Par. Lost*, IV. 333), “made so *adorn* for thy delight” (*Par. Lost*, VIII. 576), and “sight so *deform*” (*Par. Lost*, XI. 494), are not to be mistaken as instances of verb for adjective, the first and third being simple appropriations of the Latin adjectives *reclinis* and *deformis*, and the second of the Italian *adorno*.

IRREGULARITIES IN CONCORD AND GOVERNMENT.—Although Milton was more strict in his syntax than the Elizabethans generally had been, instances do occur in him of Elizabethanisms of this glaring kind.

Singular Verb with Plural Nominative.—This is frequent in the third person plural; where, however, it is not merely a licence or irregularity, but rather a relic of Old English grammar. While the old Southern dialect had *eth* for the termination of the third person plural indicative present of verbs (*loveth*) and the old Midland had *en* (*loven*), the old Northern had *s* or *es* (*loves*). This last still persists in vernacular Scotch: e.g. “Sailors *has* hard lives.” Now, after the standard English had, in the main, dropt inflection in the plural of verbs (saying *love* in all the three persons), a tradition of the

northern inflection in *s* was kept up in some usages of the third person plural. Instances in Shakespeare are numerous: thus, from Mr. Abbott:—

"These high wild hills and rough uneven ways
Draws out our miles, and *makes* them wearisome."—*Richd* II. II. 3.

"Plenty and peace *breeds* cowards."—*Cymb.* III. 6.

It is in the form of this last instance,—*i.e.* of a verb agreeing with two or more nouns,—that we find the idiom common in Milton: *e.g.*

"His praise and glory *was* in Israel known."—*P.* CXIV. 6.

"Not those newfangled toys and trimming slight
Which *takes* our late fantastics with delight."—*Vac. Ex.* 19, 20.

"Bitter constraint and sad occasion dear
Compels me to disturb your season due."—*Lycid.* 6, 7.

"Thy worth and skill *exempts* thee from the throng."—*Sonnet* XIII.

"hill and valley *rings*."—*P. L.*, II. 495.

"Kingdom and power and glory *appertains*."—*P. L.*, VI. 815.

"all comeliness and grace
Attends thee, and each word, each motion, *forms*."—*P. L.*, VIII. 222, 223.

"Sorrows and labours, opposition, hate,
Attends thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,
Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death."—*P. R.*, IV. 386—388.

Here is one striking example of a similar liberty of concord in the *first person*, where the explanation is not persistence of archaic habit, but bold purpose by the writer himself:—

"Both Death and I
Am found eternal."—*P. L.*, X. 815, 816. . . .

Explicable on the same principle, or on that of change of construction with change of thought, is this *false concord of person in a relative clause*—

"Hail, foreign wonder!
Whom certain these rough shades did never breed,
Unless [thou art] the goddess that in rural shrine
Dwell'st here with Pan."—*Com.* 265—268.

The following is an instance of what we should now call *false concord of case in apposition*:—

"who rebelled
With Satan: *he* who envies now thy state."—*P. L.*, VI. 899, 900.

Each is often used by Shakespeare in a plural way, as equivalent to *Both* or *All*: *e.g.* "What *each* of them by the other *lose*" (*Coriol.* III. 2), "Each in her sleep *themselves* so beautify" (*R. of L.*, 404). So Milton:—

"Each in *their* crystal sluice."—*P. L.*, V. 133.

"Each in *their* several active spheres."—*P. L.*, V. 477.

"Cattle and creeping things and beasts of the Earth,
Each in *their* kind."—*P. L.*, VII. 452, 453.

"All flesh,
Corrupting each *their* way."—*P. L.*, XI. 888, 889.

Occasional violations of our present rules of government occur among the pronouns. "Save *He* who reigns above" (*Par. Lost*, II. 814) is a bold use of the nominative for the objective, after precedents in Shakespeare; and the frequency of *ye* for the usual objective *you* has been noted in our remarks on Milton's peculiarities of inflection. That idiom, however, is not extinct yet.—The following instances of the objective relative *whom* are worth noting:—

"Belial came last; than *whom* a Spirit more lewd
Fell not from Heaven."—*P. L.*, I. 490, 491.

"Beelzebub . . . than *whom*,
Satan except, none higher sat."—*P. L.*, II. 299, 300.

"Abdiel, than *whom* none with more zeal adored
The Deity."—*P. L.*, V. 805, 806.

Theoretically *whom* should be *who* in each of these cases (e.g. the first = "Belial came last, and a more lewd Spirit than *he* fell not from Heaven"); but the ear revolts from "*than who*." *Than* is used prepositionally in such cases, as it sometimes is even with the direct pronouns: "You are a much greater loser than *me*" (Swift).

OTHER PECULIARITIES AMONG THE PRONOUNS.—One of the most frequent and interesting of these is the use of the possessives of the personal pronouns—*my, mine, our; thy, thine, your; his, her, their*—as true possessive cases with the full function of our equivalents for them,—*of me, of us, of thee, of you, of him, of her, of them*. Thus they are often antecedents to relatives: e.g.—

"*His* high will
Whom we resist."—*P. L.*, I. 161, 162.

"Say, Muse, *their* names then known, who first, who last . . .
Came."—*P. L.*, I. 376—379.

"*his* tyranny *who* reigns
By our delay."—*P. L.*, II. 59, 60.

"*His* love entire
Whose progeny you are."—*P. L.*, V. 502, 503.

"*my* folly, who have profaned
The mystery of God."—*S. A.* 377, 378.

This usage has not yet gone out in modern English poetry, though it has become much rarer than it was among the Elizabethans, probably because we have come to regard *my, thy, his*, etc., rather

as adjectives than as possessive cases of substantives. Indeed we should hardly make an antecedent even of the possessive case of a noun. "The *man's* horse *who* was here just now" would seem an odd phrase. Probably Milton's habit of referring to Latin constructions made it natural for him to perpetuate this particular Elizabethanism both with the possessives of nouns and with the possessives of pronouns. He would think of such Latin phrases as *mei qui*, *mei cujus*, *ejus qui*, *ejus quem*, *eorum qui*, *eorum quos*, etc. We see this recollectiveness of Latin constructions, at all events, in a still stronger variety of the same usage, which is not uncommon in Milton, and which (if I may judge from the absence of equally strong Elizabethan examples in Mr. Abbott's Shakespearian Grammar) was more Miltonic than Elizabethan. It is the actual junction of the possessives, no less than of the nominatives or the objectives, in agreement with adjectives and participles: e.g.—

"Wondering at my flight and change
To this high exaltation, suddenly
My guide was gone."—*P. L.*, V. 89—91.

Here it is not the "guided" that wonders, but Eve, the speaker; or, in other words, "*wondering*" agrees with "*my*," just as if it had been "*of me wondering*." Exactly so in the following instances, and in some of them more strikingly:—

"these tidings from the Earth,
Which *your* sincerest care could not prevent,
Foretold so lately what would come to pass."—*P. L.*, X. 36—38.

"our liberty confined
Within Hell-gates till now."—*P. L.*, X. 368, 369.

"Therefore so abject is *their* punishment,
Disfiguring not God's likeness, but their own."—*P. L.*, XI. 520, 521.

In Latin these would be quite normal; but, if met with in an exercise in English composition in the present day, they would be set down as examples of slipshod of the "misrelated participle" variety.—By the bye, the nearest approach to an actual case of misrelated or unrelated participle that I have observed in Milton is the following in a speech of Dalila:—

"First *granting*, as I do, it was a weakness
In me, but incident to all our sex,
Curiosity, inquisitive, importune
Of secrets, then with like infirmity
To publish them—both common female faults—
Was it not weakness also to make known
For importunity, that is for naught,
Wherein consisted all thy strength and safety?"—*S. A.* 773—780.

Granting, however, is one of a small group of participial forms (*seeing*, *touching*, *supposing*, *respecting*, *judging*, *considering*) to which

custom concedes this slovenliness; and it says much for Milton's care that instances like the above are rare in his verse. It may be taken as an elliptical case-absolute.

The relatives THAT, WHO, WHICH.—These words have had a curious history. *That* is the oldest. It was the singular neuter of the demonstrative *se, seþ, that*, used relatively in Anglo-Saxon, when the forms *who* and *which* (*hwa* and *hwilc*) were never so used. Surviving the general slaughter of inflections, the originally neuter *that* became the ordinary or sole relative, for masculine and feminine as well as for neuter in Old English. Not till the sixteenth century did *which* creep in as a relative in competition with *that*, and then not as a neuter relative only, but as a masculine or feminine also: e.g. "Our Father *which* art in Heaven"; "The mistress *which* I serve" (Sh. *Tempest*, III. 1). The introduction of the interrogative *who* as a declinable relative was still later; but, when introduced, it was used relatively in all its parts,—not only *who*, *whose*, and *whom*, but also *what*. ("The matter *what* other men wrote": *Ascham*.) Thus, in Shakespeare's time, there were three relatives, *That* and *which* indeclinable, and *who* declinable (*who*, *who*, *what*, *whose*, etc.) Soon, indeed, *what* was dismissed from its relational function, except in certain peculiar usages of which there are yet traces. When this had been done, and the relative *who* had been thus left without its proper neuter, *which*, though an old and independent compound of *who* (*hwilc* = *who-like*), was voted into the vacant place, and the declension of the relative *who* became, as now, *who*, *who*, *who*, *which*, while the interrogative remained *who*, *who*, *what*. Through the seventeenth century, accordingly, there were transmitted two so-called relative pronouns,—the indeclinable *that* and the declinable *who*, *who*, *which*; but still with a recollection of *which* as a separate relative, masculine and feminine as well as neuter. There was a good deal of consequent confusion in the practice; but gradually the superior ease and smoothness of the old *that* re-won it the preference. By Queen Anne's time the preference had become so decided as to call forth a protest from Steele in the *Spectator*. In his "Humble Petition of *Who* and *Which*," in the number of that periodical for 30th May 1711, he makes the neglected vocables complain thus: "We are descended of ancient families, and kept up our dignity and honour many years, till the jack-sprat *that* supplanted us." A curious example of the ignorance in those days of the true history of the English language; for *That*, as we have seen, was the real Saturn of the genealogy. Nevertheless, Steele's protest took effect; and now we have *that*, *who*, and *which* in about equal favour. We need all three; but have we even yet any principle regulating choice among them? It does not seem so. Each writer obeys his own tact or acquired habit, and writers vary.

The only attempt that I know of to establish a logical principle on the subject is in Professor Bain's English Grammar. His principle is that *who* and *which* ought to be reserved for co-ordinate clauses in a sentence,—viz. for clauses of additional predication,—while *that* ought to be used in all clauses merely restrictive or explanatory of a current subject or predicate. Thus the sentence "The soldiers, *who* are brave, will push on" is right if I mean that the soldiers are brave and that they will push on; but, if I mean only that such of the soldiers as are brave will push on, then I ought to say, "The soldiers *that* are brave will push on." In practice, however, the first form, only without the commas, is often used for the second meaning; and hence ambiguity. So, if I say "Here is the book, *which* will save me the trouble of farther explanation," I am right if I mean that I have found the book I had been looking for, and that so I shall be saved the trouble of farther explanation; but, if I mean that I have found a book of such a sort that it will save me the trouble of farther explanation, then I ought to say, "Here is the book *that* will save me the trouble," etc. Yet, in practice, the first form is often employed for the second meaning, both in talk and in writing, only with the comma omitted in writing; and hence again ambiguity. All this ambiguity, it is said, would be avoided by a recollection of the simple principle: *that* for merely restrictive or qualifying phrases, and *who* and *which* for co-ordinate clauses.

Adopted absolutely (which would lead to the most awkward effects), or only partially (say for the nominative *who*, *who*, *which* in both numbers, and the direct objective *whom*, *whom*, *which* in both numbers), would the principle be a new institute in English, or would it only be a return to the correct practice of a former age? Mr. Bain seems to be of the latter opinion. "If we go back," he says, "to the writers of the seventeenth century, we find the usage observed." This is too strongly stated; and the matter is worth a little inquiry.

At first sight it might seem that Shakespeare's practice accorded with the principle universally. *That* is incessant in his pages as the restrictive or qualifying relative; and his instinctive adoption of it, sentence after sentence, in places where modern writers would use *who*, *whom*, or *which*, is one of the secrets of the lightness, ease, and swiftness of his style. The full sense of this characteristic of Shakespeare, if indeed it was not a general Elizabethanism, will be obtained best by reading any page *ad aperturam*; and to give examples is a poor substitute. Here, however, are a few:—

"That god forbid *that* made me first your slave
I should in thought control your times of pleasure."—*Sonnet LVIII.*

"The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to."—*Hamlet*, III. 1.

"the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes."—*Ibid.*

"or to be worse than worst
Of those that lawless and incertain thoughts
Imagine howling: 'tis too horrible!
The weariest and most loathed worldly life
That age, ache, penury and imprisonment
Can lay on nature is a paradise
To what we fear of death."—*M. for M.* III. 1.

On the other hand, Shakespeare is very observant of the distinctive function of *who* and *which* as co-ordinating relatives: e.g.—

"I'll give her father notice
Of their disguising and pretended flight;
Who, all enraged, will banish Valentine."—*Two G. of Ver.* II. 6.

"But this rough magic
I here abjure, and, when I have required
Some heavenly music, *which* even now I do,
To work mine end upon their senses *that*
This airy charm is for, I'll break my staff."—*Tempest*, V. 1.

"Henry the Fourth,
Whose wisdom was a mirror to the wisest,
And, after that wise prince, Henry the Fifth,
Who by his prowess conquered all France."—3 *K. Henry VI.* III. 3.

So far all appears regular in Shakespeare; but farther examination discloses many inconsistencies. Thus, *which* is often used for the restrictive *that*, both in the neuter, with relation to things, and also (from a survival of the notion of *which* as an independent relative, older than *who*, though converted into a kind of neuter of *who*) in the masculine and feminine with relation to persons:—

"The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all *which* it inherit, shall dissolve."—*Tempest*, IV. 1.

"It is a chance *which* does redeem all sorrows
That ever I have felt."—*Lear*, V. 3.

"It is an heretic *that* makes the fire,
Not she *which* burns in't."—*Wint. Tale*, II. 3.

"This is an art
Which does mend nature."—*Wint. Tale*, IV. 4.

"Your love and pity doth the impression fill
Which vulgar scandal stamped upon my brow."—*Sonnet CXII.*

"Love is no love
Which alters when it alteration finds."—*Sonnet CXVI.*

Much more rare, indeed excessively rare, is the occurrence of the nominative *who*, or the direct objective *whom*, in the merely restrictive function. There are examples, however, as well as of *whose* and the phrases *to whom*, *with whom*, etc., in the same function:—

- "As if that whatsoever god *who* leads him
Were silly crept into his human powers."—*Coriol.* II. 1.
- "He *that* no more must say is listened more
Than they *whom* youth and ease have taught to glose."—*Rich.* II. II. 1.
- "They *that* have power to hurt and will do none,
That do not do the thing they most do show,
Who, moving others, are themselves as stone,
Unmoved, cold, and to temptation slow,
They rightly do inherit heaven's graces."—*Sonnet* XCIV.

Finally *that*, though usually restrictive, is sometimes used, as in old English, for the co-ordinating *who* and *which*: e.g.

- "as if it were Cain's jawbone, *that* did the first murder."—*Hamlet*, V. 1.
- "In me thou seest the twilight of such day
As after sunset fadeth in the west,
Which, by and by black night doth take away,
Death's second self, *that* seals up all in rest."—*Sonnet* LXXIII.

This last instance shows clearly that Shakespeare was often guided by reasons of sound. *Which* in the last line would have been normal; but, having had one co-ordinating *which* in the preceding line, he would not repeat it. The following passage is interesting from its variety of device:—

- "Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves,
And ye *that* on the sands with printless foot
I do chase the ebbing Neptune and do fly him
When he comes back; you demi-puppets *that*
By moonshine do the green sour ringlets make,
Whereof the ewe not bites, and you *whose* pastime
Is to make midnight mushrooms, *that* rejoice
To hear the solemn curfew; by *whose* aid,
Weak masters though ye be, I have bedimmed
The noontide sun, called forth the mutinous winds,
And 'twixt the green sea and the azured vault
Set roaring war."—*Tempest*, V. 1.

Of Milton we have to report that he is much farther astray from the proposed rule for *who*, *which*, and *that* than Shakespeare. He was guided, in great part, no doubt, in this matter as in others, by the tradition of the Shakespearian or Elizabethan English; but he had contracted a habit also of thinking his English relative clauses very much after the laws of the Latin *qui*, *quæ*, *quod*, with the indicative or with the subjunctive. Hence a mixed system of *who*, *which*, *that*, etc., in his English, and yet the most consummate management.

An excellent and true use of *which* not unfrequent in Milton is where the antecedent is not a single noun, but a whole clause, or even a series of clauses: e.g.

"Well may we afford
Our givers their own gifts, and large bestow
From large bestowed, where Nature multiplies
Her fertile growth, and by disburdening grows
More fruitful; *which* instructs us not to spare."—*P. L.*, V. 316—320.

"There is a cave
Within the Mount of God, fast by his throne,
Where Light and Darkness in perpetual round
Lodge and dislodge by turns—*which* makes through Heaven
Grateful vicissitude, like day and night."—*P. L.*, VI. 4—8.

There are incessant examples also of the use of *who*, *whose*, *whom*, and *which*, in the ordinary way, as co-ordinating relatives, or links of additional predication in connexion with single antecedent nouns; and, indeed, the forms *whose* and *whom*, as answering to the Latin *cujus*, *quorum*, *quarum*, *quem*, *quam*, *quos*, *quas*, and the forms *to whom*, *of whom*, etc., as answering to the Latin *cui*, *quibus*, *ad quem*, *ad quos*, *de quo*, *de quibus*, etc., are, as far as I have observed, much more frequent in Milton than in Shakespeare:—

"The aidless, innocent Lady, his wished prey,
Who gently asked," etc.—*Com.* 574, 575.

"Forth rushed in haste the great consulting Peers,
Raised from their dark Divan, and with like joy
Congratulant approached him, *who* with hand
Silence, and with these words attention, won."—*P. L.*, X. 456—459.

"Imitate the starry quire,
Who, in their nightly watchful spheres,
Lead in swift round the months and years."—*Com.* 111—113.

"Hail, divinest Melancholy,
Whose saintly visage is too bright
To hit the sense of human sight."—*Il Pens.* 12—14.

"who knows not Circe,
The daughter of the Sun, *whose* charmed cup
Whoever tasted lost his upright shape?"—*Com.* 50—52.

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, *whose* bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains' cold."—*Sonnet XVIII.*

"The great mistress of yon princely shrine,
Whom with low reverence I adore."—*Arr.* 36, 37.

"Dark-veiled Cotytto *to whom* the secret flame
Of midnight torches burns!"—*Com.* 129, 130.

"Provoking God to raise them enemies,
From whom as oft he saves them penitent."—*P. L.*, XII. 318, 319.

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome."—*Sonnet XVII.*

"Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot,
Which men call Earth."—*Com.* 5, 6.

"Believe not these suggestions, *which* proceed
From anguish of the mind, and humours black
That mingle with the fancy."—*S. A.* 590—601.

"His spear—to equal *which* the tallest pine
Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast
Of some great ammiral, were but a wand—
He walked with."—*P. L.*, I. 292—295.

"*which* when Samson
Felt in his arms, with head a while inclined
And eyes fast fixed he stood."—*S. A.* 1635—1637.

"my noble task,
Of which all Europe rings from side to side."—*Sonnet XXII.*

"unable to perform
Thy terms too hard, *by which* I was to hold
The good I sought not."—*P. L.*, X. 750—752.

"Conjugal love, *than which* perhaps no bliss
Enjoyed by us excites his envy more."—*P. L.*, IX. 263, 264.

In all these cases, and in many more, Milton exhibits what the proposed new rule would call the correct, or co-ordinating, use of the declinable relative *who*, with a more habitual recourse to it, and especially to the oblique cases *whose*, *whom*, and to *which* as the incorporated neuter, than is found in Shakespeare. So he furnishes innumerable illustrations also of what the rule would call the correct use of *that*. In the following, it will be observed, *that* is purely restrictive or explicative, and *that that* is not avoided:—

"As the gay motes *that* people the sunbeams."—*Il Pens.* 8.

"Of every star *that* Heaven doth shew
And every herb *that* sips the dew."—*Il Pens.* 171, 172.

"Yet some there be *that* by due steps aspire
To lay their just hands on that golden key
That opes the palace of Eternity."—*Com.* 12—14.

"He *that* has light within his own clear breast
May sit i' the centre."—*Com.* 381, 382.

"I was all ear,
And took in strains *that* might create a soul
Under the ribs of Death."—*Com.* 560—562.

"And disapproves that care, though wise in show,
That with superfluous burden loads the day."—*Sonnet XXI.*

"those rich domains
That the first wealthy Pope received of thee."—*Translated Scrag.*

"Nine times the space *that* measures day and night
To mortal men."—*P. L.*, I. 50.

"And Powers *that* erst in Heaven sat on thrones."—*P. L.*, I. 360.

In all these examples, and in many more, Milton uses *that*, very much as Shakespeare had done, as the merely restrictive or qualifying relative, while all the examples of *who*, *which*, *whose*, *whom*, hitherto quoted from him, have exhibited these words only in co-ordinating constructions. It would be a great mistake, however, to infer a fixed principle of Milton's syntax from these two sets of selected instances.

Quite as numerous are the instances in which he reverses the apparent rule of the foregoing, and uses *who*, *which*, *whose*, *whom*, for merely restrictive constructions, and *that* for co-ordinating constructions.

How thoroughly the Latin *qui*, *quæ*, *quod* had been incorporated into Milton's English, for restrictive as well as for co-ordinating constructions, may be seen from the following handful of examples. They are all in accordance with our present mixed practice; but every *who*, *whose*, or *whom* in them, and nearly every *which*, would in Shakespeare's syntax have been resolved into *that*.

"Or wert thou that just Maid *who* once before
Forsook the hated Earth?"—*D. F. I.* 50, 51.

"Here lieth one *who* did most truly prove
That he could never die, while he could move."—*Hobson*, II. 1, 2.

"that same lot, however mean or high,
Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven."—*Sonnet II.*

"This, this is she
To whom our vows and wishes bend."—*Arc.* 5, 5.

"I shall appear some harmless villager
Whom thrift keeps up about his country gear."—*Com.* 166, 167.

"Yea even that *which* Mischief meant most harm
Shall in the happy trial prove most glory."—*Com.* 591, 592.

"Some other means I have *which* may be used,
Which once of Melibœus old I learnt."—*Com.* 821, 822.

"He *who* of those delights can judge, and spare
To interpose them oft, is not unwise."—*Sonnet XX.*

"Men *whose* life, learning, faith, and pure intent,
Would have been held in high esteem with Paul,
Must now be named and printed heretics."—*Forc. of Consc.*

"That one talent *which* is death to hide."—*Sonnet XIX.*

"They also serve *who* only stand and wait."—*Sonnet XIX.*

"Even them *who* kept thy truth so pure of old."—*Sonnet XVIII.*

"Whom do we count a good man? Whom but he
Who keeps the laws and statutes of the senate,
Who judges in great suits and controversies?"—*Translated Scrap.*

"Blest is the man *who* hath not walked astray
In counsel of the wicked."—*Ps.* I.

"He shall be as a tree *which* planted grows
By watery streams."—*Ibid.*

"The chief were those *who*, from the pit of Hell
Roaming to seek their prey on Earth, durst fix
Their seats, long after, next the seat of God."—*P. L.*, I. 381—383.

"That all may see *who* hate us how we seek
Peace and composure."—*P. L.*, VI. 559, 560.

"behold the excellence, the power,
Which God hath in his mighty Angels placed."—*P. L.*, VI. 637, 638.

"Eve, easily may faith admit that all
The good *which* we enjoy from Heaven descends."—*P. L.*, XI. 142, 143.

"most men admire
Virtue *who* follow not her lore."—*P. R.*, I. 482, 483.

If Milton is much more Latin than Shakespeare in his use of *who* and *which* in merely restrictive constructions, he makes amends by reviving much more frequently than Shakespeare did the Old English use of *that* in distinctly co-ordinative constructions: *e.g.*

"Nature, *that* heard such sound
Beneath the hollow round
Of Cynthia's seat the airy region thrilling,
Now was almost won
To think her part was done."—*Od. Nat.* 101—105.

"Hail, bounteous May, *that* dost inspire
Mirth, and youth, and warm desire."—*May Morn.*

"Spare, *that* wrinkled Care devides."—*L'All.* 31.

"Spare Fast, *that* oft with gods doth diet."—*Il Pens.* 46.

"Bacchus, *that* first from out the purple grape
Crushed the sweet poison of misused wine . . .
On Circe's island fell."—*Com.* 46—50.

"And disinherit Chaos, *that* reigns here
In double night of darkness and of shades."—*Com.* 334, 335.

"His praise, ye Winds, *that* from four quarters blow,
Breathe soft or loud."—*P. L.*; V. 192, 193.

"and to him called
Raphael, the sociable Spirit, *that* deigned
To travel with Tobias."—*P. L.*, V. 220—222.

"The Sun, *that* light imparts to all, receives
From all his alimental recompense."—*P. L.*, V. 423, 424.

That Milton did not follow the rule of *who* and *which* for co-ordinative constructions, and *that* for restrictive, has been abundantly proved. On the whole, he seems to have been guided by a varying momentary instinct, sometimes logical perhaps, but often merely musical.—I may add that occasionally, like Shakespeare, he has the genuine archaism (now a vulgarism) of *what* for the relative *that* or *which*: a relic of the time when the whole of the interrogative *who* was used relatively (see *ante*, p. 90). Thus "All *what* we affirm" (*Par. Lost*, V. 107), "Easy to me to tell thee all *what* thou commandest" (*Par. Lost*, IX. 569, 570). Peculiar relative constructions also are "*Such* a foe is rising *who* intends" (*Par. Lost*, V. 724, 725), and "*such wherein* appeared obscure some glimpse of joy" (*Par. Lost*, I. 523, 524). I have not noted any examples in Milton of Shakespeare's use of *which* for the masculine and feminine; but there may be such.

PREPOSITIONS.—That multiplicity of meanings for the common
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prepositions *of*, *to*, etc., on which Mr. Abbott has^o commented as one of the characteristics of Elizabethan English, persists in Milton, though not to the same extent, nor perhaps to an extent beyond the practice of poets of our own time. I will note but a few instances. "And *of* pure now purer air meets his approach" (*Par. Lost*, IV. 153, 154) seems to present *of* in a sense like *from*; "may *of* purest Spirits be found no ingrateful food" (*Par. Lost*, V. 406, 407) is one of the passages in which *of* serves for our present *by*; and "Greet her *of* a lovely son" (*March. Winch.* 23) gives *of* in the sense of *on account of*. In "*to* the twelve that shine in Aaron's breastplate" (*Par. Lost*, III. 597, 598) *to* is equivalent to *through all the rest of*, or *to the complete number of*; in "So much hath Hell debased, and pain enfeebled me, *to* what I was in Heaven" (*Par. Lost*, IX. 487, 488), it has the sense of *in comparison with* (see also *S. A.* 950); and in "God will restore him eyesight *to* his strength" (*S. A.* 1503) it has the sense of *in addition to*. "Which, *but* herself, not all the Stygian powers" (*Par. Lost*, II. 875) is an example of *but* used positionally for *except*. An anomalous use of *twixt*, applying it to more than two objects, is found in "*Twixt* upper, nether, and surrounding fires" (*Par. Lost*, I. 346).

ADVERBS AND CONJUNCTIONS.—The most frequent difference from our present English here is the use of the conjunction *that* for *so that*. It was a transmitted Elizabethanism, well conserved by Milton: e.g.

"And lack of load made his life burdensome,
That, even to his last breath (there be that say't),
As he were pressed to death, he cried 'More weight.'"—*Hobson*, No. 2.

"Untwisting all the chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony,
That Orpheus' self may heave his head."—*L'Al.* 143—145.

"Like Maia's son he stood
And shook his plumes, *that* heavenly fragrance filled
The circuit wide."—*P. L.*, V. 285—287.

There are other now unusual senses of the conjunction *that*: e.g. *Par. Lost*, III. 278, where it seems to mean *inasmuch as*. In the lines *On Shakespeare* we have virtually *whilst that* for *whilst*; and elsewhere, I think, we have *that* redundant.

As appears in several senses not now common. It serves for *that* or *as that*: e.g. "a stripling cherub . . . such *as* in his face youth smiled celestial" (*Par. Lost*, III. 637, 638: compare *Par. Reg.*, II. 97, 98); also for *as if*: e.g. "into strange vagaries fell, *as* they would dance" (*Par. Lost*, VI. 614, 615); also for *in proportion as*: e.g. "For bliss, *as* thou hast part, *to* me is bliss" (*Par. Lost*, IV. 879); also for *such as* (*Il Pens.* 163—165) and *such that it or so that it* (*Od. Nat.* 96—98).

Of *but* for *than*, "No sooner blown *but* blasted" (*D. F. I.* 1) is an early example; and the idiom recurs (*Par. Lost*, III. 344, 347, XI. 822, 824, etc.—In *Par. Lost*, V. 674, and perhaps elsewhere, and has a sense of *if* or *though*.—Milton uses the word *both* where the reference is to more objects than two: e.g. "The God that made *both* sky, air, earth, and heaven" (*Par. Lost*, IV. 722); and he takes the same liberty with *neither*: e.g. "Of *neither* sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire" (*Par. Lost*, II. 912).—The variety of his uses of *or*, *nor*, *neither*, etc., may be inferred from these examples; in some of which, however, change of construction by change of thought bears a part:—

"Or [either] envy, or what reserve, forbids to taste?"—*P. L.*, V. 61.

"Much less can bird with beast or fish with fowl
So well converse, nor with the ox the ape."—*P. L.*, VIII. 395, 396.

"Or [either] east or west."—*P. L.*, X. 685.

"Which *neither* his foreknowing can prevent,
And he the future evil shall," etc.—*P. L.*, XI. 773, 774.

"*neither* thus heartened or dismayed."—*P. R.*, I. 268.

"I bid not, or forbid."—*P. R.*, I. 495.

TRANSPOSITIONS AND INVERSIONS.—Leaving not a few miscellaneous peculiarities (Elizabethanisms, or Latinisms) to be marked in the notes in connexion with the passages in which they occur, we may conclude this account of Milton's syntax and idiom with a reference to one other matter properly belonging to the subject of Syntax.

Occasionally some very striking inversion or transposition of the usual order of words in a sentence is met with in Milton: e.g.:—

"Into this wild Abyss the wary Fiend
Stood on the brink of Hell and looked a while,
Pondering his voyage."—*P. L.*, II. 917—919.

"Nor stood unmindful Abdiel to annoy
The Atheist crew."—*P. L.*, VI. 369, 370.

"That whom they hit none on their feet might stand."—*P. L.*, VI. 592.

"For in their looks
Much reason, and in their actions, oft appears."—*P. L.*, IX. 558, 559.

"Reject not, then, what offered means who knows
But God hath set before us to return thee
Home to thy country."—*S. A.* 516—518.

Such transpositions are sometimes instances merely of Milton's freedom in English, which led him, like other writers, into the word-figures called by the rhetoricians *Hyperbaton*, *Anastrophe*, *Tmesis*, *Dialysis*, etc.; but very often they are patent Latinisms. For, as has been already hinted, the highly Latin mechanism of Milton's

syntax, especially in later life, appears not only in individual constructions, but necessarily also in the arrangement of the words within a clause, and of the clauses of a sentence with relation to each other. Without dwelling longer, however, on the effects of Milton's Latinism *per se* on the order of his syntax, let us briefly inquire how far another cause may have co-operated in forming that structure of sentence and style which we can recognise as Miltonic.

Few services of criticism to Literature have been greater than Wordsworth's famous onslaught on what he called *Poetic Diction*. Under this name, he denounced the notion,—made prevalent, as he maintained, by the practice of the English eighteenth-century poets, from Dryden onwards, with few exceptions,—that poetry consists in, or requires, an artificial mode of language, differing from the language of ordinary life, or of prose. The censure branched into several applications; but one of them concerned mere syntax. It was a mistake, Wordsworth contended, to suppose that Verse requires deviations from the natural prose order of words, or that such are legitimate in Verse. Unfortunately, the very name *Verse* had suggested the contrary; and, the difficulties of versifiers in adjusting their sense to the mechanical restraints of metre and rhyme having led to all kinds of syntactical tricks, such as the placing of an adjective after its noun, the tugging of a verb to the end of the line for the rhyme's sake, etc., these had been accepted, and Verse had come, in general, to be a kind of Distorted Prose. Here, as in other things, Wordsworth held, a reform was needed. It was necessary to teach people afresh (and true poets would be the best teachers) that proper verse-syntax is not distorted prose-syntax, or syntax relieved from any of the conditions imposed upon good prose, but only syntax with all the conditions of good prose retained and certain other and more exquisite and difficult conditions superadded. —So far Wordsworth; and certainly his precept and example, in this respect, were most wholesome. Some English poets, indeed, coevals of Wordsworth, and his partners in the general crusade against "Poetic Diction," could not emancipate themselves, as he did, from the custom of a syntax mechanically inverted to suit the mere exigencies of metre and rhyme. Crabbe is one example. In some of Wordsworth's important successors, also, not to speak of the masses of everyday versifying that pass for poetry, verse on the principle of distorted prose has been only too abundant. On the whole, however, nothing has been more remarkable in the best English poetry of the present century than the return to a natural syntax, or even to the ordinary prose order of the words. Tennyson is here conspicuous. No writer is more essentially and continually the poet than he; hardly a line of his but contains that very something that distinguishes the poet from the prosaist; and yet it is not in the

syntax that this *differentia* appears, and often, for many lines together, the words fall exactly and punctiliously into their ordinary prose places.—Not the less does it appear, both from a theoretical consideration of the subject, and from a study of the actual syntax of our truest poets, Tennyson and Wordsworth himself included, that the precept, as it was first put forth by Wordsworth, was too absolute. Besides those illegitimate inversions of prose-syntax which arise from a lazy or slovenly forcing of the metre and rhyme, there certainly are other inversions natural to verse as such, and not illegitimate. These seem to be of two sorts:—(1) There are inversions natural to the peculiar elevation of mood or feeling which prompts to verse and which verse presupposes. After all, syntax has its root in thought, and every state of mind has its own syntax. This is seen within prose itself. "Great is Diana of the Ephesians" is a different construction from "Diana of the Ephesians is great," simply because the *thought* is not the same. And so, in prose itself, there are all varieties of syntax, from the regularly-repeated concatenation of subject, copula, and predicate, natural to the coolest statement of facts and propositions, on to the irregular rhythm of complex meditation and emotion, verging on verse, and in fact often passing into verse. Nor, when the express limit is passed, and one leaves prose avowedly for verse, is the variability of the syntax with the movement of the thought or meaning so wholly concluded already that there can be no natural variation farther. Verse is itself a proclamation that the mood of the highest prose moments is to be prolonged and sustained; and the very devices that constitute verse not only serve for the prolongation of the mood, but occasion perpetual involutions of it and incalculable excitements. (2) Study of beauty of all kinds is natural to every artist; and the poet, when he comes to be an artist in verse, will seek beauty in sound. Here, too, though we call it art, nature dictates. The writer in verse may lawfully aim at musical effects on the ear not consistent with prose syntax. In fact, this is not a distinct principle from the last, but only a particular implication of that principle, worthy of separate notice.

The syntax of Milton's poetry certainly *is* affected by the verse to a larger extent than we might guess from Wordsworth's enthusiastic references to him as the perfect model for poets at the very time when he was expounding his Reform of Poetic Diction. In no poet do we see the movement of ideas, and therefore the order of the words, swayed more manifestly by that elevation of feeling, that glow of mood, which comes upon the poet when he has risen above "the cool element of prose," and is "soaring in the high region of his fancies with his garland and singing-robcs about him." Indeed all through his life the leading characteristic of Milton's mind was that

it could not be prosaic. He lived in song; it was his most natural mode of speech. Even in his prose-writings, all that were not mere hackwork, he every now and then spurns the ground, grows metrical, and begins to ascend. And so, when he actually was in his proper element of verse, his thoughts came in an order ruled not only by the logic of custom and reason, or by that modified by the Latinism of his syntax as it would have told in prose, but also by the conditions of roused feeling musically moved. In the following passage of *At a Solemn Music* is there not an inversion of ordinary syntax greater in amount, and more subtle in kind, than can be debited to Latin habits of construction or to any other cause than the verse excitement?

“Blest pair of Sirens, pledges of Heaven’s joy,
Sphere-born harmonious sisters, Voice and Verse,
Wed your divine sounds, and mixed power employ,
Dead things with inbreathed sense able to pierce;
And to our high-raised phantasy present
That undisturbed song of pure concept,
Aye sung before the sapphire-coloured throne
To Him that sits thereon,
With saintly shout and solemn jubilee;
Where the bright Seraphim in burth’ning row
Their loud uplifted angel-trumpets blow,
And the Cherubic host in thousand quires
Touch their immortal harps of golden wires,
With those just Spirits that wear victorious palms,
Hymns devout and holy psalms
Singing everlastingly.”

In such a passage as this, and all through Milton’s poetry, instances of deviation from ordinary prose syntax may be noted as incessant, and we cannot always or often dismiss them as mere Latinisms. They are often clearly proper to English verse-syntax as such. Whether there are not cases, especially in the rhymed poems, where the inversions are too evidently compelled by the verse-mechanism, is a question that may be left to the varying tastes of readers. Generally, however, in seeming cases of this kind the quest of minute beauty of sound may be detected. Perhaps the best instance of this is the frequency with which the adjective *old* is put after its substantive. The word *old* occurs about sixty times in the poems; and nineteen times it occurs in this manner. “And last of kings and queens and *heroes old*” is, I think, the first case (*Vac. Ex. 47*); in the same piece we have “A *Sibyl old*” (69); after which we have “*Melibæus old*” (*Com. 822*), “*Bellerus old*” (*Lyc. 160*), “*Kishon old*” (*Ps. LXXXIII. 37*), “*Saturn old*” (*P. L., I. 519*), “*heroes old*” again (*P. L., I. 552*), “*warriors old*” (*P. L., I. 565*), “*Mount Cæsius old*” (*P. L., II. 593*), “the *Anarch old*” (*P. L., II. 988*), “*Tiresias and Phineus, prophets old*” (*P. L., III. 36*), “*Darkness*

old" (P. L., III. 421), "*fables old*" (P. L., XI. 11), "*kings and herges old*" again (P. L., XI. 243), "*Salem old*" (P. R., II. 21), "*seers old*" (P. R., III. 15), "*prophets old*" again (P. R., III. 178), "*Ninus' old*" (P. R., III. 276), and "*giants old*" (S. A. 148).

V. THE PUNCTUATION.

Milton was singularly indifferent, not to say careless, about punctuation. His own manuscripts prove this. While sufficiently neat in the general mechanical arrangement, and in such particulars as the paragraphing of his poems, the indentation of lines to show the metre, etc., he either did not point at all, or merely now and then ticked in a comma or semicolon at random. No objection can be made to his habit of using small letters at the beginning of his lines of verse where they do not also begin a sentence; and, indeed, much might be said for that practice, though we have now disused it. Nor is there anything remarkable in his omission of full stops at the ends of his sentences, especially where these come also at the ends of lines. Many writers omit points in this way, and trust such minutiae to the printer. But Milton's neglect in this particular exceeds the usual, and contrasts strikingly with the extreme accuracy, the logical perfection, of his syntax, even when it is most knotty and complex. Here is an average specimen of the pointing of his MSS.—

“ Begin then Sisters of the sacred well
that from beneath the seate of Jove doth spring
begin, and somewhat loudly sweepe the string
hence with denial vaine, and coy excuse
so may some gentle muse
with luckie words favour my destin'd urne
and as he passes turne
and bid faire peace be to my sable shroud
for wee were nurs't upon the selfe same hill
fed the same flock by fountaine, shade, and rill ”

Here we have not only commas and other points omitted where any ordinary writer would insert them, with commas ticked in here and there to make their general absence more evident; but also sentences begun with small letters instead of capitals. Often, however, where Milton does point, the pointing is not merely arbitrary, but positively wrong. Here, for example, is a passage from Milton's sketch of the plot of a drama on the subject of the destruction of Sodom, pointed as in the draft in his own hand among the Cambridge MSS.—

"Lot that knows thire drift answers thwarty at last of which notice given to the whole assembly they hasten thither taxe him of presumption, singularity, breach of citty customs, in fine offer violence, the chorus of Shepherds prepare resistance in thire maisters defence calling the rest of the serviture, but beeing forc't to give back, the Angels open the dore rescue Lot, discover themselves, warne him to gather his freinds and sons in Law out of the citty, he goes and returns as having met with some incredulous, some other freind or Son in Law out of the way when Lot came to his house, overtakes him to know his buisnes, heer is disputed of incredulity of divinc judgements and such like matter, at last is describ'd the parting from the citty the Chorus depart with thir maister, the Angels doe the deed with all dreadfull execution, the Ch. and nobles of the citty may come forth and serve to set out the terror a Chorus of Angels concluding and the Angels relating the event of Lots journey, and of his wife."

Now, it must not be supposed that Milton was thus neglectful or lawless in his pointing, because there was no attention to pointing, no rule on the subject, among his contemporaries. There was very good punctuation in Milton's time, though not on that strict logical principle which ought now to be accepted as the only proper one for systematic pointing, but rather on a combination of that principle with regard for the vocal pauses convenient in reading. In Butler's English Grammar of 1633 there are very good rules, according to the system of that day, for the use of points. The rules would serve very well yet, though they recommend more use of the colon than is now common, and take no account of inverted commas for quotation-marks, or of other occasional points that have been found convenient. Milton's neglect of points in his MSS., therefore, was not the mere custom of his time; it was the voluntary carelessness in this matter of a man peculiarly accurate and punctilious in his syntax and rhythms.

Of course, he intended that, when his drafts were published, the pointing should be set right by the printer, or by the printer and himself together. What, then, of the pointing of his Minor Poems in the First or 1645 edition, as published by Moseley? The printer of that volume was Ruth Raworth; but Milton himself, if not Moseley too, must be supposed to have revised the sheets as they came from that lady's printing-office, and so to be responsible for the pointing. The best that can be said for it is that it is passable. It is such that one can read without discomfort; and in the Latin Poems, as one would naturally expect, Milton's care in the revision seems to have distinctly included the pointing. Not unfrequently, however, in the English poems one comes upon passages where the pointing is by no means correct, and would not have been called correct at the time. Thus, from *Arcades* :—

"Fame that her high worth, to raise,
Seem'd erst so lavish and profuse,
We may justly now accuse
Of detraction from her praise,

Less then half we find exprest,
Envy bid conceal the rest.

Mark what radiant state she spreads,
 In circle round her shining throne,
 Shooting her beams like silver threads,
 This this is she alone,
 Sitting like a Goddess bright,
 In the center of her light."

My impression, from general recollection, is that the pointing in those of Milton's prose-pamphlets which were printed before he became blind is not, on the average, better than that of the First Edition of his poems, and so that, during that whole period of Milton's literary life when he could see his publications through the press for himself, he gave but moderate attention to the particular of pointing, and left it very much to the readers in the divers printing-offices with which he had dealings. There were differences of skill in this matter in the printing-offices; and so some of the pamphlets were better pointed than others.

Milton's blindness was total in 1652; and from that time, if not for a year or two before, he was unable to revise the proofs of his publications for himself. Probably his English pamphlets published in those circumstances were not worse pointed than their predecessors had been; but I have noted in some of the Latin pamphlets gross errors of pointing, marring even the sense, and indicating the absence even of such revision as Milton would have given had he been able. All the more fortunate, therefore, it was that *Paradise Lost* came into such good hands. Whether from the care bestowed on that poem by the printer Simmons, or through special precautions taken by Milton for the revision of the proofs under his own direction, the First or 1667 edition of *Paradise Lost* is by far the best printed of all Milton's books published in his lifetime. The pointing is much better than that of the First edition of the Minor Poems, and, though on that system of compromise between clause-marks and pause-marks which may now be voted obsolete, is yet altogether a fair specimen of pointing after that system.

Paradise Regained and *Samson Agonistes*, printed for Milton 1671 by John Starkey, did not fare so well as *Paradise Lost* had fared in the hands of Simmons. The paper is thicker, and the type more widely spaced; but the press-work is less careful, and the pointing much worse. Sometimes it is very bad. Thus, *Par. Reg.*, ll. 25 *et seq.*—

"Then on the bank of *Jordan*, by a Creek:
 Where winds with Reeds, and Osiers whisp'ring play
 Plain Fishermen, no greater men them call,
 Close in a Cottage low together got
 Thir unexpected loss and plaints out breath'd.

Alas, from what high hope to what relapse
 Unlook'd for are we fall'n, our eyes beheld
 Messiah certainly now come, so long
 Expected of our Fathers ; we have heard
 His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth,
 Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand,
 The Kingdom shall to *Israel* be restor'd :
 Thus we rejoyc'd, but soon our joy is turn'd
 Into perplexity and new amaze :
 For whither is he gone, what accident
 Hath rapt him from us ? will he now retire
 After appearance, and again prolong
 Our expectation ? God of *Israel*,
 Send thy Messiah forth, the time is come ;
 Behold the Kings of the Earth how they oppress
 Thy chosen, to what highth thir pow'r unjust
 They have exalted, and behind them cast
 All fear of thee, arise and vindicate
 Thy Glory, free thy people from thir yoke,
 But let us wait ; thus far he hath perform'd,
 Sent his Anointed, and to us reveal'd him,
 By his great Prophet."

In the Second edition of *Paradise Lost*, in 1674, though the Ten Books of the First were divided into Twelve, and a few additional lines were inserted, the printers had the First for their copy, and followed its pointing. Likewise, in the Second edition of the Minor Poems, in 1673, the pointing of the First edition was, in the main, repeated. Several pieces, however, appeared in this Second edition that had not appeared in the First. How were these pointed ? Very poorly. Thus, *Sonnet* XIX. (numbered XVI. in that edition) :—

- "Doth God exact day labour, light deny'd,
 I fondly ask ; But patience to prevent
 That murmur, soon replies, God doth not need
 Either man's work or his own gifts, who best
 Bear his milde yoke, they serve him best, his State
 Is Kingly."

From this account of the punctuation of Milton's Poems in the extant MS. drafts of them, and, in the original printed editions, it will be seen that it would be difficult to recover anything that could even presumably be called Milton's system of punctuation, and that, if we could recover it, the prize would be worth nothing. If he were alive now, the pointing of his Poems would be the last thing about them in which he would avow any personal interest, or even opinion. Yet, in some respects, a writer's pointing, or abstinence from pointing, is more characteristic, gives us a keener insight into his mental processes, than his spelling. Why, then, do not those who insist on the preservation of the spelling of the original editions of Milton's Poems insist also on the preservation of their pointing,

with all its variations from good to passable, from passable to bad, and occasionally from bad back again to the sheer destitution of points favoured by most of his own MSS. ? For my part, I should find greater instruction, greater insight at least into the habits of defunct printing-offices, in the variable punctuation of the old texts, positively bad as it often is, than in their reasonless flutterings round our present spellings of words, shown by deviations from them in one page and returns to them in another. There is head-work, clever or stupid, in the one variation ; the other is mainly finger-work.

VI. MILTON'S VERSIFICATION AND HIS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH VERSE.

Although the terms of classical Prosody—*Iambus*, *Trochee*, *Spondee*, *Dactyl*, *Anapæst*, *Tribrach*, etc.—may be applied to English verse effectively enough on the principle of taking accented syllables for longs and unaccented for shorts, there is a superior convenience in some respects in the mode of scanning English verse adopted by Dr. Latham in his work on the English Language. Let *a* stand for an accented syllable, and *x* for an unaccented one : then for the *Iambus* we have *xa*, for the *Trochee* *ax*, for the *Spondee* *aa*, for the *Dactyl* *axx*, for the *Anapæst* *xxa*, for the *Tribrach* *xxx*, etc. ; and we have the means of constructing a formula which shall express the metre of any given line of English verse. Thus, instead of saying of the line "Dearly bought the hidden treasure" that it consists of four *Trochees*, or is *Trochaic Dimeter* or *Trochaic Quaternarius*, we may say that it is of the formula 4 *ax* ; instead of saying of the line "The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold" that it consists of four *Anapæsts*, we may say that it is of the formula 4 *xxa* ; and, instead of saying that a normal line of our ordinary blank verse consists of five *Iambi*, we can say that its formula is 5 *xa*. With the help of such additional symbols as + for a supernumerary syllable and - for a syllable, or part of a foot, in defect, we can express the peculiarities for which the terms *hypermetrical*, *catalectic*, etc., are used in classical Prosody. We shall employ this mode of notation, with some extensions, in what follows.

On the merest general survey of English Poetry in respect of its Verse-mechanism, one discerns two important features in which it contrasts with the Poetry of the Greeks and Latins, in addition to that feature of contrast which is the most obvious of all : viz. the liberty and frequency of Rhyme :—(1) English Verse is prevailingly *Iambic*, or of the *xa* metre. In Classical Poetry we have the

Dactylic Hexameter for epic, narrative, and didactic purposes, the Iambic Trimeter or Iambic Senarius for the purposes of the Tragic Drama, and the same, with Trochaic and other licences and varied ranges of measure, for the purposes of Comedy; and these metres, with that variation of the first which consists of Elegiacs or alternate Hexameters and Pentameters, share the bulk of Greek and Latin Poetry among them, while other miscellaneous metres and combinations are used by the Greek and Latin lyrists. In English Verse, on the other hand, the *xa* metre is overwhelmingly the most frequent. Trochaic, Dactylic, and Anapæstic measures occur occasionally in our lyric poetry; but the Iambic is all but our metrical factotum. Nay, among Iambic measures, we have tended mainly to one in particular. Though a good deal of our best-known poetry from Chaucer till now is in Iambic Octosyllabics or the 4 *xd* formula, much more of it is in Iambic Decasyllabics or the 5 *xa* formula. In the form of our common blank verse, or in the older form of heroic rhyming couplets, we have made this 5 *xa* metre suit for the narrative and didactic purposes to which the Greeks and Latins appropriated the Dactylic Hexameter or 6 *xxx*; we have made it suit also for the purposes of the Tragic Drama, for which they employed the Iambic Trimeter or 6 *xa*, and for the purposes of Comedy, for which they used that verse more laxly and with many licences; besides which, we use the same 5 *xa* largely for various purposes in rhyming stanzas. (2) In what has just been said another fact is involved: to wit, that the English ear has not hitherto shown itself capable of sustaining easily or continuously verse of such length of line as the classic ear favoured. There are specimens in our older poetry of verse in 6 *xa*, or even longer measures; Tennyson in his *Maud* has introduced a rhyming variation of the Dactylic Hexameter, and he has also given us poems in 8 *ax* - ; and there have been similar experiments by other recent English poets. A notable phenomenon in very recent English verse, indeed, has been the tendency to greater length of line than was formerly customary. Still the fact remains that, while the Greeks and Romans liked 6 *xxx* or 6 *xa* or yet longer measures, the English have not generally, in continuous poetry, gone beyond 5 *xa*. How is it that, while on the Greek stage the tragic dialogue was in complete Iambic Trimeters, which to our reading are 6 *xa*, our English blank verse, used for the same dramatic purpose, and for other purposes besides, gives five Iambi willingly, but shrinks from a sixth?

How far Milton conformed to the customs of English Verse which he found established, and in what respects he innovated upon these, will appear best after a chronological view of his Poems in the matter of their versification:—

EARLIEST PIECES : 1624.

Paraphrase on Psalm CXIV.—Ordinary rhyming Heroics (Iambic Decasyllabics) or the 5 *xa* couplet; with one couplet 5 *xa* +.

Paraphrase on Psalm CXXXVI.—Ordinary rhyming Iambic Octosyllabics, or the 4 *xa* couplet; with a general Trochaic or *ax* effect, arising from the fact that a good many of the lines, including the refrain, omit the initial unaccented syllable.

THE CAMBRIDGE PERIOD : 1625—1632.

On the Death of a Fair Infant : 1626.—A seven-line rhyming stanza, the first six lines 5 *xa*, the seventh line an Alexandrine or 6 *xa*. It differs only in this 6 *xa* ending from the "Rhyme Royal" of the prosodians, used by Chaucer (*Clerk's Tale*, *Troilus and Cresseide*, etc.), by Spenser (*Ruines of Time*, *Hymn of Heavenly Love*, etc.), and by Shakespeare (*Lucrece*).

At a Vacation Exercise : 1628.—Ordinary rhyming Heroics.

On the Morning of Christ's Nativity.—Introduction in same stanza as *On the Death of a Fair Infant*; but "The Hymn" in a peculiar rhyming eight-line stanza of combined 3 *xa*, 4 *xa*, 5 *xa*, and 6 *xa*.

The Passion.—Same stanza as *On the Death of a Fair Infant*.

Song on May Morning.—Ten lines of combined 5 *xa* and 4 *xa*, in rhyming couplets; with a Trochaic or *ax* effect in some of the lines.

On Shakespeare : 1630.—Ordinary rhyming Heroics.

On the University Carrier : 1630—1.—Ordinary rhyming Heroics.

Another on the Same : 1630—1.—Ordinary rhyming Heroics.

Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester : 1631.—Ordinary Octosyllabic Iambics, or 4 *xa* couplets, as in *Paraphrase of Psalm CXXXVI*; with the same frequent Trochaic or *ax* effect from the omission of the initial unaccented syllable.

Sonnets I. and II.—Both in 5 *xa* and after Italian precedents.

THE HORTON PERIOD : 1632—1638.

L'Allegro and Il Penseroso.—Both mainly in ordinary Octosyllabic Iambics, or 4 *xa* couplets, with the frequent Trochaic effect of a line in which the initial unaccented syllable is missing; but each Poem beginning with an introductory lyric of ten lines of combined 3 *xa* (or 3 *xa* +) and 5 *xa* (or 5 *xa* +).

Arcades.—Three lyrics or songs, in 4 *xa*, 3 *xa*, and 2 *xa*, variously rhymed, and with a frequent Trochaic or *ax* effect; together with a speech in ordinary rhymed Heroics, or the 5 *xa* couplet.

At a Solemn Music.—A single burst of twenty-eight lines of combined 3 *xa*, 4 *xa*, 5 *xa*, and 6 *xa*, rhyming irregularly in pairs.

On Time.—A single burst of twenty-two lines of combined 3 *xa*, 4 *xa*, 5 *xa*, and 6 *xa*, rhyming irregularly in pairs.

Upon the Circumcision.—A complex rhyming stanza of fourteen lines of, combined 2 *xa*, 3 *xa*, and 5 *xa*.

Comus : 1634.—The dialogue in the ordinary dramatic blank verse of 5 *xa* varied by 5 *xa* + (the first time of Milton's use of Blank Verse); with one passage, however (lines 495—512), in ordinary rhyming Heroics or the 5 *xa* couplet. The interspersed lyrical pieces of two sorts, viz. : 1. considerable passages of *recitative* in ordinary Octosyllabics or the 4 *xa* couplet, with the customary Trochaic liberty in many lines, and occasionally an elongation into Heroics or the 5 *xa* measure. 2. *Songs proper* in combined 2 *xa*, 3 *xa*, 4 *xa*, 5 *xa*, and 6 *xa*, variously rhymed, and often with a Trochaic liberty in the lines.

Lycidas ; 1637.—With the exception of the last eight lines, which form a separate stanza in the Ottava Rima (5 *xa*) of Ariosto, Tasso, and other poets, this

pastoral is written in a peculiar style, which may be called "The free musical paragraph." The poet, we see, had not restricted himself beforehand by any rule, unless it were that the measure was to be Iambic or *xa*, and that the poem should on the whole be in rhyme. Accordingly the poem is an exquisite example of a kind of verse which theorists might perhaps pronounce the most perfect and natural of any,—that in which the mechanism is elastic, or determined from moment to moment by the swell or shrinking of the meaning or feeling. Most of the lines are in 5 *xa*, but ever and anon this is shortened to 3 *xa*; the rhymes are occasionally in couplets, but are more frequently at longer intervals, as if running into stanzas; sometimes a rhyme affects but two lines, but sometimes it is extended through three or four,—once even through six in the same paragraph; while occasionally there is a line not rhyming at all, but so cunningly introduced that the absence of the rhyme is not felt (see *Introd. to Lycidas*, I. 201, and also Notes to the Poem in this volume).

MIDDLE LIFE (PERIOD OF PROSE POLEMICS): 1640—1660.

Sixteen English Sonnets (Sonnets VIII.—XXIII. of the General Series): 1642—1658.—These, like Sonnets I. and II., are all after the Italian form of the Sonnet in its authorised varieties (see *Introduction to the Sonnets*, I. pp. 201-6).—The piece *On the Forcers of Conscience*, belonging to the same series, is a Sonnet with a peculiar prolongation (see *Introduction to the piece*, I. pp. 216-7).—The metre in the Sonnets is, of course, always 5 *xa*; but in the "tail" or "prolongation" of the Sonnet in the last-named piece two of the lines are in 3 *xa*.

Scraps of Translated Verse in the Prose-Pamphlets.—These are all in the ordinary Blank Verse of 5 *xa*.

Horace, Ode I. V., Translated.—An unrhymed piece of sixteen lines, in alternate pairs of 5 *xa* (or 5 *xa* +) and 3 *xa*.

Psalms LXXX.—LXXXVIII.: 1648.—All in four-line stanzas of alternate 4 *xa* and 3 *xa*, or Iambic "eights and sixes": differing from the so-called Service Metre only in the fact that the first line of each stanza generally rhymes with the third, as well as the second with the fourth.

Psalms I.—VIII.: 1653.—Experiments in various metres and combinations of rhyme, no two alike (see *Introd.* I. p. 246).—Psalm I. is in ordinary rhymed Heroics or the 5 *xa* couplet; the others are in various rhymed stanzas, but all the lines in the *xa* metre, ranging from 2 *xa* or 2 *xa* + to 5 *xa* or 5 *xa* +.

LATER LIFE: 1660—1674.

Paradise Lost: 1667.—Blank Verse of the established 5 *xa* or 5 *xa* + measure; the use of which kind of verse for an Epic Poem was regarded by Milton himself as a great innovation upon English practice (see his *Preface*, II. p. 171, and note on the same in this volume).

Paradise Regained: 1671.—Ordinary Blank Verse of 5 *xa* or 5 *xa* + continued.

Samson Agonistes: 1671.—Ordinary Blank Verse of 5 *xa* or 5 *xa* + continued, save in the choruses and the lyrical parts of the soliloquies of Samson. In these, as Milton has himself explained (see his *Preface to the Poem*, II. pp. 587-8, and note on the same in this volume), he held himself released from all rule, and versified as he liked, with a view to produce in English something of the effect of the Choruses in Greek Tragedy. In the main, however, the novelty of the versification in these lyrical parts does not consist in mixture of metres, but only in the use of a blank verse of varying lengths of line in the habitual Iambic or *xa* metre, from 2 *xa* to 6 *xa* at pleasure. Occasionally, indeed, in a whole line, or in part

of a line, there is an Anapæstic or Dactylic character, or a greater deviation from the Iambic than is normal; but the very rareness of such instances at a time when Milton was avowedly free from all law, save that of his own ear, proves how difficult it was for him to get away from his normal *xa* measure, with its customary *ax* variation. It is perhaps more remarkable that, while the verse of these choral and lyric passages of intermingled short and long lines is generally Blank, like that of the dialogue, and though Milton had publicly taken farewell of Rhyme some time before, yet now and then he here reverts to Rhyme for a subtle effect. — On the whole, the verse of the choral and lyric parts of *Samson Agonistes* may be described as Blank Verse of various lengths of the Iambic metre, from 2 *xa* to 6 *xa*, with occasional touches of the Anapæstic and other metres, and with occasional rhymes.

From this survey the following facts appear:—I. Milton, from first to last, used all but exclusively the Iambic or *xa* metre, herein agreeing with the general body of English poets. Moreover, within the *xa* metre, his poetry, in conspicuously the largest proportion, keeps to the 5 *xa* line, whether blank, or in rhyming couplets, or distributed through rhyming stanzas or through free musical paragraphs. Next in frequency is the line of 4 *xa* or ordinary Octosyllabics; in his use of which he so frequently omits the initial unaccented syllable as to cause a Trochaic effect, and give us the option of scanning many of his lines either as acephalous Iambic Dimeters, or as Trochaic Dimeters catalectic. For the rest, he ranges, as we have seen, from 2 *xa* to the Alexandrine or 6 *xa*. II. Milton began with Rhymed Verse, and with customary forms of such Verse,—viz. Heroics, and Octosyllabics; and his originality afterwards did not display itself so much in positive inventions of new metres as in certain extensions of metrical usage:—(1) Very early we see him extending his range in the Rhymed Stanza by the use of stanzas which may possibly be his own; and this freedom of stanza accompanies him into later life. (2) Very early he shows his fondness for the Sonnet, after the strict Italian model. To this model he adheres in later life; and his introduction, or reintroduction, of the Italian Sonnet is, as we have elsewhere explained (I. pp. 201-206), a fact of note in the history of English Verse. (3) Very early we see a tendency in him to escape the bonds of the stanza altogether, and to indulge himself in free rhyming lyrics, conditioned, as to length of line, number and distance of rhymes, etc., purely by his own meaning, feeling, and musical tact at the moment. In this assertion of a liberty of rhyming lyrics beyond any bounds of stanza Milton had had English predecessors; but his example added importance to the practice. (4) His chief innovation in English Verse, as he himself most emphatically marked, was his disuse in his later life of Rhyme altogether for purposes to which it had been long consecrated, and his extension and adaptation to Epic Poetry of the Blank Verse which had till then, with few exceptions, been appropriated exclusively to the Drama. He had first used Blank Verse for the drama or

dialogue of his *Comus*, and in this had but followed custom; but, when he put forth his *Paradise Lost*, in 1667, wholly in Blank Verse, he could proclaim it as "an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty restored to Heroic Poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of riming." The innovation was confirmed by *Paradise Regained*. As *Samson Agonistes* was a drama, the use of Blank there for the dialogue could occasion no remark. (5) One other innovation of Milton was his deviation occasionally from the normal Blank of 5 *xa* or 5 *xa* + into a free irregular Blank of combined short and long lines of *xa*. His *Translation of Horace, Ode I.—V.* is one specimen; but the most interesting and abundant specimens are in the soliloquies and choruses of his *Samson*.

In Eckermann's *Conversations of Goethe*, under the date April 6, 1829, there is this story:—"We sat a while longer at table, taking some glasses of old Rhenish wine, with some good biscuits. Goethe hummed to himself unintelligibly. The poem of yesterday [a poem of Goethe's in three stanzas, of the date January 1788, printed in the *Zweiter Aufenthalt in Rom*] came into my head again. . . . 'One peculiarity of this poem,' said I, 'is that it has upon me the effect of rhyme, and yet it is not in rhyme. How is this?' 'That is the result of the rhythm,' he replied. 'The lines begin with a short syllable, and then proceed in trochees to the dactyl near the close, which has a peculiar effect, and gives a sad, bewailing character to the poem.' He took a pencil, and divided the line thus:—

‘Vön | mēinēm | brēitēn | Läger | bīn ich vēr | trībēn.’

"We then talked of rhythm in general, and came to the conclusion that no certain rules can be laid down in such matters. 'The measure,' said Goethe, 'flows, as it were, unconsciously from the mood of the poet. If he thought about it while writing the poem, he would go mad, and produce nothing of value.'"—A subsequent conversation on Verse and its technicalities (Feb. 9, 1831) led to remarks from Goethe which are thus reported:—"Nowadays technicalities are everything, and critics begin to torment themselves whether in a rhyme an *s* should be followed by an *s* and not an *s* by *ss*. If I were young and bold enough, I would purposely offend against all these technical whims: I would employ alliteration, assonance, false rhyme, and anything else that came into my head; but I would keep the main point in view, and endeavour to say such good things that every one should be tempted to read them and to learn them by heart."—These two anecdotes are a fit preface to what is here to follow. Milton, in the act of writing or mentally composing his poetry, did not generally think of the *minutiae* of the verse-mechanism, but obeyed the mood of his thought, and the

instinct of a musical ear as perfect and fastidious as was ever given to man. • There is no doubt, however, that, like Goethe, he could become the prosodian of his own verses when he chose, and was very learned and critical in all such matters. He would not have objected, therefore, to the most microscopic examination of his verse in search of the mechanical causes or accompaniments of the poetic effects. What of this kind can be given here may divide itself between two heads—I. Milton's Metrical Management, and II. Milton's Rhymes.

THE METRICAL MANAGEMENT.

It is by examining Milton's Blank Verse that we shall best learn his metrical art.

The formula of the normal line of Blank Verse is 5 *xa*: which means that each normal line consists of ten syllables, alternately weak and strong. Here are examples of such lines from Milton's poetry:—

- "At last a soft and solemn-breathing sound."—*Comus*, 555.
- "Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen."—*P. L.*, I. 330.
- "Of flutes and soft recorders, such as raised
To highth of noblest temper heroes old."—*P. L.*, I. 551, 552.
- "The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings."—*P. L.*, II. 494, 495.
- "And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies."—*P. L.*, II. 950.
- "And, looking round, on every side beheld
A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades."—*P. R.*, I. 295, 296.
- "And I shall shortly be with them that rest."—*S. A.* 598.

Such regular lines of five Iambi, however, are much less frequent than might be supposed, and very rarely are two or three of them found consecutively. The reason is that any considerable series of lines of this uniform construction would be unendurable. The ear demands variety; and so, *mutatis mutandis*, that happens in English Blank Verse which happened in the various kinds of classic verse. The Heroic verse of Homer and Virgil is called Dactylic Hexameter, the formula of which, if we use our symbols for accent as symbols for quantity, would be 6 *axx*. In fact, however, no line of six Dactyls exists. Not only is the last or sixth foot invariably a Spondee (*aa*); but even the fifth, which generally must be a Dactyl, may now and then be a Spondee, and any of the preceding four may be either a Spondee or a Dactyl. Thus we may have lines occasionally with only one dactylic foot. The reason for the name of the verse, therefore, is that each line has a total effect equivalent to that of six Dactyls. So in the kind of verse called Iambic Trimeter or Iambic

Senarius; which was the verse of the Greek tragedians for the dialogue, and of their Latin followers. The norm of each line was six Iambi, or, in our notation, 6 *xa*, so that the verse may be taken as our Blank lengthened by a foot. Regular lines of the six Iambi do occur; but a succession of such would have been thought monotonous. In the actual practice of the poets (Greek and Latin together) the ear therefore dictated varieties, which the prosodians, coming after them and watching what they had done, expressed in these rules,—that any one of the first five feet might be a Tribach (*xxx*); that any of the three odd feet (the 1st, the 3rd, and the 5th) might perfectly well be a Spondee (*aa*); and that this Spondee might be resolved into a Dactyl (*axx*) or an Anapæst (*xxa*) in any of the three places, though in the third place the Anapæst, and in the 5th the Dactyl, ought to be very rare. The verse was called Iambic Senarius, in short, because each line was to consist of six Iambi, or what the cultured ear would accept as equivalent. Precisely so are we to be understood when we say that the formula of Milton's Blank Verse, or of English Blank Verse generally, is 5 *xa*. Lines may occur, frequently enough, that answer exactly to that formula; but the formula only means that each line delivers into the ear a general 5 *xa* effect, the ways of producing this effect being various. What the ways are can be ascertained only by carefully reading and scanning a sufficient number of specimens of approved Blank Verse.

Unfortunately, the process of scanning Milton's Blank Verse, or any other English Verse, is not so certain as that of scanning Greek or Latin verse. All depends on the reading; and the reading depends on the taste and habits of the reader. It would be easy to read Milton's Blank Verse so that all the lines, or most of them, should be redacted by force into the normal 5 *xa*. Thus, the first line of *Paradise Lost* might be read:—

“Óf mán's | first díś | ðbéd | iénce ánd | thē frúit ”

or the very abnormal line, *P. L.*, VI. 866, might be read thus:—

“Būrt áf | tēr thém | tō thē | bōttóm | lēss pít.”

This, of course, is too horrible; and such barbarous readers are imaginary. I am not sure, however, but that, in the reading of Milton or of Shakespeare, even by persons of education and taste, especially if they are punctilious about Prosody, there is a minor form of the same fault. It consists in reading so as to *regularise* the metre wherever it is possible to do so,—in reading the *xa* tune *into* the lines through and through, wherever, by a little persuasion, they will yield to it. This, I think, is wrong. The proper way is not to *impose* the music upon the lines, but to let the music of each line *arise* out of it as it is read naturally. Only in this way can we know what metrical effect Shakespeare or Milton anywhere intended. Perhaps the elision-

marks and other such devices in the old printed texts, though well-intentioned, help to mislead here. When, in the original edition of *Paradise Lost*, I find *flamed* spelt *flam'd*, or *Heaven* spelt *Heav'n*, or *Thebes* spelt *Theb's*, I take the apostrophe as an express direction to omit the *e* sound and pronounce the words as monosyllables; but I cannot accept the apostrophe as an elision-mark of precisely the same significance in the lines "Above *th' Aonian* Mount, while it pursues" (*P. L.*, I. 15), and "That led *th' imbattelld* Seraphim to warr" (*P. L.*, I. 129),—for these reasons: (1) Because the strict utterances *th'Aonian* and *thimbattelld* are comicallities now, which I cannot conceive ever to have been serious; (2) because such contracted utterances are quite unnecessary for the metre, inasmuch as the lines are perfectly good to the ear even if the word *the* is fully, but softly, uttered, according to prose custom; and (3) because I find the same elision-mark used in the old texts in cases where it is utterly impossible that the total suppression of the *e* can have been meant. No doubt the reading of English poetry in Milton's time or Shakespeare's differed in some respects from ours. The differences, however, must have been in details of pronunciation rather than in metrical instinct. The habits of pronunciation did, of course, affect the metre. If there was an option between *inflam'd* and *inflam'd*, the metre was influenced by that; the frequent shifting of the accent in such words as *infamous*, *blasphemous*, *triumphs*, also influenced the metre; and, not seldom, to make out the metre, we have to remember the old liberty of lengthening words by resolution of single syllables of custom into two at will: e.g. *ocean* (*Od. Nat.* 66), *contemplation* (*Il. Pens.* 54). In fact, however, the metre itself generally reveals such peculiarities at the instant of their occurrence and prevents them from being obsolete. On the whole, then, it is best to assume that strictly metrical effects are pretty permanent, that what was agreeable to the English metrical sense in former generations is agreeable now, and that, even in verse so old as Chaucer's, one of the tests of the right metrical reading of any line is that it shall satisfy the present ear. For this reason, and also because Milton's poetry is a property which, by his own express intention,* we may use and enjoy after our own habits and methods, the right way of scanning his verse is to read it freely and naturally as we should read verse of our own day, subject only to a few transmitted directions, and to register the actual results as well as we can in metrical formulæ.

On this principle (which still, of course, leaves room for difference, as no two readers will read alike¹) I would offer the following

¹ For anything like delicate scanning, as Mr. A. J. Ellis has pointed out, the mere distinction of syllables into *strong* and *weak*, or *accented* and *unaccented*, is insufficient. There are *degrees* of stress in good reading even on the syllables called strong or accented, some a syllables being twice or even thrice as emphatic

as the scanning of the first twenty-six lines of *Paradise Lost*, the double formula in some places indicating an option:—

1.	xa	ax	xa	{ xx } xxx	xa
2.	xa	xa	xa	{ xa } aa	xa
3.	aa	ax	xa	xa	{ xa } aa
4.	xa	xa	xa	aa	xa
5.	xa	xx	xa	xa	xa
6.	aa	xa	{ ax } xx	xa	xa
7.	xa	xx	xa	{ xa } aa	xa
8.	aa	xx	aa	xa	xa
9.	ax	xa	xa	xa	xa
10.	ax	xa	xa	xa	xa
11.	xa	{ xa } aa	xa	{ xa } xxx	xa
12.	ax	xa	xx	xa	aa
13.	xa	aa	xa	xa	xa
14.	xx	aa	xa	xa	xa
15.	xa	xxa	xa	ax	xa
16.	{ aa } ax	xa	xa	xa	xa
17.	xa	xa	aaax	xa	xa
18.	xa	aaax	xa	{ aa } xa	xa
19.	xa	xx	aa	ax	xa
20.	xa	xx	xa	xa	{ aa } xa
21.	{ ax } aa	aa	xx	xa	xa
22.	xa	{ xa } xax	xa	xa	xa
23.	{ xa } aa	xa	xa	ax	xa
24.	{ xx } ax	xa	xa	aa	xa
25.	xa	xa	xa	xa	xa
26.	xa	xa	xa	xa	xa

*Here only two or three lines are normal, and there is great variety in the construction of the rest. In ten or eleven cases the *xa* or Iambus is absent from the first metrical place and we have instead the Trochee (*ax*), the Spondee (*aa*), or the Pyrrhic (*xx*). In thirteen lines the Iambus is absent from the second place and we have a Pyrrhic, a Trochee, a Spondee, or even an Anapæst (*xxa*) or an Antibacchius (*aaax*) instead. In the third place we have five times

others reckoned as *a*, and consequently taking twice or thrice the time in good enunciation. Efficient scanning ought to recognise this fact. In the text, however, I try to make the customary distinction between *x* and *a* suffice.

a Trochee, a Pyrrhic, or a Spondee for the Iambus, and once an Antibacchius. In the fourth place, besides the Trochee and the Spondee in several lines, we have once possibly a Tribrach (*xxx*) and once possibly an Anapæst. Even in the last place, though the Iambus most decidedly holds its own, there are one or two cases in which natural reading requires, I think, so much stress on the penultimate syllable that the foot becomes a kind of Spondee. Finally, the scanning proves that a line of Blank Verse may admit of a substitute for the Iambus in several places, and not in one only.

For a farther and more systematic view of the peculiarities of Milton's Blank Verse it will be best to distinguish his irregular lines (if it be not absurd to give that name to what is so perpetual and habitual) into two classes, according as the deviations from the supposed normal *5 x a* consist in substitutions of the other *dissyllabic* feet (the Trochee, the Pyrrhic, or the Spondee) for the regular Iambus, or in the substitutions of *trisyllabic* feet (the Anapæst, the Dactyl, the Tribrach, etc.) for the same.

I. DISSYLLABIC VARIATIONS.—From the perplexing abundance of examples of such, page after page, take, almost at random, these :—

- (1) Breathe such divine enchanting ravishment."
- (2) Drink the clear stream, and nothing wear but frieze."
- (3) Dovelike sat'st brooding on the vast Abyss,"
- (4) Nine times the space that measures day and night."
- (5) Oh how unlike the place from whence they fell."
- (6) Irreconcilable to our grand Foe."
- (7) Say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last.
- (8) Numberless as thou seest, and how they move."
- (9) Infinite wrath and infinite despair."
- (10) Whose image thou art : him thou shalt enjoy."
- (11) On a sunbeam, swift as a shooting star."
- (12) Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve."
- (13) Not to know me argues yourselves unknown."
- (14) Gabriel from the front thus called aloud."
- (15) Thus said :—Native of Heaven, for other place."
- (16) In their triple degrees : regions to which."
- (17) Created thee in the image of God."
- (18) Burnt after them to the bottomless pit."
- (19) Yet fell : remember and fear to transgress."
- (20) To the garden of bliss, thy seat prepared."
- (21) Productive on herb, plant, and nobler birth."
- (22) Greedily she ingorged, without restraint."
- (23) Shalt eat thereof all the days of thy life."
- (24) In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."
- (25) Like change on sea and land, sidereal blast."
- (26) Me, me only, just object of his ire."
- (27) Found so unfortunate ; nevertheless."
- (28) In the visions of God : it was a hill."
- (29) Justification towards God, and peace."

- (30) "To the flood Jordan—came as then obscure."
 (31) "With them from bliss to the bottomless pit."
 (32) "Among daughters of men the fairest found."
 (33) "And made him bow to the Gods of his wives."
 (34) "After forty days' fasting had remained."
 (35) "And with these words his temptation pursued."
 (36) "From that placid aspect and meek regard."
 (37) "Their enemies, who serve idols with God."
 (38) "So fares it when with truth falsehood contends."
 (39) "Surnamed Peripatetics, and the sect."
 (40) "Light from above, from the fountain of light."
 (41) "Environed thee; some howled, some yelled, some shrieked."
 (42) "In the bosom of bliss, and light of light."
 (43) "Hail, son of the Most High, heir of both Worlds."
 (44) "That invincible Samson, far renowned."
 (45) "Scandalous, or forbidden in our Law."
 (46) "Horribly loud, unlike the former shout."
 (47) "For his people of old: what hinders now?"

All these lines, it will be observed, are *decasyllabic*; and so far they are regular. There being only ten syllables in each, the forced Iambic chant might regularise them all completely, or convert them all into strict 5 *xa*: e.g. "Írréconcilæblé tō óur gránd Fóe"; "Ón á súnbéam, swift ás á shóóting stár"; "Græedflý shé íngórged with-out rēstráint"; "Thát ínvínciblē Sámson, fár rēnówned." Even where the Iambic chant is at its worst, however, it does not inflict such horrors as these, but acknowledges reluctantly that the lines are not to be regularised. A study of the facts puts all formally right by declaring that English Blank Verse admits a Trochee, a Spondee, or a Pyrrhic, for the Iambus in almost any place of the line.

Now, the possible combinations of the four dissyllabic feet *xa*, *ax*, *xx*, and *aa* in the five places, with the result of a blank verse that shall be good to the ear, are not a matter for arithmetical computation, but for experience. An examination of any one page, however, shows that they are very numerous. It is by no means to be supposed that the foregoing examples represent them all; but in these examples alone a considerable number of interesting variations may be observed. Thus the Trochee for the Iambus is very frequent in them. It appears, if I may trust to my own reading, in the first metrical place in Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 22, 29, 31, 34, 39, 40, 45, 46, giving in each case the very acceptable effect, so common in good blank verse, of a strong syllable now and then at the beginning of a line. I find it in the second metrical place in Nos. 15, 16, 20, 24, 26, 28, 32, 34, 36, 42, 44, 47; it comes in the third metrical place in Nos. 11, 12, 13, 23; and in the fourth in Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 27, 31, 33, 35, 37, 38, 40, 43. The Pyrrhic also is not uncommon. I find it, or seem to find it, in the first metrical place in Nos. 11, 16, 20, 24, 28, 30, 32, 35, 42,

44, 47; in the second in Nos. 8, 10, 14, 18, 21, 22, 37, 38, 39, 43, 45; in the third in Nos. 3, 6, 17, 18, 19, 31, 33, 35, 40; and in the fourth in Nos. 26, 34, 39, 45. One does not like to speak so surely of the Spondee, which is supposed to be rather alien to English speech; and the matter is complicated (as indeed it is in the Pyrrhic) by the delicate question of what the distinction is between accent and mere stress, strength, or quantity. Can a weak syllable, on the one hand, be said to be accented, and a syllable requiring strong or emphatic enunciation, on the other hand, be said to be unaccented? Without discussing such a subtlety, let me say that I perpetually find in Milton's verse a foot for which "Spondee" is the best name, and that it would be difficult to characterise many of his lines otherwise than by calling them Spondaic. In the foregoing examples I find, or seem to find, the Spondee for the Iambus, in the first metrical place, in Nos. 4, 5, 7, 15, 18, 19, 25, 26, 27, 38, 43; in the second metrical place, in Nos. 2, 3, 13, 30, 35; in the third metrical place in Nos. 7, 10, 21, 26, 34, 41; in the fourth metrical place in Nos. 7, 14, 41; and (what is worth observing) in the fifth or last metrical place in Nos. 6, 7, 41, 43, 45.—More appears from the examples given than merely that the Iambus may be replaced anywhere in the line by another dissyllabic foot. It appears that there may be not only one such displacement, but several such, in any line, and indeed that one displacement naturally brings others by way of correction or compensation. Thus, of the 47 lines quoted, while some exhibit but *one* displacement (*e.g.* Nos. 1, 4, 5, 29, 36, 46), there are *two* displacements in many (Nos. 2, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 33, 37, 42, 44, 47), *three* displacements in 13 (Nos. 3, 6, 11, 19, 14, 16, 19, 24, 31, 38, 39, 40, 41), *four* displacements in 6 (Nos. 7, 18, 26, 34, 35, 45), and *one* remaining line (No. 43) with actually *five* displacements, or not a single regularly placed Iambus in it. Subtle laws, no doubt, regulate the correction of one displacement by another or others; but the inquiry is too minute here.—One remark bearing on it may, however, be added. It is that the acceptability of a line to the ear, the ease with which it is passed as good or usual blank verse, is by no means in the inverse proportion of the number of its variations from the normal; and, *vice versâ*, that the strangeness of a line to the ear, the difficulty of accepting it, is by no means in the direct proportion of the number of its variations. Of the 47 specimen lines *twenty-three*, or almost exactly a half, are lines which, I think, would be accepted at once, or without much demur, as legitimate Blank Verse time—viz. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 22, 29, 30, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 45, and 46. The other half, or *twenty-four* in all,—viz. Nos. 10, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 40, 42, 44, 47—

are strange lines, out of time with the general rhythm of Blank, and some of them so startlingly so, that, in their detached state, they look like bits of prose, or lines astray from some complex chorus. Well, among those lines that would be accepted at once by everybody as in true Blank Verse time is precisely that No. 43 which is irregular or non-Iambic in all the five places: "Háil, Són of the Móst Hígh, héir of bóth Wórls" (*aa, xx, aa, ax, aa*). Of the other perfectly or easily acceptable lines, *two* exhibit *four* variations (No. 7, with actually four Spondees, and No. 45 with a Trochee, two Pyrrhics, and one Spondee), *seven* exhibit *three* variations (Nos. 3, 6, 13, 14, 38, 39, 41), *eight* exhibit *two* variations (Nos. 2, 8, 9, 12, 15, 22, 30, 37), and *five* exhibit *one* variation (Nos. 1, 4, 5, 29, 46). Of the twenty-four strange lines, on the other hand, *one* exhibits *one* variation (No. 36), *thirteen* exhibit *two* variations (Nos. 10, 17, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 32, 33, 42, 44, 47), *six* exhibit *three* variations (Nos. 11, 16, 19, 24, 31, 40), and *four* exhibit *four* variations (Nos. 18, 26, 34, 35).

From the above it results that, though five beats or accents are the normal measure of Blank Verse, yet the number of accents, unless in a peculiar sense of accent, not realised in actual pronunciation, is also variable. In a good many of the lines only four distinct accents can be counted (e.g. Nos. 8, 9, 11, 18, 20, 22, 24, 31, 33, 35, 37, 40, 42, 44, 47). In three lines (Nos. 17, 28, and 39) I can detect but three; and, on the other hand, in a few very Spondaic lines the number seems to mount to six (Nos. 2, 25, 26), seven (No. 43) or even eight (Nos. 7, 41). This diminution of the accents below four or increase above five conflicts, I know, with the common notion of accent, which makes it a mystic something, distinct from stress, strength, or anything that can be perceived in actual enunciation. But I cannot bear a nomenclature which in such a line as No. 7 would call the weak "*their*" and the strong repeated "*who*" indiscriminately unaccented syllables, or which would sink the coequality of three words in the following line with the strongest other words in it by saying that it has somehow but five accents:

" Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shapes of death."

Occasionally there will be found a line which has the full normal number of accents, but only nine syllables: e.g.

" Self-fed and self-consumed ; if this fail."

" Dwells in all Heaven charity so rare ?"

II. TRISYLLABIC VARIATIONS.—Less numerous than the lines that escape from the strict 5 *xa* formula by the substitution of the Trochee, the Pyrrhic or the Spondee, for the Iambus, but still very

frequent, are the lines that escape from the formula by the bolder substitution of one of the trisyllabic feet. This occasions even a greater irregularity in appearance; for, wherever an Anapæst, a Dactyl, a Tribrach, or other trisyllabic foot, displaces an Iambus, the line, of course, is lengthened to eleven syllables. Nevertheless the trisyllabic variation consists with the genius of English Blank Verse, and imparts to it an additional power and freedom. Again, a collection of examples, out of the abundance bedded in Milton's text, will best yield conclusions:—

1. To quench the drought of Phœbus, which as they taste."
2. Likeliest and nearest to the present aid."
3. To seek i' the valley some cool friendly spring."
4. Feared her stern frown, and she was queen o' the woods."
5. But for that damned magician, let him be girt."
6. Crams and blasphemes his feeder. Shall I go on?"
7. I must not suffer this; yet 'tis but the lees."
8. Made Goddess of the river; still she retains."
9. Created hugest that swim the ocean stream."
10. Inexorably, and the torturing hour."
11. Whom reason hath equalled, force hath made supreme."
12. Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain."
13. Passion and apathy and glory and shame."
14. Immeasurably: all things shall be our prey."
15. The intricate wards, and every bolt and bar."
16. Of massy iron or solid rock with ease."
17. So he, with difficulty and labour hard."
18. Moved on: with difficulty and labour he."
19. If true, here only, and of delicious taste."
20. The organs of her fancy, and with them forge."
21. Virtue in her shape how lovely: saw and pined."
22. No inconvenient diet, nor too light fare."
23. Each to other like, more than on Earth is thought."
24. Plant of the field, which ere it was on the Earth."
25. Of rainbows and starry eyes. The waters thus."
26. Over fish of the sea and fowl of the air."
27. Carnation, purple, azure, or specked with gold."
28. How dies the Serpent? He hath eaten and lives."
29. Thorns also and thistles it shall bring thee forth."
30. That, jealous of their secrets, fiercely opposed."
31. Wherefore didst thou beget me? I sought it not."
32. Thy punishment then justly is at his will."
33. To a tell adversary, his hate and shame."
34. Not this rock only: his omnipresence fills."
35. In piety thus and pure devotion paid."
36. Fled and pursued transverse the resonant fugue."
37. Ridiculous, and the work Confusion named."
38. By day a cloud, by night a pillar of fire."
39. Their city, his temple, and his holy ark."
40. The throne hereditary, and bound his reign."
41. Needs must the Serpent now his capital bruise."
42. By vision found thee in the Temple, and spake."
43. Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art."

44. ' And on that high authority had believed."
45. ' Behold the Kings of the Earth how they oppress."
46. ' Little suspicious to any king ; but now."
47. ' Powers of Fire, Air, Water and Earth beneath."
48. ' No advantage, and his strength as oft assay."
49. ' Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove."
50. ' From us, his foes pronounced, glory he exacts."
51. ' How quick they wheeled, and, flying, behind them shot."
52. ' Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight."
53. ' City or suburban, studious walks and shades."
54. ' Shook the arsenal, and fulmined over Greece."
55. ' Epicurean, and the Stoic severer"
56. ' Have brought thee and highest placed ; highest is best."
57. ' The mystery of God, given me under pledge."
58. ' By the idolatrous rout amidst their wine."
59. ' With youthful courage and magnanimous thoughts."
60. ' Wilt thou then serve the Philistines with that gift?"
61. ' Miraculous, yet remaining in those locks."
62. ' Out, out, hyæna ! These are thy wonted arts."
63. ' She's gone, a manifest serpent by her sting."
64. ' The sumptuous Dalila floating this way."
65. ' Afford me, assassinated and betrayed."
66. ' Tongue-doughty giant, how dost thou prove me these?"
67. ' This insolence other kind of answer fits."
68. ' Whether he durst accept the offer or not."
69. ' To something extraordinary my thoughts."
70. ' Relation more particular and distinct."

All these lines might be rectified into Decasyllabics by supposing elisions, slurs, or contracted utterances ; and there are some who seem to favour such a practice. There could be no more absurd error. Will any one venture to say that the word "*Phæbus*" in No. 1 is to be pronounced "*Phæbs*," the word "*magician*" in No. 5 "*magishn*," the words "*feeder*" and "*river*" in Nos. 6 and 8 "*feed*" and "*riv*," the words "*the ocean-stream*" in No. 9 "*thocean-stream*," the word "*reason*" in No. 11 "*reezn*," the word "*difficulty*" in No. 17 "*diffikty*," the word "*purple*" in No. 27 "*purp*," the word "*ridiculous*" in No. 37 "*ridic'lous*," the word "*capital*" in No. 41 "*captal*," the words "*No advantage*" in No. 48 "*Nadvantage*," the word "*Philistines*" in No. 60 "*Philstines*," the word "*giant*" in No. 66 "*gint*," or the word "*particular*" in No. 70 "*partiklar*"? Did Milton require these pronunciations in his verse, or the other violences and comicalities that would be necessary to reduce the rest of the lines to Decasyllabics? I do not believe he did ; and, if Blank Verse required such, Blank Verse would not be worth having. But it does not. The lines above and any other such lines remain perfectly good Blank Verse, even with the most leisurely natural enunciation of the spare syllable ; and the pedantic expression of this fact is that English Blank Verse admits a trisyllabic substitute for the Iambus in any place, and may thus become hendecasyllabic.

Scanning the seventy specimen lines, we make out this result ; which may pass on the whole, though it is by no means likely that it will be accepted in all particulars.—In *eighteen* the supposition of an Anapæst (*xxa*) mends the line,—three times in the first metrical place (Nos. 26, 43, 48) ; six times in the second metrical place (Nos. 3, 21, 29, 56, 64, 65) ; three times in the third (Nos. 9, 12, 45) ; three times in the fourth (Nos. 47, 51, 57) ; and three times in the last (Nos. 5, 10, 24). In *six* lines the Dactyl (*axx*) solves the knot,—four times in the first place (Nos. 2, 46, 49, 53) ; once in the second place (No. 54) ; and once in the fourth place (No. 50). The Tribach also accounts for *six*,—once in the first place (No. 55) ; once in the second (No. 14) ; and four times in the third (Nos. 17, 18, 33, 40). For *three* lines the Antibacchius (*aax*) comes to the rescue, twice in the second place (Nos. 19 and 34), and once in the third (No. 32) ; and for *two* lines the rarer Cretic (*axa*) is the solvent, once in the first place (No. 23) and once in the fourth (No. 7). This leaves thirty-five of the lines, or exactly one half, unaccounted for ; and in these, strange to say, the neatest agent is the Amphibrach (*xax*). It fits the first place eight times (Nos. 11, 15, 25, 35, 37, 39, 61, 67), the second seven times (Nos. 16, 27, 52, 58, 62, 63, 66), the third eleven times (Nos. 1, 5, 6, 8, 20, 22, 31, 44, 60, 69, 70), and the fourth nine times (Nos. 13, 28, 30, 36, 38, 41, 42, 59, 68).—The introduction of a trisyllabic foot is apt to cause a disturbance even in the rest of the fabric of the line, made up as it is of dissyllabic feet with their accents. Hence some of the lines quoted require very peculiar scanning, apart from the inserted trisyllabic foot. Some of them, indeed, would not pass for Blank Verse at all if they stood by themselves, and are such only when fused into the music of the context : *e.g.* Nos. 24 and 26. In both these cases Milton is quoting from Scripture, and it is his habit then to compel the metre to adopt the literal text.

Are there any examples of two trisyllabic variations in one line ? There are, though exceedingly rare. I quote a few :—

- (1) " Wallowing unwieldy, enormous in their gait."
- (2) " Where obvious duty erewhile appeared unsought."
- (3) " Of sorrow unfeigned and humiliation meek."
- (4) " Though ravenous, taught to abstain from what they brought."
- (5) " The one winding, the other straight, and left between."
- (6) " Aim at the highest : without the highest attained."
- (7) " Curiosity, inquisitive, importune."

In each of these, if the pronunciation is not slurred, there are twelve syllables ; and yet they are not Alexandrines. They are verses with two trisyllabic feet each, so that the metre of the whole line is pushed wider by two syllables. Thus in number 1 "*Wallowing*" is a Dactyl in the first place, followed by an Anapæst in the third ;

in No. 2 there is an Anapæst in the second place, followed by another, or perhaps rather a Bacchius (*xaa*), in the third; in No. 3 there is an Amphibrach in the first place, followed by a Cretic in the fourth; in No. 4 there is an Amphibrach in the first place, followed by an Anapæst in the third; in No. 5 a Bacchius begins the line, followed by an Anapæst; in No. 6 there is an Amphibrach in the second place, repeated in the fourth; and, if No. 7 is to be scanned at all, it is by supposing an Anapæst in the first place, followed by a Tribrach in the second, a Trochee in the third, and then two Iambi.

If all Milton's thousands of lines of Blank Verse, therefore, were examined individually, they might be distributed, so far as we have yet seen, into four sorts:—I. The normal 5 *xa*, or pure Decasyllabics of five Iambi. Such lines do occur pretty numerous, and generally, I think, with a calming, soothing, or pathetic effect. II. The 5 *xa*, with more or less of dissyllabic variation. This is by far the prevailing sort, and is divisible into sub-varieties, according to the amount and method of the dissyllabic variation. III. Lines of the 5 *xa* formula converted into Hendecasyllabics by some single trisyllabic variation. These are numerous. IV. Lines of 5 *xa* widened into Duodecasyllabics by a double trisyllabic variation. These are exceedingly rare.

Of one feature of Milton's Blank Verse we have hitherto taken no account. It is THE SUPERNUMERARY FINAL SYLLABLE. This is a distinct thing from the supernumerary syllable or syllables that may arise within any line from the trisyllabic variation. It is a relic of the old English habit of speech which made it natural, as we see in Chaucer, to end verses with a weak syllable after a strong, as the Italians, and other nations do yet. In Shakespeare the ending of a line with a supernumerary weak syllable after the last strong one was perfectly optional: often there are five or six such lines consecutively in a single speech.—How far did Milton keep up the habit? With respect to this question, we must distinguish between Milton's Dramatic Blank Verse, in his *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes*, and his Narrative Blank Verse, the adoption of which for his *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* he claimed as almost an invention.—The eighth line of *Comus* is one with a supernumerary final syllable ("Strive to keep up a frail and feverish being"); the tenth is the same; and throughout the Masque such lines occur at intervals to the number of about 70 in all, or about 9 per cent of the whole. It appears, therefore, that Milton availed himself of the traditional liberty of 5 *xa* + for dramatic blank verse, though more sparingly than was usual with the stage-dramatists.—Not even in his Narrative Blank did he quite reject the convenient liberty. In the

first Book of *Paradise Lost*, consisting of 798 lines, I count nine lines with a supernumerary final syllable. This is at the rate of about one in every hundred; and I rather think that the proportion throughout most of the poem is not in excess of that, though it varies in different Books, and in Book X. in particular I have noted at least fifty-two extra-syllabled lines in a total of 1104, or at the rate nearly of one in every twenty. In *Paradise Regained*, containing altogether 2070 lines, the number of extra-syllabled lines, as roughly observed, is 70 or more; which is at the rate of one in every thirty. On the whole, therefore, the notion that Milton disapproved of lines of this kind in Epic Blank Verse has been exaggerated. That he did hold them less suitable, however, for Epic Blank Verse than for Dramatic Blank Verse, is suggested not only by his very moderate use of them in his epics, but also by the fact that such lines are most frequent there in the dramatic parts or speeches.—The idea is confirmed when we pass to *Samson Agonistes*. He rather revels in the liberty of extra-syllabled lines in that dramatic poem. The blank-verse dialogue parts of the drama make about 1300 lines, and I have counted over 230 extra-syllabled lines among them, or more than one in every six. They sometimes come very thickly. In one speech of Samson's there are twelve in thirty-two lines, and there are instances of three or four quite consecutively.

This fact of the occasional Supernumerary Final Syllable imports an additional metrical peculiarity into Milton's Blank Verse, inasmuch as it may occur in any of the four sorts into which on other grounds his lines may be distributed.

When it occurs in a line of the first sort, *i.e.* composed otherwise of five pure consecutive Iambi, it simply makes that line 5 *xa* +, or hendecasyllabic: *e.g.*

“While thus I called, and strayed I knew not whither.”

When it occurs in a line of the second sort, *i.e.* which would be otherwise 5 *xa* with dissyllabic variation or variations, the result similarly is 5 *xa* + of that sort, also hendecasyllabic: *e.g.*

“Eternal King: thee author of all being.”

But when it occurs in a line of the third sort or of the fourth,—*i.e.* in a line of the single or the double trisyllabic variation,—more happens. Such lines are still properly of the 5 *xa* formula, inasmuch as the trisyllabic feet introduced are but substitutes for *xa* in the places where they come, but they are already hendecasyllabic or duodecasyllabic. Now when such a line acquires a supernumerary final syllable, or becomes 5 *xa* +, we have the curious phenomenon of a line perfectly within the rule of Blank Verse, perfectly answering to the 5 *xa* + formula, and yet containing *twelve* or even *thirteen*

syllables. Here are examples of a length of *twelve* syllables so occasioned in lines already hendecasyllabic by the action of a single internal trisyllabic variation :—

"The fellows of his crime, the followers rather."

"Virtue, as I thought, truth, duty, so enjoining."

"Some way or other yet farther to afflict thee."

And here is one example of a length of *thirteen* syllables produced by the supernumerary final syllable in lines already duodecasyllabic in virtue of two internal trisyllabic variations :—

"By spiritual, to themselves appropriating."

Instances of lines twelve or thirteen syllables long are among the extreme rarities of Milton's text ; but there is yet another way in which such a rarity may occur. It is by the accident or inadvertence of an *Alexandrine*—i.e. of a line not at all of the proper 5 *xa* or 5 *xa* + rhythm merely widened by trisyllabic variation and the supernumerary final syllable, but distinctly of the 6 *xa* rhythm. An ordinary Alexandrine consists of twelve syllables (six pure Iambi or an equivalent of dissyllabic feet) thus :—

"From out his secret altar touched with hallowed fire."—*Od. Nat.* 28.

"While birds of calm sit brooding on the charmed wave."—*Od. Nat.* 68.

But then, as an Alexandrine itself is susceptible of internal trisyllabic variation as well as dissyllabic, and as it may also have a supernumerary final syllable or be 6 *xa* +, we may have Alexandrines of *thirteen* syllables (or even perhaps *fourteen*) : thus :—

"And leave her glorious mansions to the peering day."—*Od. Nat.* 140.

"Bright-harnessed Angels sit in order serviceable."—*Od. Nat.* 244.

"So huge their numbers, and so numberless their nation."—*F. Q.* IV. xii.

Are there any Alexandrines in Milton's Blank Verse ? There are some, both of twelve syllables and of thirteen, scattered through the choruses in *Samson*, where, as we have said (*ante*, p. 111), Milton ranges freely from 2 *xa* to 6 *xa* : e.g.—

"No strength of man or fiercest wild beast could withstand."—127.

"With studied argument and much persuasion sought."—658.

"Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times."—695.

In these choruses, however, Milton holds himself released from all ordinary rule ; and in his Blank Verse proper, narrative or dramatic, it is much more difficult to find a true Alexandrine. In *Comus*, 617, where the end of a speech of the Elder Brother runs into one line with the beginning of a speech of the Guardian Spirit, the two fragments form an Alexandrine, thus :—

“As to make this relation?

Spirit:

Care and utmost shifts.”

The following are also perhaps examples:—

“As if she would her children should be riotous.”—*Comus*, 763.

“For solitude sometimes is best society.”—*P. L.*, IX. 249.

“Such solitude before choicest society.”—*P. R.*, I. 302.

“Private respects must yield, with grave authority.”—*S. A.* 868.

It may be maintained that these last are not positive examples, inasmuch as they may be taken rather as lines of 5 *xa* with *two* super-numerary weak final syllables; and the same may be said more plausibly of such lines as the following:—

“Is now the labour of my thoughts: ’tis likeliest.”—*Com.* 192.

“Great benefactors of mankind, deliverers.”—*P. R.*, III. 82.

“Samson, of all thy sufferings think the heaviest.”—*S. A.* 445.

“To accept of ransom for my son, their prisoner.”—*S. A.* 1460.

Nevertheless, exactly such lines do pass for Alexandrines in poems where Alexandrines are due, the two final weak syllables passing (as often in *xa* verse) for a distinct foot: *c.g.*

“In whose dead face he redd great magnanimity.”—*Spens. F. Q.* II. viii. 23.

“This garden to adorn with all variety.”—*F. Q.* II. xii. 59.

Whether, after such precedents, we call the above examples from Milton Alexandrines, or whether we call them, as it is perhaps best to do in dramatic dialogue, only 5 *xa* lines with two super-numerary final syllables, in either case we see in them lines of twelve or thirteen syllables produced by a cause different from those already noted.

THE CÆSURA.—This term is used in different senses by prosodians; but it seems best, for English verse, to understand by it the pause attending the conclusion of a period, or of some logical section of a period, when that pause occurs anywhere else than at the end of a line. That Milton attached some importance to the Cæsura, in this sense, as a factor in Blank Verse, may be inferred from his Prefatory Note to *Paradise Lost*, where, defending the all-sufficiency of Blank Verse for “true musical delight,” he says that such true musical delight “consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and *the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another.*” Now, in this sense, I think I can report with some certainty that the most frequent Cæsura in Milton’s Blank Verse is at the end of the third foot (*i.e.* generally after the sixth syllable, though it may occasionally be after the seventh, or even after the eighth): *c.g.*—

" And took in strains that might create a soul
Under the ribs of Death." ||

" In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
High overarched embower." ||

" Prone on the flood extended long and large
Lay floating many a rood." ||

" Dropt from the zenith, like a falling star,
On Lemnos, the Ægean isle." ||

This, I think, is also Shakespeare's favourite Cæsura. Next in frequency in Milton is the Cæsura after the second foot (generally the fourth syllable): *e.g.*—

" A thousand demigods on golden seats
Frequent and full." ||

After these two, but a long way after them, the most common are the Cæsura in the middle of the third foot (generally after the fifth syllable), and that in the middle of the fourth foot (generally after the seventh syllable): *e.g.*—

" shapes and forms,
The heads and leaders thither haste where stood
Their great Commander." ||

" Lay vanquished, rolling in the fiery gulf
Confounded, though immortal." ||

Considerably less frequent still is the Cæsura after the completed fourth foot (generally the eighth syllable); and still more rare, though occasional, are the Cæsuras at the middle of the second foot (generally after the third syllable) and after the first completed foot (generally the second syllable):—

" Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow and pain
From mortal or immortal minds. || Thus they."

" for now the thought
Both of lost happiness and lasting pain
Torments him. || Round he throws his baleful eyes."

" And now his heart
Distends with pride, and, hardening in his strength,
Glories : || for never since created Man."

Very rare indeed is the Cæsura in the middle of the fifth foot (*i.e.* after what is generally the ninth syllable); but there are instances:—

" Were it a draught for Juno when she banquets,
I would not taste thy treasonous offer. || None
But such as are good men can give good things."

Hardly to be found at all is the Cæsura after the first syllable or in the middle of the first foot; but this may pass as an instance:—

" The Ionian Gods, of Javan's issue held
Gods ; || yet confessed later than Heaven and Earth."

MILTON'S RHYMES.

ALLITERATION, which played so important a part in Anglo-Saxon and other old Teutonic verse, and which was systematically kept up afterwards in English Rhymed Poetry, to a greater extent than has commonly been observed, was not a regular device with Milton. Neither did he permit himself that liberty of occasional ASSONANCE instead of Rhyme, or as an approach to Rhyme, of which there are traces in Spenser, and in more recent poets: e.g. Burns. Assonance at its fullest, as in Spanish ballad-poetry, consists in the recurrence of the same vowel-sound, but in different consonantal settings, at the ends of lines, where we expect rhymes:—thus, *back...cat, bold...rose, seeming...beaker, assenting...protested*, would be English assonances. English poets would hardly venture on such assonances as these in the place of rhymes; but Spenser has *deckt...set, alone...home, gotten...soften, discover...mother, encomber...thunder, labour...favour, tempted...consented*, and the like, which are really assonances simulating rhyme; and Burns has in the same way *Luath...you have, kent yet...contented, behint her...vintner, Montgomery...drumly, glory...afore thee, early...Mary*, etc. Goethe, as we have seen, asserted the right of a real poet to such assonances if he chose. Milton claimed no such right. In that portion of his poetry where he had yielded to the weakness, as he came at last to regard it, of seeking musical effect in anything else than “apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another,” he had been content with RHYME PROPER, or “the jingling sound of like endings,” as the one regular device in addition.

RHYMES, however, may be either *Perfect* or *Imperfect*; and nearly the whole question as to Milton's practice in rhyming connects itself with this distinction:—I. PERFECT RHYME consists of the stated recurrence, at metrical intervals, of exactly the same vocal endings, whether vowel-sounds simply (e.g. *go...blow, eye...cry*), or vowel-sounds with consonantal additions completing the syllable (e.g. *gold...bold...mould...rolled, rose...close...blows, hand...stand, bear...spare, pause...draws*), or vowel-sounds with such additions as to make farther syllables (e.g. *going...blowing, beaming...streaming, thunder...plunder, mountains...fountains, utility...facility*). Obviously, from this definition, a perfect rhyme may be single or monosyllabic, double or dissyllabic, or even triple or trisyllabic: obviously also, it is not identity of spelling that is required, but only identity of sound in the vowel that leads the rhyme, and in all that follows it, if anything does follow it to complete the rhyme. Two sorts of Rhyme, however, that would be “perfect” according to this definition, are excluded, nevertheless, from good English verse. One is

the *identical rhyme*: i.e. a rhyme perfect by the foregoing rule, but unfortunate in having the same consonantal sound repeated *before* the leading vowel-sound: e.g. *verse...converse*, *so...sew*, *leaving...believing*. Though French verse favours such rhymes, and they are found in Italian, they are forbidden in modern English. Equally forbidden in all serious poetry is what may be called *The Provincial Rhyme*, or that in which the rhyme is good only by a pronunciation peculiar to a locality or district. Rhymes of this sort specially worthy of reprobation are such Cockney Rhymes as "*arm—calm*," "*morn...dawn*," "*morning...dawning*," "*Ah...far*," "*lyre...Sophia*," "*higher...Thalia*." Keats was, I think, the first classic English poet that fell into such rhymes, but they have become alarmingly frequent of late in South of England verse.—II. IMPERFECT RHYMES are those which, though falling short of the conditions of Perfect Rhyme, yet give, whether from custom, or from their approximation to Perfect Rhyme, a similar pleasure to the ear. They may be variously classified; but perhaps the following classification, suggested in part by Mr. A. J. Ellis's collection of imperfect rhymes from Moore and Tennyson (*Early English Pronunciation*, pp. 858—862), is practically sufficient:—(1) Weak or unaccented sounds rhyming with the same, or nearly the same, strong or accented: e.g. *misery...see*, *eternity...free*, *agonies...freeze*, *myrrh...lovelier*, *minister...fir*, *visible...hill*, *festival...all*, etc. (2) Consonantal Rhymes, or Vowel-sounds rhyming with different vowel-sounds because the sequent consonants are the same: e.g. *love...move*, *love...grove*, *home...come*, *one...alone*, *blood...good*, *heaven...even*, *clamber...chamber*, *death...sheath*, *have...save*, *urn...mourn*, *God...abroad*, *Christ...mist*, *earth...forth*, etc. Such rhymes are quite common in the best modern English poets, and are therefore legitimate. Many of them are called specially *Eye-Rhymes*, because the sameness of the spelling helps to reconcile them to the ear. (3) Rhymes in which the vowel-sounds differ decidedly, and there is also a difference of accent: e.g. *die...sympathy*, *eyes...mysteries*, *Christ...Evangelist*. The accepted rhymes of this sort are comparatively few, and some of them are Eye-Rhymes. (4) Rhymes in which, the vowel-sounds either agreeing somewhat or differing essentially, the succeeding consonants yet differ, so that the effect is that of Imperfect Assonance: e.g. *his...bliss*, *peace...these*, *house...vows*, *else...tells*, *vase...grace*, *breath...wreath*, *pass...was*, *face...gaze*, etc.

Mr. A. J. Ellis, in his work on *Early English Pronunciation*, propounds it as an *a priori* principle that "when few people can read, rhymes, to be intelligible, must be perfect." The principle may be questioned. Is it not inconsistent with the order of development in such things, as shown in the delight which young children take even now in very imperfect rhymes, and the difficulty

of getting them to distinguish between perfect rhymes and imperfect, and also in the fact that very imperfect rhymes pass most easily in popular and vernacular poetry? Quite independent of the principle, however, is the conclusion which Mr. Ellis has arrived at respecting the practice of Chaucer, Gower, and the other oldest English rhyming poets. Their rhymes, he contends (pp. 245 *et seq.*), are all but invariably perfect, apparent exceptions being due either to wrong reading or to clerical errors in the editions. Very soon, however, says Mr. Ellis, this strictness of rhyming ceased, and when we reach the time of Spenser and Shakespeare we are in a changed world. The era of perfect rhymes, he says, is then left behind, so that it is no longer possible to derive exact information as to the pronunciations of words from the rhymes of the poets. He is especially severe on Spenser, to whose laxities and forced shifts in rhyming he devotes ten pages (pp. 862—871). Sir Philip Sidney he finds more careful in this particular, though with licences unknown to Chaucer and Gower (pp. 872—874); and of Shakespeare the report (pp. 953—966) is that, as he was a contemporary of Spenser, and doubtless a reader of the *Faery Queene*, we do not expect "any very great regularity in his rhymes," and should be much disappointed if we did. Although Mr. Ellis expressly refrains from "the æsthetic question," and confines himself to an investigation and statement of the facts, one rather infers, from his tone and some of his phrases, that he regrets the laxity which introduced imperfect rhymes into English verse and regards it as a degeneracy. Goethe's *dictum* on the subject to Eckermann ought, therefore, again to be remembered, as well as the fact that imperfect rhymes have been ratified by the continued practice of the most careful and musical of our poets, Tennyson among the latest.

Milton's practice is interesting in itself, and may be allowed to have some bearing on the æsthetic question.—He has, of course, his full proportion of Perfect Rhymes, chiefly monosyllabic, but occasionally dissyllabic. Equally of course, we may add, no sanction of the hideous modern Cockney rhymes, as claiming to belong to this class, will be found in him. Of "identical rhymes" he is not so innocent, though one can see that, despite the example of Chaucer, Spenser, and the Italian poets generally, he did not like them. In *Psalm* LXXX. 21-23 he makes "*tears*" rhyme to itself; in *Psalm* LXXXVI. 26—28 he makes "*works*" rhyme to itself; in *Vac. Ex.* 89, 90, he makes "*not*" rhyme with "*knot*"; in *Sonnet* IX. he makes the proper name "*Ruth*" rhyme with "*ruth*" the abstract noun; in *Psalm* II. 20—22 he makes "*averse*" rhyme with "*converse*"; in *Psalm* VII. 32—35 he makes "*righteousness*" rhyme with "*wickedness*"; in *Psalm* LXXX. he makes "*vouchsafe*" rhyme several times with "*safe*"; and search may

detect some more latent instances. On the other hand, in the Psalm Translations in Service metre, when a rhyme is due in the third line to the word ending the first, he sometimes fails to give it. In these Psalm Translations, however, he was not at all fastidious. —But what in the main matter of Imperfect Rhymes? Well, Milton, if not so lax here as Spenser had been, fully asserted the liberty which has been maintained by succeeding English poets to this day. He furnishes examples freely of all the kinds of Imperfect Rhymes recognised in our classification. The following is a pretty extensive miscellaneous list of his Imperfect Rhymes; but it is representative only, and does not profess to be complete. Some of the rhymes noted only once occur several times:—

IMPERFECT RHYMES IN MILTON.

timelessly ... dry	stood ... blood	promontory ... story
blest ... hoverest	tears ... characters	feast ... guest
sphere ... were	entombed ... consumed	societies ... eyes
hence ... pestilence	flood ... good	youth' ... shew'th
first ... worst	verse ... pierce	even ... Heaven
deity ... he	throne ... thereon	pored on ... word on ... Gordon
pass ... was	birth ... earth	good ... blood
come ... room	one ... soon	throng ... tongue
birth ... hearth	request ... feast	God ... load
still ... invisible	stood ... bud	victories ... arise
nothing ... clothing	wears ... tears (n)	chide ... denied
spreads ... meads	fall ... funeral	save ... have
underneath ... death	grave ... have	seat ... great
unsufferable ... table	moan ... Helicon	wear ... severe
God ... abode	one ... overthrown	again ... sustain
her ... paramour	known ... down	alone ... one
eyes ... deformities	home ... come	put ... glut
sphere ... harbinger	affirm ... term	iniquity ... he
stood ... flood	hearers ... bearers	unstable ... miserable
appear ... bear	were ... carrier	peace ... less
voice ... noise	seas ... increase	soul ... roll ... foul
lose ... close	end ... fiend	this ... is
alone ... unio	tic ... harmony	righteousness ... cease
quire ... heir	strove ... above	severe ... forbear
said ... made	throne ... Contemplation	Deity ... high
great ... set	mirth ... hearth	great ... set
vanity ... die	Bear ... sphere	lord ... word
wearing ... steering	tragedy ... by	wet ... great
infancy ... glorify	groves ... loves	rise ... enemies
session ... throne	breathe ... beneath	shield ... withheld
bliss ... is	I ... harmony	forgive ... grieve
torn ... mourn	lie ... necessity	harbinger ... err
sweat ... seat	were ... her	done ... alone
Ashtaroth ... both	excuse (n) ... muse	God ... abroad
horn ... mourn	gone ... overgrown	shew ... true
fast ... haste	return ... mourn	on ... Son
stable ... serviceable	wear ... ear	fast ... placed
verse ... fierce	flood ... mood	ear ... her

IMPERFECT RHYMES (*continued*).

there ... clear	drove ... move	true ... shew
prayer ... are	prove ... love	tomb ... comb
great ... entreat	descrie ... solemnity	wave ... have
known ... oblivion	pair ... are	resort ... sport
removed ... loved	have ... cave	there ... cheer
eye ... misery	where ... sphere	shew ... dew
forth ... worth	skies ... harmonies	wound (n) ... ground
severity ... lie	madrigal ... vale	were ... her

A doubt may exist whether some of these rhymes, imperfect now in our present pronunciation of English, may not have been perfect in the pronunciation of Milton's time. With respect to two of the pronunciations, where such a supposition seems most plausible (*roll...soul...foul*, and *shew...dew...true*, with *shew'th...youth*), this point has been discussed already in the part on Spelling. But, with all possible deduction on account of such dubious pronunciations, the proof is positive that Milton made free and large use of imperfect rhymes. From a rough calculation, I should say that, in the whole of his rhymed poetry, extending to about 2700 lines, every eighth or tenth rhyme is more or less imperfect. Nor is it only in his least elaborate poems and passages that such rhymes occur. They occur in passages the most finished and dainty, the most lyrical and musical. Take for example the Echo Song in *Comus*, sung by the lost Lady in the woods at night. That song is avowedly an address to the very Genius of Sound; it is the song of which the Guardian Spirit said that its perfection had enraptured Silence herself, and might have created a soul under the ribs of Death. Well, that song is even conspicuous for its imperfect rhymes:—

“ Sweet Echo, sweetest nymph, that liv’st unseen
 Within thy airy shell
 By slow Meander’s margent green,
 And in the violet-embroidered vale
 Where the love-lorn nightingale
 Nightly to thee her sad song mourneth well:
 Canst thou not tell me of a gentle pair
 That likest thy Narcissus are?
 O, if thou have
 Hid them in some flowery cave,
 Tell me but where,
 Sweet Queen of Parley, Daughter of the Sphere!
 So may’st thou be translated to the skies,
 And give resounding grace to all Heaven’s harmonies!”

NOTES TO THE POEMS

PREFACE TO THE NOTES

THE chief commentators and annotators on Milton's Poetry have been mentioned in our Introductions to the Poems severally; but it may be well here to present them in conspectus:—

1695. P. H. φιλοπονήτης, *i.e.* PATRICK HUME: in his folio volume of *Annotations on Paradise Lost*. See Introd. to *P. L.* II. pp. 25—26.

1712. ADDISON: in his Criticisms on *Paradise Lost* in the *Spectator*. See Introd. to *P. L.* II. p. 26.

1732. BENTLEY: in his extraordinary edition of *Paradise Lost*. See Introd. to *P. L.* II. pp. 29—32.

1733. DR. ZACHARY PEARCE. See Introd. to *P. L.* II. p. 32 and n.

* 1734. The two JONATHAN RICHARDSONS (father and son): in their *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Paradise Lost, with a Life of the Author, etc.* See Introd. to *P. L.* II. pp. 74, 75 and n.

1744. JAMES PATERSON, M.A.: in *A Complete Commentary, with Etymological, Explanatory, Critical, and Classical Notes on Paradise Lost*. London. The commentary, which is largely philological, occupies 512 pages small 8vo, and is not accompanied by the text of the poem.

1749. DR., afterwards BISHOP, NEWTON: in his edition of *Paradise Lost* in 1749 in two volumes quarto, and his appended edition of *Paradise Regained, Samson Agonistes, and the Minor Poems* in 1752, in one volume quarto. See Introd. to *P. L.* II. pp. 35, 36. Newton's volumes, in these and in subsequent editions of them, contained, in addition to his own notes, and selections from notes previously published, notes furnished to him by DR. GREENWOOD, DR. PEARCE, Warburton, Jortin, Dr. Heylin, Mr. Calton, Mr. Thyer of Manchester, and others.

1750. JOHN CALLANDER : in an edition of the First Book of *Paradise Lost*, published this year by Robert and Andrew Foulis of Glasgow. Callander, who was a Scottish laird, scholar, and antiquary, born about 1721, not only annotated the First Book for that Glasgow edition, but prepared, or compiled, voluminous Notes to the whole Poem. "The labour of many of the best years of my life," he styles them in one of his letters; so that, as he had published a portion of them in 1750, he may have continued the work till 1760 or later. He lived till 1789; but, though he had published several antiquarian books and papers in the interval, he appears to have regarded his Commentary on *Paradise Lost* with peculiar satisfaction, and to have been anxious for its preservation. Accordingly, in 1781, he had presented it to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, of which he was a fellow; and it is still in the possession of that Society, in nine thin folio MS. volumes. A report on it, and especially on the amount of Callander's indebtedness to his predecessor and compatriot, Patrick Hume, was drawn up in 1826 by Mr. David Laing, and is printed in the Society's Transactions: vol. iii. part 1. Mr. Laing's conclusion was that Callander had undoubtedly used Hume's Commentary, helping himself to what he liked in it, just as Bishop Newton had done, though not with such direct acknowledgment, and that he had also helped himself in the same way to matter from other commentators, especially Bishop Newton, but that, after all, he could not be called "a servile copier," but on the contrary impressed one with respect for his "erudition and judgment," and his laborious devotedness to his task.

1751. JOHN MARCHANT : in an edition of *Paradise Lost*, with Notes, chiefly selected from previous commentators. See Introd. to *P. L.* II. p. 37.

1763. JOHN WESLEY, the famous divine: in an edition of *Paradise Lost* put forth on a very peculiar principle: "This inimitable work, amidst all its beauties," Wesley said, "is unintelligible to abundance of readers, the immense learning which he [Milton] has everywhere crowded together making it quite obscure to persons of a common education. This difficulty, almost insuperable as it appears, I have endeavoured to remove in the following Extract: first by omitting those lines which I despaired of explaining to the world without using abundance of words; and, secondly, by adding short and easy notes."

1773. JAMES BUCHANAN: in *The First Six Books of Paradise Lost, rendered into Grammatical Construction, etc., with Notes*. This publication was posthumous; and I have not seen a copy.

1779. DR. JOHNSON: in the critical portions of his *Life of Milton*, as included in his *Lives of the Poets*, written for the collective issue of the works of the English Poets by the London Book-Trade.

1785 and 1791. THOMAS WARTON: in his two editions of *Milton's Minor Poems*.—This well-known scholar, critic, and poet (1728—1790), remembered now chiefly by his “History of English Poetry,” made a special study of Milton's Minor Poems, and published an edition of them in 1785, “with Notes Critical and Explanatory, and other Illustrations,” which may be said for the first time to have given them their true place among Milton's writings and shown their abundant and minute interest in connexion with his Biography. It is, indeed, with all deduction on account of the want of sympathy with some parts of Milton's mind and life natural in a critic in Warton's circumstances, one of the best books of comment in the English language. Before his death he had prepared a second impression of it, which was posthumously published in 1791. This second edition presents many alterations from the first, and large additions; but there are also omissions in it of matter which had appeared in the first, chiefly of notes referring from the Minor Poems to *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. These omissions, or abbreviations, were caused, it is believed, by Warton's intention to put forth a separate edition of those two Poems, where the omitted matter would have found a more suitable place. As he did not live to fulfil this intention, his First Edition of the Minor Poems retains much value still, apart from the Second. Warton's Notes to the Minor Poems, in fact, have been the stock from which all subsequent editors, and also all biographers, of Milton, from Todd to the present day, have derived a good deal of their material.

1788. JOHN GILLIES, D.D. of Glasgow: in an edition of *Paradise Lost*, “illustrated with Texts of Scripture.” See *Introd. to P. L. II.* p. 38.

1792-3. CAPEL LOFFT, Esq.: in an Edition of First Two Books of *Paradise Lost* with the original orthography restored, and with Notes, published at Bury St. Edmund's. See *Introd. to P. L. II.* p. 38.

1794-7. WILLIAM HAYLEY: in his *Life of Milton*, prefixed to

Boydell and Nicol's magnificently printed edition of Milton's Poetical Works. See *Intro.* to *P. L.* II. p. 38.

1795 and 1800. The REV. CHARLES DUNSTER, M.A. Thinking that *Paradise Regained* had been unduly neglected in comparison with *Paradise Lost*, Mr. Dunster issued, in 1795, in a handsome quarto volume, a separate edition of *Paradise Regained*, with the text in large type, and abundant footnotes in small type, partly a reproduction of those of Newton and his coadjutors, partly contributions by himself. The same scholar published, in 1800, an interesting little volume of Miltonic criticism entitled *Considerations on Milton's Early Reading and the Prima Stamina of his Paradise Lost*. See *Intro.* to *P. L.* II. p. 135.

1798. The REV. HENRY JOHN TODD, M.A. His first appearance among Milton's Commentators was in an edition of *Comus*, published at Canterbury, with notes and preliminary illustrations, and with the addition of a copy of the Masque from a manuscript belonging to the Duke of Bridgewater. See *Intro.* to *Comus, ante*, vol. I. p. 161 *et seq.*

1801, 1809, 1826, and 1842. The same REV. H. J. TODD, in the four successive editions, published in his lifetime, of all Milton's Poetical Works. See *Intro.* to *P. L.* II. p. 39. In these various editions, Todd, besides giving a most copious collection of notes from his predecessors in this list, and adding many of his own, incorporated suggestions received from many different quarters. With reference to *Paradise Lost*, he mentions particularly his obligations to "a stock of MS. notes by the just-mentioned CHARLES DUNSTER, and to similar MS. notes by JOHN BOWLE, the editor of Cervantes (1725—1788), and BENJAMIN STILLINGFLEET, grandson of Bishop Stillingfleet (1702—1771). These last had been prepared with a view to publication about 1745, but the author had been stopped in his intention by Newton's edition of Milton in 1749. Todd also acknowledges some use, in his second and later editions, of "a small interleaved copy of *Paradise Lost*" that had been lent him, containing memoranda for notes, and some complete notes, by MR. CALLANDER (see previous article in this conspectus). He was not aware till after 1826 of the larger commentary that had been left by Callander; but the occasional specimens he gives from the memoranda in the interleaved copy were found by Mr. David Laing to agree pretty closely with the corresponding notes in the larger Callander commentary.

1832 and 1851. The REV. JOHN MITFORD, first in the Aldine Edition of Milton's Poetical Works, in three volumes, with Life and Notes, published by Pickering, and again in the Life and Notes prefixed to Pickering's eight-volume edition of the Poetical and Prose Works.

1835. SIR EGERTON BRYDGES: in his edition of the Poetical Works, with Notes and Life, in six volumes.

1840. J. PRENDEVILLE, B.A., in an edition of *Paradise Lost*, with Notes and Life.

1843. The REV. DR. J. R. MAJOR: in an edition for schools, with Notes.

1853. CHARLES DEXTER CLEVELAND: in an edition of the Poetical Works at Philadelphia, U.S.; re-issued in London in 1865. See Introd. to *P. L.* II. p. 40.

1855 and 1859. THOMAS KEIGHTLEY: first in his volume entitled *Life, Opinions, and Writings of Milton*, and then in his edition of the Poetical Works in two volumes. See Introd. to *P. L.* II. pp. 39, 40.

1870. R. C. BROWNE, M.A.: in his edition of the English Poems of Milton, with Life, Introduction, and Notes, in two neat volumes of the Clarendon Press Series.

1871. JOHN M. ROSS, M.A.: in a selection of Milton's Poetry, with Life and Notes, for use in schools.

To comments on Milton's Poems, or on passages in them, to be found dispersed among the writings of English and Scottish critics of the last and the present century, from Kames, Monboddo, and Blair, to Coleridge, Landor, De Quincey, and others yet more recent, it is needless here to make more than a general reference.¹

On the vast accumulation of notes represented by the foregoing conspectus, and the extent to which they have been consulted and used by the present editor, the following remarks may be necessary:—

I. A very large proportion of the notes, repeated, with or

¹ Since the first issue of the present Library Edition of Milton's Poetical Works in 1874 there have been various publications of Miltonic commentary or criticism. The most comprehensive of these is an edition of the Poetical Works in two volumes, with Notes Explanatory and Philological, in 1878, by John Bradshaw, M.A., LL.D., of Trinity College, Dublin; but I would also mention specially *The Lycidas and Epitaphium Damonis of Milton*, edited, with Notes and Introduction, by C. S. Jerranz, M.A., Trin. Coll. Oxon. (1874), and the same scholar's edition of *Paradise Regained* (1877).

without variation of expression, by editor after editor, is such as any editor would inevitably make for himself who should address himself to his task with any proper degree of attention. Unusual words or constructions have to be pointed out; passages of difficult meaning have to be unravelled; texts of Scripture that were in the poet's mind have to be discovered and cited; his numerous mythological, geographical, and historical allusions have to be explained, wherever they pass the bounds of the knowledge that may be taken for granted in every ordinary reader; the *learning* of which the poems are so full has to be elucidated for the majority of readers by production of information which they cannot be supposed to have directly at hand. Now, in such a process, every painstaking editor, even if he should go through the process absolutely for himself, will necessarily stop, in most instances, at the very lines and passages at which previous commentators have stopped; and, in his notes on these lines and passages, suggested by his own study of the text, or prepared by consultation of dictionaries, concordances, and other works of reference, he will necessarily say very much the same things that have been said at the same places by previous commentators. A glance or two into any of the more copious commentaries on *Paradise Lost* will verify this remark. No commentator on that epic has surpassed the first one,—Patrick Hume, φιλοποιήτης,—in the industry with which he traversed the whole ground, and offered explanations, according to his lights, of all that seemed to require explanation; and, though there have been acuter and finer critics of the Poem since, a great part of the body of the notes that fill all the chief editions of *Paradise Lost* may be regarded as a kind of common property, appertaining, so far as the intrinsic matter is concerned, to no editor in particular, but rather to that very business and tradition of Milton editorship which Hume began. The notes of previous commentators on any of Milton's Poems are, in short, in many cases, mere indications to a new editor of the points at which annotation is desirable; and he may either give, within quotation marks, a selection of such notes as he likes best, retaining the words of the particular commentators who furnished them, or try to re-express the essence of all the previous comments, so as to omit nothing of value, adding touches of his own, and perhaps by the very mode of expression adapting old information to modern needs and tastes. This last has been, on the whole, the plan adopted in

the notes for the present Edition. Seldom, by merely quoting the notes of a previous commentator, or even several such notes by different commentators, could I feel that I did justice to the passage, or to the total commentation that had been bestowed upon it; and I have generally preferred, therefore, to digest all that seemed to me of value, sometimes condensing, sometimes expanding, and always adding where I thought there might be increased precision or emphasis. It has been my principle, however, consistently with this plan, to recognise as constantly and minutely as I could the duty of ascribing to preceding commentators all that belongs to them. Wherever a comment has seemed to me peculiarly good or happy, I have cited it or quoted it *verbatim*, in connexion with the commentator's name; and in no case have I consciously suppressed the name of a previous commentator while appropriating any observation of his to which, on any ground whatsoever, I thought credit could be attached. I hope, indeed, it will be found that I have erred by excess and scrupulosity of acknowledgment, rather than by the opposite.

II. A class of Notes in respect of which acknowledgment of the work of previous commentators is particularly due consists of those in which Milton's reminiscences of Greek and Latin authors, or of Italian authors, or of English authors preceding himself, or contemporary with himself, are traced and verified by actual quotations of the passages he had in his memory, or in which passages of his text where no such conscious borrowing on his part can be alleged are yet illustrated by the quotation of parallel passages from Greek, Latin, Italian, or English poets. Of the commentators known to me those who have done most in this style of annotation are Patrick Hume, Bentley, Bishop Newton and his coadjutors, Todd and his coadjutors, Mr. Keightley, and Mr. Browne; and, in citing, after them, parallel passages which Milton must have had in recollection, or which are interesting as coincidences with his text, I have tried, even in cases where the passages might be considered stock-quotations familiar to all scholars, to ascribe each reference to the critic who first made it. On the whole, however, thinking that this style of annotation has been overdone, and that many of the so-called parallel passages cited by Hume, Newton, and Todd, are very far-fetched, and illustrate nothing specifically relating to Milton, but only a certain community of ideas and phraseology among all

poets, I have put limits to my reproduction of matter of this kind. In cases of clear reminiscence, or of very close and interesting parallelism, I have generally quoted the parallel passage textually ; but, where the resemblance is more vague and general, or where the parallel passage is in a book easily accessible, I have contented myself (as in most citations of passages of the Bible) with a simple reference to the place. In not a few instances, I have added parallel or illustrative passages, more particularly from English authors, to those cited by previous editors.

III. In some editions, intended for scholastic use, there has been a multiplication of minute philological, and especially minute etymological, notes. "Even in such editions I doubt the necessity or propriety of incessant and miscellaneous annotation of the merely etymological kind. In reading Milton, or any other English author, the student ought surely to have an English Dictionary beside him ; and why should he be saved the wholesome trouble of looking up any ordinary word about the derivation of which he may be uncertain? Enough, at all events, in an edition like the present, if unusual words are duly noted, and also all peculiarly Miltonic grammatical forms and constructions. Care has been taken of this in the individual Notes ; and an effort has been made to systematise the results in the General Essay on Milton's English and Versification.

IV. On the whole, more duty has remained for myself in the way of new annotation, both hermeneutical and exegetical, than I should have anticipated. Even in the particular of the detection of wrong readings that had crept into the text something has been gleaned by comparison of the later texts with those of Milton's own editions ; while, in the larger matters of the interpretation of difficult passages and the full exposition of others in connexion with Milton's life and with his general philosophy, I found a great deal that had been missed or had been but imperfectly treated. Again and again, for example, in the Notes to *Paradise Lost*, I have had to illustrate afresh the significance of particular phrases and passages in connexion with that Miltonic Cosmology which I have already expounded so far, and in part expressed by diagram, in the Introduction to that Poem.

NOTES TO THE MINOR POEMS

PART I: THE ENGLISH POEMS

PARAPHRASE ON PSALMS CXIV. AND CXXXVI.

PSALM CXIV. :—Several of the phrases and rhymes in this Paraphrase have been traced, by Warton and others, to older poets, whom Milton is supposed to have read in his boyhood. It is enough to say that, like every one else, he inherited a traditional phraseology, and began with it. A favourite book in English households in the early part of the seventeenth century was Joshua Sylvester's Translation of *The Divine Weeks and Works* of the French poet Du Bartas ; and there is evidence that Milton, in his childhood, had revelled in this quaint, but really rich and poetical, book. The verse employed in the present Paraphrase is the verse of Sylvester's Du Bartas ; and some of the rhymes—such as *recoil, foil* (lines 9, 10), *mountains, fountains* (13, 14), and *crush, gush* (17, 18)—were already Sylvester's.

1. "*Terah's faithful son*": *i.e.* Abraham. See Gen. xi. 24—27.

3. "*Pharian*": *i.e.* Egyptian. Unless this is an ill-formed adjective from "*Pharaoh*," or from *Pharan* or *Paran*, the name of a part of the desert between Egypt and Paléstine (Gen. xxi. 21, and 1 Kings xi. 18), it is from *Pharos*, the island in the Bay of Alexandria on the northern coast of Egypt, made to give its name, by extension, to Egypt itself. But clearly Milton had Buchanan's translation of the Psalm before him :—

"Barbaraque invisæ linqueret arva Phari."

Indeed, in Buchanan *Pharius* is a common word for "Egyptian." Thus in Psalm CXXXVI, the next of Milton's paraphrasing, Buchanan has

"Pharonem et Pharios submersit gurgite currus."

PSALM CXXXVI. :—Here also several of the phrases are, by Warton and others, traced to older poets. Thus, “watery plain” for the sea (line 23) is found in Spenser, in William Browne, and in Drayton; “golden-tressed,” as applied to the sun (29), is in ‘Chaucer; “horned moon” (33) is Spenser’s, Shakespeare’s, and everybody’s; “tawny king” (55) is in Fairfax’s translation of Tasso. These recollections may be unconscious and general; but perhaps the influence of Sylvester is direct. The rhymes *fell, Israël* (lines 42, 43), and *Israël, dwell* (73, 74), are after Sylvester.

10. “*Who doth the wrathful,*” etc.* The initial pronoun “*Who*” in this line, and also in lines 13, 17, 21, and 25, is a substitute, in the Second Edition, for “*That*” in the first. This is worth noting.

45, 46. “*ruddy waves . . . of the Erythrean main*”: i.e. the Red Sea. The word *ἐρυθρός* (erythros) is Greek for “red,” and ἡ Ἐρυθρὰ Θάλασσα was the name for the Red Sea and Indian Ocean in Herodotus and later Greek writers. Various origins of the name have been assigned,—the red coral reefs in the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, etc. Evidently, however, the name begot a popular idea that the water itself was red. Hence “ruddy waves” in this passage. Both that phrase and its adjunct “Erythrean” are from Sylvester’s *Du Bartas*. Thus, in a passage quoted by Dunster:—

“along the sandy shore
Where th’ Erythrean ruddy billows roar.”

But Sylvester beats this in another couplet in his actual description of the drowning of Pharaoh’s host:—

“Another with loud lashes
Scours his proud coursers through the scarlet washes.”

49. “*walls of glass.*” Sylvester has the phrase in his description of the crossing of the Red Sea; also “walls of crystal” and “bulwarks of billows.”

65, 66. “*Seon . . . Amorrean coast.*” The phrase in the Authorised Version is “Sihon King of the Amorites”; but Milton, as Todd points out, must have had Buchanan’s Latin before him:—

* “Stravit Amorrhæum valida virtute Seonem.”

Todd, however, did not remark that, though the same line occurs in the preceding Psalm (CXXXV.) in more recent editions of Buchanan, as a translation of the same phrase “Sihon King of the Amorites,” older editions of Buchanan had this line in that Psalm:

“Quique Amorrhæis Seon regnavit in oris.”

Milton all but translates this.

89. "*warble forth.*" Sylvester again; who, in the very opening of his translation of Du Bartas, has

"O Father, grant I sweetly warble forth
Unto our seed the world's renowned birth!"

ON THE DEATH OF A FAIR INFANT.

In Milton's own edition (1673) the date "Anno ætatis 17" is put *before* the title of the poem, instead of *after*, as now. This was done, I fancy, to avoid the absurdity of meaning that would arise if the date were *read* after the title and as part of it. There are instances of the same thing in the headings of the 2nd, the 3rd, and the 4th of the Latin *Elegies*, and of the 1st and 3rd of the *Sylvæ*.

1. "*O fairest flower,*" etc. This opening reminds one of that of a little piece in Shakespeare's *Passionate Pilgrim* :—

"Sweet rose, fair flower, untimely plucked, soon vaded,
Plucked in the bud, and vaded in the spring!
Bright orient pearl, alack, too timely shaded!
Fair creature, killed too soon by death's sharp sting!"

Milton's taste in rhythm had by this time outgrown Sylvester's Du Bartas.

8—10. "*grim Aquilo . . . Athenian damsel got.*" Aquilo, or Boreas, the North Wind, dwelt in a cave in Thrace, and carried off Oreithyia, the daughter of the Athenian king Erechtheus.

8. "*charioteer*": spelt "*charioter*" in the original, and also in the only other line of Milton's poetry in which it occurs (*Par. Lost*, VI. 390). In all modern editions the spelling has been changed to "*charioteer*"; but I am not quite sure that Milton intended our modern stress on the last syllable.

12. "*infamous blot.*" The phrase, with the same pronunciation of *infamous*, occurs in Spenser, *Facry Queene*, III. vi. 13. (Todd.)

15. "*icy-pearlèd.*" Warton suggested "*ice-ypearlèd,*" on the analogy of *ychained* in the *Ode on the Nativity* (155) and *star-ypointing* in the lines on Shakespeare; but, on the other analogy, afforded by such words as *rosy-bosomed* (*Comus*, 986), *fiery-wheelèd* (*Pens.* 53), we may keep the word as it is.—Sylvester calls hail "ice-pearl" and "bounding balls of ice-pearl."

23—27. "*For so Apollo . . . young Hyacinth . . . purple flower.*" The myth referred to is that of the beautiful youth, Hyacinthus, son of a king of Sparta or Laconia, in which territory is the river Eurotas. He was killed unwittingly by Apollo at a game of quoits, and from his blood sprang the flower that bears his name.

31. "*wormy bed*." Warton cites the phrase from Shakespeare, *Midsum. N. Dr.* III. 2. "Already to their wormy beds ~~are~~ gone."

39. "*that high first-moving sphere*": i.e. the *primum mobile*, or the outermost shell or sphere, enclosing, according to the Ptolemaic astronomy, all the other spheres of the mundane system, and separating that system from the unknown. See *Introd.* to *Par. Lost*, pp. 87—92.

44. "*shaked Olympus*." *Shaked* was not an uncommon form. Todd quotes the instance in Shakespeare, *Troil. and Cress.* I. 3: "O, when degree is *shaked*."

48. "*and thou*," etc. The word "*wert*" is implied before "*thou*."

50, 51. "*that just maid who*," etc.: i.e. Astræa or Justice. Astræa, the daughter of Zeus and Themis, dwelt on earth during the golden age, when men were just, but at length forsook it, in disgust, for her true home among the stars.

52. "*camest*." Observe the curious change of person from *forsook* to *camest*. Yet it is natural and indeed inevitable; *came* would not have done. Possibly, however, *who* is not the nominative to *camest*, but the construction intended is *camest (thou)*?

53. "*Or wert thou [Mercy], that sweet smiling Youth?*" In the original this line is short of the just length by two syllables: evidently a word had dropped out in the printing. The suggestion of the word "*Mercy*" to fill the blank was first made in a periodical, about 1750, by Mr. John Heskin, of Christ Church, Oxford, "*who published*," says Warton, "*an elegant edition of Bion and Moschus*." It is almost certainly correct, making the three personages of the stanza Justice (the maiden), *Mercy* (the young man), and Truth (the matron); which is the triad also in stanza 15 of the *Ode on the Nativity*.

54. "*crowned Matron*." In the original it is "*cowned Matron*," clearly a misprint.

59. "*prefixed*": i.e. "pre-appointed."

68. "*Or drive away the slaughtering pestilence*." An allusion to the prevalence of the Plague in London and England when the poem was written. See Introduction.

76, 77. "*he will an offspring give*," etc. One cannot say that this prophecy was fulfilled in either Edward Phillips or John Phillips, the two sons of Milton's sister by her first marriage, born after the loss of the little infant girl of the poem, unless it be that we remember them through their uncle, and Edward Phillips especially for his *Life of that uncle*.

• AT A VACATION EXERCISE IN THE COLLEGE.

It is particularly necessary, in this case, that the Introduction to the piece should be read. It throws a light over the whole, and saves many notes.

6. "*two years before.*" The reader may like to construe this into an information that Milton began to speak at two years old.

7—14. "*thy pardon ask . . . served up last.*" Milton here apologises to his Native Language for employing her only in the end of his long academic oration, the earlier and larger part of which had been in Latin prose (see Introd.). That Latin part, he explains, had been the worst in quality, and what was now coming in English would be better.

18. "*thy wardrobe.*" Here, and on to line 32, the quaint image is that of a wardrobe, or receptacle of all kinds of wearing apparel, possessed by the English Language, and from which she may select any variety of clothing, plain or rich, common or rare, according to the thought that is to be dressed. Sometimes, when the thought is very great and peculiar, she may have to rummage the whole wardrobe, and open all its drawers or "coffers" (lines 31, 32), before she finds the suitable articles. In Milton's edition of 1673 the word is spelt "*wardrope.*"

19. "*Not those new-fangled toys.*" This is the only occurrence of the word *new-fangled* in Milton's poetry. It is, however, a good old English word, the original form of which was *newefangel*, i.e. fond of what is new, catching at novelties: compounded, according to Skeat, of *newe*, new, and *fangel*,—this last an adjective, in kin with *fangen*, the past participle of the A.-S. verb *fan*, to catch, and with the noun *fang*, a claw: the suffix *el* analogous to the *ol* in the adjective *sprecol*, talkative or fond of talking. Chaucer, in his *Squire's Tale*, has

• "So newefangel ben they of hir meete,"

and also the noun *newfangelness* :—

"Men loven of proper kind newfangelnesse";

and instances in later old writers of the adjective *newfangle*, the noun *newfangelness*, and even the adverb *newfangly*, are quoted in Richardson's Dictionary (under *new* and *fangle*). The insertion of the *d* in still later writers, so as to make the words *newfangled* and *newfangledness*, seems to indicate a gradual oblivion of the real etymology. *Newfangle* suggesting "new-fashioned," people seem to have forgotten that *fangle* was an adjective, meaning "ready to

catch," and to have imagined it to be a noun meaning "whim" or "fashion." It is so used in this phrase quoted by Richardson from Udall: "not apt to swerve into new fangles." *Fangle* having thus come to be a noun meaning "fashion" or "whim," the addition of a *d* was, of course, necessary to convert it into a cognate adjective; and once in Shakespeare we have actually the word *fangled* by itself, apparently in the sense of "fashion-led" or "composed of fashions":—

"Be not, as is our fangled world, a garment
Nobler than that it covers."—*Cymb.* V. 4.

Almost invariably, however, the word retains its original association with *new*; and Shakespeare's Plays yield two examples of *new-fangled* as against the single one in Milton's poetry:—

"At Christmas I no more desire a rose
Than wish a snow in May's new-fangled mirth."—*L. L. L.* I. 1.
"more new-fangled than an ape."—*As you Like it*, IV. 1.

In the second of these there is something like a recurrence to the original adjective sense of *fangel*.

20. "*our late fantastics*": *i.e.* our recent literary coxcombs. The commentators have supposed a reference to John Lyly and his famous *Euphuism*; but Lyly had been dead since about 1601, and there were surely later "fantastics" in the English speech than he.

28. "*this fair assembly's ears*." The assembly meant is that of the undergraduates and graduates of Christ's College, with guests from all the other colleges, met uproariously in Christ's College Hall to hear the speeches. See *Intro.*

33—44. "*Such where . . . all his waves*." Here breaks out the true poet. I hardly know a passage in Milton's earlier poetry in which the difference between poetic imagination and ordinary thinking may be more clearly seen. It is curious to note also the identity of the cosmological conception here with that in *Paradise Lost*. Heaven is represented, as above the "wheeling poles," *i.e.* above or outside all the ten Ptolemaic spheres that compose our cosmos or mundane system; and the poet is supposed to mount through and beyond these spheres to the very aperture of Heaven. See *Intro.* to *Par. Lost*, II. 92, 95. Looking in, he can behold the gods stretched at ease before the thunderous throne, listening to the singing of the unshorn Apollo, while Hebe brings nectar to Zeus. Then, descending again into the mundane system, and passing through its "spheres of watchful fire,"—*i.e.* through the sphere of the Fixed Stars, and then successively through those of the seven Ptolemaic planets in their order earthwards (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars,

the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon),—he reaches the atmosphere round our Earth. There are the “misty regions,” with the “hills of snow” and “lofts of piled thunder.” These too passed, he reaches at length the level surface of the ocean, the realm of Neptune.—“*Such where*.” *Such* refers to “graver subject”; and the construction is “a subject *such in which* (i.e. *such that in it*) the deep transported mind may,” etc.—The term “unshorn” for Apollo is a literal translation of the epithet for that god in Greek and Latin poets (*ἀκερσεκόμης*, *intonsus*); and “green-eyed” (*γλαυκῶψ*) is also a classical epithet, but rather of Proteus than of Neptune.—“Watchful fire” (*vigil flamma*) is from Ovid. In the passage about the “misty regions of wide air” there may be a recollection of some of Sylvester’s meteorological descriptions; and Dunster quotes Sylvester’s

“Cellars of wind and shops of sulphury thunder.”

46. “*beldam Nature*”: i.e. “the old lady, Nature.” “Hag,” our present meaning of “beldam,” is a curious degeneracy from the original meaning of *belle dame*, “fair lady.”

48—52. “*Such as the wise Demodocus*,” etc. The recollection here is of the beautiful passage in the *Odyssey* (Book VIII.) where Demodocus, the blind bard of Alcinous, King of the Phæacians, is brought in, by the order of Alcinous, to sing before the assembly of the Phæacians and the stranger Ulysses. While he sang of the Trojan War and its heroes, Ulysses, deeply moved, but ashamed to let the assembly see his emotion, covered his face with a veil, while the tears rolled down his cheeks. Alcinous alone marked his discomposure, and wondered who he could be.—This is an early instance of what is frequent in Milton’s poetry, a fascination of memory round the stories of blind Bards and Prophets of the old world. One can hardly call it less than a presentiment of his own later condition.

52. “*In willing chains and sweet captivity*.” Todd quotes from Sylvester’s *Du Bartas* :—

“The willing chains of my captivity.”

56. “*To keep in compass of thy Predicament*”: i.e. to keep within the part assigned thee in this present College Extravaganza; which is that of representing ENS or BEING IN GENERAL, the supreme *Predicament* or *Category* in Aristotle’s logical system, and the father of all the *Predicaments* usually so called. See *Intro.*

58. “*to the next*”: i.e. to the next speaker or actor in the Extravaganza.

59. “*Good luck befriend thee, Son*.” Here begins the speech of Milton, as the leader of the Extravaganza, or father ENS, to that

undergraduate of Christ's College who "stood for SUBSTANCE with his Canons," i.e. who acted the part of SUBSTANCE, the eldest of the ten Predicaments, or sons of ENS, and kept to the rules of that Predicament. The reader must distinctly fancy Milton in person turning at this point to some booby of a student, and addressing him in mock heroics.

59—66. "*at thy birth the faery ladies,*" etc. In the mythology of all the Teutonic nations fairies take an interest in childbirth, and secretly visit the chambers of new-born babes, to confer gifts, or the reverse, upon them. Therefore Milton makes them present at the birth of SUBSTANCE. There may be some pertinence to that category, or to its representative for the nonce, that now escapes us, in what the fairies are said to have done on the occasion. One thing that they did is perfectly intelligible. They made SUBSTANCE invisible to mortals (lines 65, 66). Mortals cannot know the substance of things, or existence *per se*; they can know only phænomena, or substance as modified by relation to their own sentieney.

74—88. "*Shall subject be to many an Accident,*" etc. A prolonged pun on the logical doctrine that *Substance*, or Being in itself, underlies or is subject to its *Accidents*, i.e. the modifying conditions that translate it into phænomena. ACCIDENT, in fact, is the conjunct name for all the nine Predicaments after SUBSTANCE itself: viz. Quantity, Quality, Relation, Where, When, Posture, Habit, Action, Passion. These are the brethren of SUBSTANCE, and his inferiors really; but yet they are his masters and treat him as they like, though they all depend upon him and are reconciled in him.

89, 90. "*What power . . . if not your learned hands,*" etc. The speech of the Sibyl about SUBSTANCE has ended in the previous line; and Milton now addresses his learned audience, saying it is for them to interpret the enigmatic speech.

91. "*RIVERS, arise.*" On this phrase and the poetical enumeration of English rivers which it introduces (91—100) Warton remarked: "It is hard to say in what sense, or in what manner, this introduction of the rivers was to be applied to the subject." It was a very natural remark, but is now unnecessary. The mystery has been explained, and very simply. RIVERS was the name of Milton's fellow-student in Christ's College who acted the part of RELATION in the Extravaganza; and the whole passage is a prolonged poetical jest on that fact. The merit of this neat little discovery belongs to Mr. W. G. Clark, late Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and one of the editors of the Cambridge Shakespeare. Chancing, early in 1859, to read this piece of Milton's with some care, and fastening on the little bit of prose with which this concluding speech

in it is introduced,—“*The next, QUANTITY and QUALITY, spake in prose: then RELATION was called by his name,*”—Mr. Clark made the acute guess that the explanation was to be understood literally, *i.e.* that, after the students personating the second and third of the ten Predicaments, QUANTITY and QUALITY, had said something in prose, the student who personated the fourth Predicament, RELATION, was called by his surname to take his turn. A reference to the Admission Book of Christ's College verified the guess by disclosing the Latin entry of which this is a translation: “May 10, A.D. 1628, “GEORGE and NIZELL RIVERS, sons of Sir John Rivers, Knight, “born at Westerham, in the county of Kent, and also grounded in “letters there by Mr. Walter, were admitted into Christ's College as “Lesser Pensioners, the former in the fifteenth year of his age and “the latter in the fourteenth, under the tutorship of Mr. Gell.” It was one of these two boys, freshmen in the College, that had to stand for RELATION and have his name played upon by Milton. I ascertained one or two particulars of their subsequent history (see *Athenæum*, for April 23, 1859); but it is enough here to say that they were sons of Sir John Rivers, of Chafford, co. Kent, Bart., by his wife Dorothy Potter of Westerham, and that the family and the baronetcy still exist.

92—100. “*utmost Tweed or Ouse,*” etc. In this passage Milton must have had in view Spenser's poetical enumerations of rivers (see especially *F. Q.* IV. xi. 20 *et seq.*), but may have been indebted also to Drayton's *Polyolbion*. “Utmost Tweed” is plain; the Ouse and the Don are in Yorkshire; Drayton speaks of the “thirty streams” of the Trent; the Mole, in Surrey, disappears in summer, for a part of its course, into a subterranean channel; Severn derived its name in the legends from the maiden Sabra or Sabrina drowned in it, with her mother Estrildis, by Guendolen, the wife of Locrine, son of Brutus; there are several Avons, but the one meant may be the Avon of Bristol; “sedgy Lea” is near London; the Dee, near Chester, was sacred with Druidical tradition; Humber in the legend derives its name from a Hunnish invader of primeval times; the other epithets explain themselves.

ON THE MORNING OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY.

19—22. “*Now while the heaven,*” etc. This Ode of Milton's, as we learn from his *Elegia Sexta*, addressed to Diodati, was conceived at dawn on Christmas-Day, 1629. See *Intro.*

24. “*Oh! run,*” etc. In Drummond of Hawthornden's *Flowers of Sion* (1623) there is a Sonnet on the Nativity, beginning

"Run, Shepherds, run where Bethlem blest appears!"

There are traces of a knowledge of Drummond's poetry in various parts of Milton.—"*prevent them*": i.e. anticipate them, get before them.

27. "*the Angel Quire*": the Angels heard singing by the shepherds in the fields at Bethlehem. Luke ii. 13, 14.

28. "*From out his secret altar*," etc. Isaiah vi. 6. (Newton.)

41. "*Pollute*." Direct from the Latin *pollutus*.

48. "*Down through the turning sphere*": i.e. down, from Heaven's gate, through the wheeling orb of the whole Universe, hung from Heaven. "*Down through the turning spheres*" would have been more according to Milton's custom; but here he views the aggregate of the spheres as one.

56. "*hooked chariot*." The war-chariots of different nations were armed with scythes or hooks, which cut whatever they met. Richardson, in his Dictionary, quotes this description from an old translation of Quintus Curtius: "The wheels were also full of iron pikes right forth, and of great hooks both upward and downward, wherewith all thing was cut asunder that came in their way."

64. "*whist*": i.e. hushed, silenced. To *hush*, to *whist*, and to *hist*, are all forms of one verb (allied to *hiss*), meaning to silence, derived perhaps from the mere sound *sh* or *st*, the interjection of silence. See *Pens.* 55. Todd quotes from the *Dido* of Marlowe and Nash, 1594, the line—

"The air is clear, and southern winds are whist."

But there is also Ariel's song in the *Tempest*, I. 2:—

"Courtsied when you have, and kissed
The wild waves whist."

66 "*Ociàn*" must be pronounced here as a trisyllable,—not an unfrequent pronunciation in old poets. Sylvester has it occasionally. Thus—

"began
To crystallize the Baltic oceän."

71. "*Bending one way their precious influence*": an image from Astrology.

77—84. "*And, though the shady gloom*," etc. Warton detects here a recollection of a stanza in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* (April)—

"I saw Phœbus thrust out his golden head
Upon her to gaze;

But, when he saw how broad her beams did spread,
 It did him amaze.
 He blushed to see another Sun below,
 Ne durst again his fiery face outshow.
 Let him, if he dare,
 His brightness compare
 With hers, to have the overthrow."

86. "*Or ere*." So printed in the original editions; but "*or e'er*" has been suggested instead, on the ground that "*or ere*" is a mere duplication, as if Milton had said "*Ere ere the point of dawn*," i.e. "Before before the point of dawn,"—the word "*or*" in this sense being originally only another form of the word "*ere*" (Old-English, *ær*, before). But the duplication occurs in writers before Milton. Mr. Aldis Wright, in his *Bible Word-Book*, quotes three instances—"This man . . . , *or ere* the clergy began, was wont," etc. (Sir Thomas More); "*æ'r ere* we meet" (Shakespeare, *K. John*, IV. 3); and again (Shakespeare, *Temp.* I. 2):—

"I would
 Have sunk the sea within the earth, *or ere*
 It should the good ship so have swallowed."

Yet our form "*or ever*" did exist as well. Mr. Wright quotes from *Hamlet*, I. 2 :

"Would I had met my dearest foe in Heaven
Or ever I had seen that day, Horatio,"

informing us that the reading in the first quarto is "*ere ever*." Now, it might be argued that in the three instances of "*or ere*" given above "*or e'er*" would do as well, and may have really been what was intended. In the present passage in Milton, however, the fact that it is a substantive, "*point of dawn*," that is qualified, and not a verb, as in the three instances cited, increases the probability that "*or ere*" was intended, and that it was a naturalised duplicate preposition in English, as well as adverb, when Milton wrote.

88. "*little thought they than*." Note *than* instead of *then*. It is in the original editions, and is obviously a deviation from the usual spelling and pronunciation, for the sake of the rhyme with *Pan*. But it was only a revival of an old spelling and pronunciation, perhaps not quite obsolete. Our word "*then*," for "at that time," is the survivor of three forms once in use,—*then*, *than* (or *thanne*), and *tho*. In Wycliffe's Bible we have "*Thanne* summe of the scribis and farisees answeriden to him"; and the same form, or *than*, occurs in *Piers Plowman*, in Chaucer, and in Gower (see Richardson's Dictionary, under *Then*).

89. "*the mighty Pan*": i.e. the real being so long dreamt of as Pan, the God of Shepherds.

95. "*strook*." See note, *Par. Lost*, II. 165.

98. "*As all*." To make the construction complete, suppose the "*such*" of line 93 repeated in connexion with "*divinely-warbled voice*."

101—104. "*Nature that . . . now was*," etc. The prose order of the words here is "Nature, that heard such sound thrilling the Airy region beneath the hollow round of Cynthia's seat, was now," etc.; and the meaning is, "Nature, on hearing such a sound thrilling through the Earth's atmosphere under the concave of the Moon's orbit, was now," etc.

106. "*its last fulfilling*": one of the three instances in all Milton's poetry of the use of the word *its*. See *Par. Lost*, I. 254 and IV. 813, and notes there: also Essay on Milton's English, *ante*, pp. 56—71.

116. "*unexpressive*": *i.e.* unexpressible. The same word, in the same sense, is in *Lycidas* (176); and Shakespeare has it, *As you Like it*, III. 2:—

"The fair, the chaste, and unexpressive She."

Warton fancies that Shakespeare may have coined it; but search may find older instances.

117—124. "*Such music . . . when of old the Sons of Morning sung*," etc. A distinct recollection of Job xxxviii. 4—11. See also *Par. Lost*, VII. 557 *et seq.* The common præterite of *sing* now is *sang*; but Milton favoured *sung*. See note, *Par. Lost*, III. 383.

125—132. "*Ring out, ye crystal spheres*," etc. In the whole of this stanza there is a use of the Pythagorean doctrine or fancy of the music of the spheres,—*i.e.* of the actual physical spheres or orbs of the Cosmqs. They are here made to be nine (line 131), though ten was the number in the latest development of the Ptolemaic astronomy. This doctrine of the music of the spheres was congenial to Milton's mind. See his academic oration, *De Sphærarum Con-
centu*, written perhaps about the same time as this Ode. In that prose piece there is an amplification of the hint of this stanza, that the mysterious celestial music, though rarely heard by mortals, might not be absolutely inaudible even yet, if there were minds of due preparation. See also Shakespeare's famous passage "*Sit, Jessica*" (*Merchant of Venice*, V. 1). It is rather difficult to say whether in "the bass of Heaven's deep organ" Milton had a precise reference to any portion of his optical diagram of space and the Universe, or merely brought in a musical effect as such. Warton's notion that it was a recollection of the organ he had heard in his school-time in

St. Paul's Cathedral is very bald. An organ was no rarity with Milton.

- 143, 144. "*Orbed in a rainbow; and, like glories wearing,
Mercy will sit between.*"

This is a change in the Second Edition of the Minor Poems from what had been the text of the First, viz.—

"Th' enameld Arras of the Rainbow wearing,
And Mercy set between."

The change is evidently for the better, and proves that the Second Edition contains Milton's own corrections of the First. "Arras" was cloth, or tapestry, made at Arras in France; and "enamelled Arras" (*i.e.* tapestry coated or glazed with colours by a process of melting) is hardly conceivable.

156. There ought evidently to be only a comma at the end of this line, as the sentence is prolonged into the next stanza. There was only a comma in the First Edition, but it was changed into a full stop in the Second.

166. "*perfect*": so spelt in First Edition, but "*perfet*" in the Second.

168. "*The Old Dragon.*" Rev. xx. 2.

171. "*wroth*": so in Second Edition, but "*wrath*" in the First.

172. "*Swinges*": spelt "*swindges*" in both the original editions. As the word is spelt sometimes "*swinge*" and sometimes "*swindge*" in old books, and the *q* does not affect the pronunciation, the less ordinary spelling need not be kept. This is the only occurrence of the word in Milton's poetry.

173. "*The Oracles are dumb.*" Here begins an idea which is protracted through the following stanzas, as far as to line 236. The idea is that of the sudden extinction and disappearance of the gods and the ceremonies of all the old Polytheistic religions on the birth of Christ. There is an evident recollection throughout of a striking story originally told in one of Plutarch's writings, and often repeated in mediæval and modern books (*e.g.* in *Rabelais*), under some such title as "The Death of Pan." Milton, it has been suggested, even if he had not read the original story in Plutarch, might have known it through the version of it given in the "Glosse" or Notes appended to Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* by Spenser's friend E. K. (Edward Kirke), the editor of the poem. Commenting on the line in the May Eclogue

"When great Pan account of Shepherdes shall aske,"

E. K. writes as follows:—"Great Pan is Christ, the very God of all shepherds, which calleth himself the Great and Good Shepherd. The name is most rightly, methinks, applied to him; for Pan sigheth *all* or *omnipotent*, which is only the Lord Jesus. And by that name (as I remember) he is called of Eusebius, in his fifth book *De Præparat. Evang.*; who thereof telleth a proper story to that purpose. Which story is first recorded of Plutarch in his book *Of the Ceasing of Oracles*, and of Lavater translated in his book *Of Walking Sprights*" [the book *De Lemuribus* by Lewis Lavater, of Zurich (1536—1586), of which there was an English translation by "R. H." in 1572]; "who saith that, about the time that our Lord suffered his most bitter passion for the redemption of man, certain passengers sailing from Italy to Cyprus, and passing by certain isles called Paxæ, heard a voice calling aloud *Thamus, Thamus!* Now *Thamus* was the name of an Egyptian which was pilot of the ship; who, giving ear to the cry, was bidden, when he came to Palodes, to tell that the great Pan was dead: which he doubting to do, yet,—for that, when he came to Palodes, there suddenly was such a calm of wind that the ship stood still in the sea unmoved,—he was forced to cry aloud that Pan was dead; wherewithall there was heard such piteous outcries, and dreadful shrieking, as hath not been the like. By which Pan, though of some he understood the great Satanas, whose kingdom at that time was by Christ conquered, the gates of Hell broken up, and Death by death delivered to eternal death (for at that time, as he saith, all Oracles surceased, and enchanted Spirits that were wont to delude the people thenceforth held their peace), and also at the demand of the Emperor Tiberius who that Pan should be answer was made him by the wisest and best learned that it was the son of Mercury and Penelope: yet I think it more properly meant of the death of Christ, the only and very Pan, then suffering for his flock."—The reader will easily trace the influence of this story in Milton's ode. He has already called Christ "the mighty Pan" (line 89), and now he expands from Plutarch's story the notion of the ceasing of the Oracles, and the going out of all the gods and rites of Paganism with wailings and moanings. Only, be it observed, he transfers this phenomenon from the death of Pan, the great Shepherd, at Jerusalem, to his birth at Bethlehem.—On this subject of the traditionary belief of the ceasing of the Oracles and the collapse of Paganism at the coming of Christ, see more in note to *Par. Reg.* I. 456-9.

183. "*A voice of weeping heard.*" Matt. ii. 18, and Jer. xxxi. 15. (Warton.)

191. "*The Lars and Lemures moan.*" *Lar* in Latin means "a family-god," a god who presides over private house and land; *Lemur* is the Latin equivalent to ghost, spirit, or hobgoblin. Milton does not adopt the Latin plurals, *Lares* and *Lemures*, but treats *Lar* and *Lemure* as English words and gives them ordinary English plurals. *Lemures* must be pronounced as a dissyllable, and might have been spelt *Lemurs*.

194. "*flamens*": priests or archpriests.

195. "*the chill marble seems to sweat.*" Not an uncommon prodigy among the ancients was the weeping or sweating of the statues of their gods. Dunster cites Virgil, *Georg.* I. 480; where, among the many prodigies on the death of Julius Cæsar, there is this:—

"Et mœstum illacrymat templis ebur, æraque sudant."

197—220. "*Peor and Baälim . . . that twice-battered god of Palestine . . . Ashtaroth . . . the Libyc Hammon . . . Thammuz . . . Moloch . . . the brutish gods of Nile . . . Isis, and Orus, and the dog Anubis . . . Osiris.*" For particulars about the oriental gods here mentioned see *Paradise Lost*, Book I. 392—489, with notes on that passage. The enumeration of the oriental gods here is so much the same as that afterwards worked into *Paradise Lost* that one must suppose that Milton referred to the former while writing the latter. The "twice-battered god of Palestine" must be the Philistine Dagon (*Par. Lost*, I. 457—466). *Anubis*, the only god here mentioned and not named in the passage in *Paradise Lost*, was an Egyptian god worshipped in the form of a dog.

201. "*Heaven's queen and mother both.*" This epithet of Ash-taroth is supposed by Newton to have been suggested by Selden's *De Diis Syris*, where she is called *regina cæli* as well as *mater Deum*.

202. "*shine.*" There are instances of the same use of this word as a substantive in Spenser, Ben Jonson, and other poets.

213—220. "*Osiris . . . in Memphian grove . . . trampling the unshowered grass . . . his sacred chest,*" etc. Milton here blends Apis, the Egyptian bull-god, with Osiris. The "Memphian grove" means the fields round the Egyptian city Memphis; and the grass there is "unshowered" because rain is rare in Egypt. In the myth of Osiris he is represented as induced once by conspirators to lie down in a richly-carved chest, which they immediately fastened up and threw into the Nile, where it had strange subsequent adventures.

223. "*cyn*": old plural of *eye*, also spelt *eyne* or *eyen*; common in Chaucer, Spenser, and others.

226. "*Typhon huge*." Typhon is here the Greek name of the Egyptian god Set, or Suti, one of the brothers of Osiris. After having been worshipped as a god in Egypt, he came to be regarded as a kind of Devil, and the enemy of Osiris. He led the conspirators who shut up Osiris in his chest. In old Egyptian monuments he is represented in various beast-like forms, sometimes as a crocodile. The Greek Typhon is represented as a huge giant or dragon-headed monster buried underground for opposing Zeus.

227. "*Our Babe*," etc. The "snaky twine" of the preceding line suggests the infant Hercules strangling serpents in his cradle.

231. "*orient*": i.e. eastern. The meaning of the whole of the image 229—231 is "So, when the sun rises."

232—234. "*The flocking shadows pale troop to the infernal jail*," etc. An allusion to the common superstition that on the approach of morning ghosts vanish. Warton quotes a passage in Shakespeare (*Midsum. N. Dr.* III. 2) as probably in Milton's mind:—

"And yonder shines Aurora's harbinger;
At whose approach ghosts wandering here and there
Troop home to churchyards: damned spirits all,
That in cross-ways and floods have burial,
Already to their wormy beds are gone."

235, 236. "*the yellow-skirted fays fly after the night-steeds, leaving*," etc.: i.e. the fairies, who have been in the moonlit woods all night, haste away in the morning, following the nightmares or night-hags. For by "night-steeds" Milton clearly means those creatures of ugliness, and not, as Warton supposes, the poetical steeds or horses of Night. Compare *Par. Lost*, II. 662.

240. "*youngest-teemed star*": i.e. latest-born star, the star that appeared in the heavens on Christ's birth to guide the wise men. To *teem* is to produce.

244. "*Bright-harnessed*": i.e. bright-armoured. *Harness* was a frequent old word for armour. Newton quotes Exod. xiii. 18.

THE PASSION.

1—4. "*Erewhile of music*," etc. This opening of the poem connects it with the *Ode on the Nativity*, and proves it to have been a sequel to that ode. Easter 1630 is the probable date.

6, 7. "*In wintry solstice*," etc. The order is "Like the shortened light in wintry solstice soon swallowed up," etc. The winter solstice is Dec. 22, when the day is shortest.

13. "*Most perfect Hero*," etc. Heb. ii. 10. (Todd.) The word *perfect* is so spelt in both the original editions, and not *perfet* as often elsewhere in Milton's poetry.

19. "*mask*": in the sense of masque or drama. See line 2.

21. "*lies*," for *lays*.

22. "*These latest*." So in Second Edition, substituted for "*These latter*" in First. The meaning of lines 22 and 23 is "It is to the latest scenes of the long drama of Christ's mortal humiliation, those of his death at Jerusalem, that I am to confine myself in this poem."

25, 26. "*otherwise are found; loud o'er the rest Cremona's trump*": i.e. the acts and temptations of Christ's life on earth may be found celebrated by other poets, and best of all by Marco Girolamo Vida of Cremona (1490—1566), in his Latin poem *The Christiad*.

28. "*still*": i.e. soft-sounding, not like the trump.

34, 35. "*The leaves should all be black. . . and letters . . . a wannish white*." To understand this conceit (for it is no better, and is found in other poets) the reader should see some of the old English books of Elegies or Funereal Poems. I have before me at present Joshua Sylvester's *Lachrymæ Lachrymarum, or The Spirit of Teares distilled for the un-tymely Death of the Incomparable Prince Panaretus* (i.e. Prince Henry, eldest son and heir-apparent of James I., who died 1612). The book was printed by "Humfrey Lownes, dwelling on Bred Streete hill, at the signe of the Starre"; and Milton may have seen it. The title-page is wholly black, save that the words of the title are white; twelve of the succeeding left-hand pages are totally black, save for the royal arms in white and smears of "a wannish white" through inefficient pressure of the black block; and the margins of the other pages, above and below the Elegies, are also black.

36—39. "*See, see the chariot*," etc. The reference is to Ezekiel, chap. 1. The poet supposes himself carried to Jerusalem in a mystic chariot like that which bore up the Prophet at the river Chebar.

43. "*that sad sepulchral rock*" the Holy Sepulchre.

51. "*Take up a weeping*": from Jeremiah ix. 10. "For the mountains will I take up a weeping."

56. "*Had got a race of mourners*," etc. The conceit is from the story of Ixion. So feeble and disagreeable an ending of the

poem makes one agree the more willingly with the author's judgment of the whole, immediately appended. On the peculiar syntax of that prose addition see Essay on Milton's English, *ante*, p. 82.—Drummond of Hawthornden has three pieces on "The Passion" in his *Flowers of Sion* (1623). They may be compared with Milton's fragment.

SONG ON MAY MORNING.

Some of the phrases of this little piece,—such as "Day's harbinger," "comes dancing," "green lap," "pale primrose,"—belong to the traditional diction of poetry, and are found in poets older than Milton. Among instances cited, in unnecessary number, by Warton, take one from Spenser's *Astrophel*.—

"The dancing day, forth coming from the east."

10. "*And welcome thee*," etc. Warton quotes from Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*.—

"O Maye, with all thy floures and thy grene,
Right welcome be thou, faire freshe Maye."

ON SHAKESPEARE.

This is the simple title of the lines in Milton's editions of his Poems; but see, in *Introduction*, the fuller title when the piece appeared among the Commendatory Verses prefixed to the Second Folio Shakespeare of 1632. Milton spells his great predecessor's name "Shakespear," both here and in *L'Allegro*, line 133.

1—4. "*What needs my Shakespeare*," etc. One might almost suppose, from the wording of these lines, that there was a proposal, in or about 1630, to erect a London monument to Shakespeare. It may be, however, that Milton had no such suggestion to move him, but merely thought for himself that Shakespeare did not need a monument. The famous monument in Stratford church had been put up at least as early as 1623, or seven years after Shakespeare's death; for it is mentioned in the lines by L. Digges to Shakespeare's memory prefixed to the First Folio, published in that year. —

"Shakespeare, at length thy pious fellows give
The world thy works,—thy works by which outlive
Thy tomb thy name must: when that stone is rent,
And Time dissolves thy Stratford monument,
Here we alive shall view thee still."

By the bye, this fact that the Stratford monument was in existence in 1623 is an argument for the authenticity of the bust which forms part of it. Would not the parishioners of Stratford at that date,

remembering Shakespeare's face perfectly as they did, remembering quite recent Sundays when they had seen him in his place in the church, have resented the putting up of a bust glaringly unlike the original?

4. "*star-ypointing*": i.e. pointing to the stars. The word is hardly a correct formation, as the prefix *y* (German *ge*) belongs properly to the past participle passive, as in *yclad*, *yclept*.

8. "*livelong*." So in both Milton's editions, but *lasting* in the Second Folio Shakespeare. •

9, 10. "*to the shame of slow-endeavouring art, thy easy numbers flow*." A reference to Shakespeare's extreme ease and fluency in composition, as attested by his fellow-players Heminge and Condell, the editors of the First Folio: "His mind and hand went together: And what he thought he uttered with that easiness that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers." Ben Jonson adverts to the same. "I remember," he says in his *Discoveries*, "the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare that, in his writing, whatsoever he penned, he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, Would he had blotted out a thousand! Which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their ignorance who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by wherein he most faulted, and to justify mine own candour. For I loved the man, and do honour his memory, on this side idolatry, as much as any. He was indeed honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent phantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions; wherein he flowed with that facility that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped. *Sufflaminandus erat*, as Augustus said of Haterius." This extreme ease in composition, or contentedness with first drafts, did not belong to Milton; and he notes it in Shakespeare with admiration.

11. "*unvalued*": invaluable. Todd quotes from Shakespeare (*Rich. III. I. 4*) "*unvalued jewels*."

12. "*Delphic lines*": i.e. oracular lines, as if from Apollo's own temple at Delphi.

14. "*Dost make us marble with too much conceiving*": "dost change *us* into marble by the over-effort of thought to which thou compellest us,"—a very exact description of Shakespeare's effect on his readers. I have ventured to emphasise the word *us* to bring out the sense; which is that we, Shakespeare's readers, are the true marble of his tomb or monument.

ON THE UNIVERSITY CARRIER.

2. "*And here.*" In the First Edition "*A here*": evidently a misprint.

8. "*Dodged with him betwixt Cambridge and THE BULL.*" See Intro.—*Dodge* is an old English word, meaning, according to Wedgwood (*Dict. of Eng. Etym.*), "to jog, to move quickly to and fro; hence to follow in the track of any one, to follow his ins and outs, also to deceive one by change of motion." Richardson, in his Dictionary, supposes the word akin to *dog* (to run after like a dog); but Wedgwood connects it with *dod* or *dad* (Scotticè *dqud*), a lump of anything soft and moist, that may be flattened by throwing it against a wall or on the ground. Skeat rather connects it with the North English *dad*, to shake, the Provincial English *dade*, to walk unsteadily, and the Scotch *daudk*, to walk lazily or aimlessly.

15. "*Showed him*": i.e. Death showed him; the nominative *Death* in the first clause of the sentence running on after the "*But*" of line 11.

ANOTHER ON THE SAME.

5. "*Made of sphere-metal*": i.e. of the same perfect and enduring metal of which the heavenly spheres are composed.

14. "*Too long vacation hastened on his term.*" The whole piece is a string of puns on Hobson's business and the circumstances of his death. The pun here is on the antithesis of the University *Eong Vacation* and *Term* time.

18. "*If I mayn't carry,*" etc. Pun on the phrase "carry or fetch."

20. "*bearers*": i.e. of the coffin.

29, 30. "*Obedient to the moon,*" etc. Hobson made four journeys every month, alternately from Cambridge to London and from London to Cambridge.

32. "*his wain was his increase.*" Pun on the two identical sounds, *wane*, wasting or diminution, and *wain*, waggon.

33. "*His letters,*" etc. Hobson acted as postman between Cambridge and London, bringing letters from London to the College dons and students, and carrying back their answers.

AN EPITAPH ON THE MARCHIONESS OF WINCHESTER.

2, 3. "*wife of Winchester, a Viscount's daughter, an Earl's heir.*" See Introduction.

7, 8. "*Summers three times eight save one she had told*": i.e. the lady was twenty-three years of age at her death.

13, 14. "*Nature and Fate had had no strife*," etc.: i.e. Had the lady lived to an age equal in length to her merits, her death would have been natural; Nature and Fate would then have agreed in closing it, whereas now Nature quarrelled with what Fate had done.

17. "*The virgin quire*": the bride's-maids.

18. "*The god that sits at marriage feast*": i.e. Hymen, bringing his torch.

22. "*a cypress-bud*": a bud of the funereal cypress, mixed with the marriage-wreath.

23—25. "*Once hdd the egrly matrons . . . and now*," etc.: i.e. she had given birth to one child, a son; and now, a second time, she was in childbirth. *Lucina*, among the Romans, was the goddess of childbirth (literally, of light, or bringing to light), and was identical with Juno or Diana.—The only son of the young Marchioness was Charles, called Lord St. John of Basing during his father's lifetime. He succeeded his father in 1674 as 6th Marquis of Winchester, and in 1689 was created Duke of Bolton.

28. "*Atropos*": one of the three Fates, the other two being Clotho and Lachesis. While Clotho span the thread of life, and Lachesis decided what its length was to be, Atropos (i.e. the Inevitable) cut it across at the fated point.

33. "*languished*." The verb "to languish" is here used actively, as meaning "to fatigue," "to cause to languish."

35—40. "*So have I scen*," etc. The meaning is "So have I seen some tender plant completely plucked up by some careless swain who meant to pluck only its newly-shot flower."

47, 48. "*Gentle Lady*," etc. Warton compares the lines in *Cymbeline*, IV. 2:—

"Quiet consummation have,
And renowned be thy grave."

50. "*seize*": in the peculiar legal sense of "to put one in possession of," "to settle one in a property."

56. "*Weept*." So in original editions.

56. "*Helicon*": here used in its proper sense as the name of a mountain-range, or mountainous tract of country, in Boeotia, sacred to the Muses, and in one spot of which was the fountain of Aganippe,

which inspired those that drank of it. By mistake, Helicon became, with many poets, the name of this fountain, or of a river. 4

58. "*hearse*": not in our sense of a wheeled carriage for the dead, but in the older sense of a *bier* of wooden framework (French *herse*, triangular wooden framework or harrow).

59. "*Sent thee from the banks of Came*": i.e. from Cambridge. The passage suggests that Milton's Elegy was but one of a number written, and perhaps printed, at Cambridge on the occasion; but no such volume is now known. See *Introd.*

62—70. "*Next her . . . that fair Syrian Shepherdess*," etc.: i.e. Rachel, Jacob's wife. See Gen. xxix., xxx., and xxxv. 16—20.

74. "*No Marchioness, but now a Queen*." Todd detects a reference in this and the preceding three lines to the story of Anne Boleyn's last message to Henry VIII, thanking him for advancing her first to be a Marchioness, then a Queen, and lastly a Saint in Heaven.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—The only important variant reading presented by the interesting contemporary MS. copy of this Poem in the British Museum volume mentioned in the Introduction (Vol. I. p. 128, note) occurs immediately after line 14. Instead of our present text from line 14 to line 24 the MS. has the following:—

" . . . to her life.
Seven times had the yearlie starre
In everie signe sett upp his carr
Since for her they did request
The god that sits at marriage feast,
When first the earlie matrons runne
To greet her of her lovelie sonne.
And now," etc.

If this is what Milton originally wrote, we can see how he improved the passage on revision.

L'ALLEGRO.

1—3. "*Melancholy, of Cerberus and blackest Midnight born in Stygian cave*." In the classic mythology it is Erebus, or Darkness, son of Chaos, that is the original husband of his sister Nyx or Night, their offspring being Aether (Sky) and Hemera (Day). But, in the same mythology, Night, quite apart from Erebus, is made the mother of many other gruesome or mysterious beings, such as Thanatos (Death), Hypnos (Sleep), Nemesis, etc. Poets, accordingly, have added at will to her progeny by various husbands or without husband. Thus Spenser (*Tears of the Muses*) makes Ignorance one of her children, by her own son Sloth:—

"Ignorance,
Borne in the bosom of the black Abyse,
And fed with Furies' milk for sustenance
Of his weake infancie, begot amisse
By yawning Sloth on his owne mother Night."

Knowing all this, Milton chose to wed Cerberus to Night for the production of Melancholy. Some commentators have thought the conjunction inappropriate; and Mr. Keightley, to justify it, suggests that Milton "had in view the ordinary derivation of Cerberus, *κέρβερός*, *heart-devouring*." Perhaps; but, without any such particularising, was it not poetical enough to think of Melancholy as the child of Night and the Hell-dog?

6. "*his jealous wings*." To explain the epithet "jealous" here, Warburton supposes an allusion to "the watch which fowls keep when they are sitting."

7. "*the night-raven sings*." The raven, from its black colour, its solitary habits, and its harsh croaking voice, has always figured as a bird of ill omen; and in the idea of the "night-raven," heard in the darkness, this is intensified. The word occurs in Milton only in this passage; and the similar words "night-hag" and "night-steeds" also occur only once (*Par. Lost*, II. 662, and *Od. Nat.* 236). Shakespeare has the "night-raven" in one passage: "I pray God his bad voice bode no mischief; I had as lief have heard the night-raven" (*Much Ado about Nothing*, II. 3). Among the night-fowls and solitary birds in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (5th Day of Week I.) are

"The Skritch Owl, used in falling towers to lodge,
Th' unlucky Night-Raven."

8, 9. "*rocks, as ragged as thy locks*." Whether "ragged" and "rugged" are only forms of the same word is disputed; some holding that "rugged" is from the root of the word *rough* (A.-S. *hrūh*), and that this is distinct from A.-S. *hracian*, to tear, *hræcod*, torn, whence "rag" and "ragged" are derived. The epithet "ragged" for rocks was not unfrequent. See Isaiah ii. 21, and Shaks. 3 *Henry VI.* V. 4. The word occurs but once in Milton's poetry,—*i.e.* only in this passage; the word "rugged" occurs six times.

10. "*dark Cimmerian desert*." In the *Odyssey* the Cimmerians are described as a people dwelling "beyond the ocean-stream," in a land of perpetual darkness; and, though they are known afterwards as a historical people, figuring round and near the Black Sea (whence the name *Crimea*), this legendary idea of them and their country was perpetuated by the poets, so that the phrase "Cimmerian darkness" became hackneyed. The word occurs but in this passage in Milton's poetry.

11, 12. "*thou Goddess fair and free, in heaven yclept Euphrosyne.*" Warton and Todd quote several examples from our old poets of the conjunction of the epithets "fair" and "free" as denoting grace in women, the most apt of which in this connexion is one from Drayton (*Ecl. IV.*):—

"He had, as antique stories tell,
A daughter cleped Dowsabell,
A maiden fair and free."

The word "yclept" (the old past participle of the verb *clepe* "to call," from the A.-S. *clepan*) occurs only in this passage in all Milton's poetry, and is spelt *ycleap'd* in the editions of 1645 and 1673. He uses the old verbal prefix *y* only twice besides—in the word *ychained* (*Od. Nat.* 155), and in the term *star-y pointing* (*On Shakespeare*).—EUPHROSYNÉ (*i.e.* Mirth or Cheerfulness), in the classic mythology, was one of the three Graces.

14—23. "*Whom lovely Venus,*" etc. The two sister Graces of Euphrosyne were AGLAIA (Brightness) and THALIA (Bloom), and the parentage of the three is given variously in the old mythology. Most commonly they are represented as the daughters of Zeus by Hera, or by one of several other goddesses, among whom Venus or Aphrodite is not mentioned. But Milton is his own mythologist here. He invents an option of two pedigrees for Euphrosyne. Either she is the daughter of Bacchus and Venus, born at one birth with the other Graces, Aglaia and Thalia,—*i.e.* Cheerfulness may spring from Wine and Love; or, preferably, and by an airier and purer origin, she is the child of Aurora (the Dawn) begotten in early summer by Zephyr (the West Wind),—*i.e.* it is the early freshness of the summer morning that best produces Cheerfulness.

17. "*(as some sager sing).*" So in the original editions; corrupted into "*sages*" in some later ones.

18. "*frolic wind.*" Our customary adjective now is *frolicsome*, and *frolic* is generally used as a substantive; but Milton's use of *frolic* here as an adjective is quite correct. It is the same as the German *fröhlich* (cheerful, merfy). On the only other occasion on which the word occurs in Milton's poetry (*Comus*, 59) it is likewise an adjective.

22. "*fresh-blown roses washed in dew.*" Shakespeare, as Bowle noted, has nearly the same: "morning roses newly washed in dew" (*Tam. of the Shrew*, II. 1).

24. "*So buxom, blithe, and debonaire.*" The combination of two of these adjectives is found by Warton in Shakespeare's line, "So buxom, blithe, and full of face" (Gower's prologue in *Pericles*, Act

l.); and all three are found by Todd in the *Aristippus* of Thomas Randolph, published in 1635,—“to make one blithe, burome, and deboneer.” *Buxom* means originally “flexible” or “easily bowed,” from A.-S. *beogan*, to bow; hence “lively,” or “lithe,” and so to “handsome,” though at present the word, by a forgetfulness of its original meaning, rather implies a stout kind of handsomeness. Milton uses it but twice—in its original sense in *P. L.* II. 842, and here in its nearest derivative sense. *Blithe* (“glad” or “gay”), an old English, or A.-S. word, is now mainly provincial or Scottish. *Debonair*, from the French (*de bon aire*, good-looking), is a favourite word with the old Romancers.

27, 28. “*Quips and cranks and wanton wiles,
Nods and becks and wreathèd smiles.*”

Quip is a smart or cutting saying, and is the same etymologically as *whip*. Richardson, in his Dictionary, quotes a passage much to the point from Iyly's *Alexander and Campaspe*, III. 2 :—

“*Manes.* We cynicks are mad fellows; didst thou not find I did quip thee?

Psy. No verily: why, what's a quip?

Manes. We great girders call it a short saying of a sharp wit, with a bitter sense in a sweet word.”

Shakespeare, who uses the word again and again, has an excellent concrete illustration of it in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. 3 :—

“*Falstaff.* My honest lads, I will tell you what I am about.

Pistol. Two yards, and more.

Falstaff. No quips now, Pistol!”

Crank is literally a crook or bend: hence a “crank” in the sense of an iron rod bent into an elbow as in machinery, or a “crank” in the sense of the word in this passage,—i.e. an odd turn of speech.—

Wile is a trick, and the same word as *guile*.—A *beck* (to *beckon*) is a sign either with the finger or with the head,—in which latter case it includes a *nod*. See the word *Par. Reg.* II. 238. *Smiles* are called *wreathèd* because they curl or wreath the features.—Warton supposes Milton to have remembered this line in a stanza in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* :—

“With becks, and nods, and smiles again.”

33, 34. “*Come, and trip it, as you go,
On the light fantastic toe.*”

In *The Tempest*, Act IV. Sc. 1, Ariel says to Prospero, who has ordered him to summon the other Spirits of the Island—

“Before you can say ‘come’ and ‘go,’
And breathe twice and cry ‘so, so,’
Each one, tripping on his toe,
Will be here with mop and mow.”

Newton, pointing out that Milton may have had this passage in his mind, made the guess likelier by misquoting and abbreviating the passage thus, as if it were Ariel's address to the Spirits:—

"Come and go,
Each one tripping on his toe."

In this misquotation later commentators have followed Newton.

40. "*unreproved*": in the sense of *unreprovable* or innocent. So in other cases in Milton, e.g. "unvalued," for "not to be valued" or priceless, in the lines *On Shakespeare*.

45—48. "*Then to come, in spite of sorrow, and at my window,*" etc. This passage has been strangely misconstrued by some commentators, and a charge has been made against Milton founded on the misconstruction. The skylark, they have told us, never comes to people's windows, to bid them good-morrow through the sweet-briar, the vine, the eglantine, or anything else; and, in making it do so, Milton showed that he did not so much observe nature at first hand as fancy her through books! If the commentators had hesitated a little, they would have avoided this nonsense. It is not the lark at all that Milton makes come to the window and bid good-morrow, and by no possibility could that absurdity fit with the syntax of the passage. By the syntax, as well as by the sense, it is L'Allegro, the cheerful youth (Milton himself, we may suppose), that comes to the window and salutes people. The words "*Then to come*" in line 45 refer back to, and depend upon, the previous words "*Mirth, admit me*" of line 38. Milton, or whoever the imaginary speaker is, asks Mirth to admit him to her company and that of the nymph Liberty, and to let him enjoy the pleasures natural to such companionship (38—40). He then goes on to specify such pleasures, or give examples of them. The first (41—44) is that of the sensations of early morning, when, walking round a country cottage, one hears the song of the mounting skylark, welcoming the signs of sunrise. The second is that of coming to the cottage window, looking in, and bidding a cheerful good-morrow, through the sweet-briar, vine, or eglantine, to those of the family who are also early astir. One regrets that Mr. Mark Pattison should have persisted, after all, in that nonsensical and syntax-defying misinterpretation of Milton's text in this place which I have thus exposed. He had a foregone conclusion as to the necessary inaccuracy of Milton, "a city-bred youth," in matters of Natural History, and, while backing it up rather spitefully with other supposed instances,—which also may be broken down,—could not bring himself to part with this. See his *Monograph on Milton*, pp. 24-25.—"*In spite of sorrow*": is this merely a repetition of the opening strain of the poem, meaning generally "in

defiance of Melancholy"; or may we suppose a subtle reference to some recent grief that had been in the special cottage in view, from the influence of which the inmates had hardly yet recovered? We have no right to assume the latter meaning; but it would be quite in Milton's way, and it would obviate a certain sense one might feel, on the other supposition, that the phrase had been brought in for the rhyme only.—"*Sweet-briar . . . eglantine.*" As these are now, with strict botanists, names for the same plant (*Rosa rubigenosa*), Warton supposes that by "the twisted eglantine" Milton meant the honeysuckle; Mr. Keightley, more accurately, suggests the dog-rose (*Rosa canina*). The name is from the French *eglantier*, which is formed from *aiguille*, a needle, and implies prickliness. The sound of the word, as well as the associations with it, has made it a favourite with English poets from Chaucer downwards. Chaucer has the forms *eglatere* and *eghtentere*. Popularly, several of the smaller-flowered kinds of wild-rose, besides the sweet-briar, are still called eglantine.

53. "*Oft listening,*" etc. Here the poet passes on to a new pleasure, or a prolongation of the former. He has been looking round about the cottage or farmhouse, listening to the cock crowing, or watching him strutting to the stack or barn-door; and now, sauntering in its neighbourhood, he hears, from the hill-side, and echoing through the wood, the horn of the early huntsman, out with the hounds.

57. "*Sometime walking.*" Here, distinctly, L'Allegro is away from his cottage, and out on his morning walk.—"*not unseen.*" "Happy men love witnesses of their joy" is Hurd's acute note on this expression.

59. "*eastern gate*"—an expression found in Shakespeare, William Browne, elsewhere in Milton, and in the poets generally.

60. "*state*": i.e. "his stately progress," as Mr. Keightley expresses it.

62. "*dight*," arrayed: from the A.-S. *dihtan*, to arrange, furbish, set in order; still extant in the Scottish *dicht*, to wipe or clean. Skeat connects the word with the Latin *dictare*.—"The clouds in thousand liveries dight." Almost a translation, as Warton has remarked, of a phrase in Milton's own description of Morning in the first of his Latin *Profusiones Oratoriae* or Cambridge Academical Exercises: "Ipsa quoque tellus in adventum Solis cultiori se induit vestitu, nubesque juxta variis chlamydatæ coloribus pompâ solenni longoque ordine videntur ancillari surgenti Deo." Compare the whole description of morning phenomena there with that in *L'Allegro*. Warton also quotes a passage from Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*

(Book ~~V~~ Song 4), in which there is an enumeration of morning phenomena not unlike that of a portion of Milton's poem: e.g. "Chanticleer, the village-cock," the "swart ploughman," the "re-echoes of the deep-mouthed hound," and "the shepherd's daughter with her cleanly pail."

67. "*tells his tale*." Warton, on a suggestion from a friend, proposed to understand this to mean "telling the tale" of his sheep, i.e. counting them; and this is certainly one of the meanings of the word *tale*, from A.-S. *talū*, number,—e.g. "the tale of the bricks" which the Israelites had to make in Egypt (Exod. v. 8). Browne, in his *Shepherd's Pipe*, Ecl. v., as Warton pointed out, has this passage:—

"When the shepherds from their fold
All their bleating charges told,
And, full careful, searched if one
Of all their flock were hurt or gone."

It may be that Warton's reading is right, the rather because, as in this passage from Browne, counting the sheep was a morning occupation for each shepherd, whereas one can hardly fancy shepherds met under a hawthorn and telling stories to each other so early in the day. Still the other, and more popular and pleasing, interpretation may be defended; and *tale*, narrative, is radically the same as *tale*, number.

69. "*Straight mine eye*," etc. By this rapid turn of phrase Milton skilfully indicates a new paragraph in his description. Hitherto he has been delighting in the phenomena of early morning; now his eye catches "*new pleasures*,"—i.e. he is still out on his walk, but some time has elapsed, and it is farther on in the day. "*Straight*" means "instantaneously," not in the actual succession of sights in the walk, but in the poem, or what of the walk he chooses, as L'Allegro, to remember or fancy.

70. "*lantskip*": spelt "*lantskip*" in the First and Second Editions.

71. "*Russet lawns, and fallows grey*." *Lawn* now commonly means a stretch of green grass in front of a mansion; but the epithet "*russet*" (reddish) shows that Milton, here as in the five other places where he has used the word in his poetry, understood it rather in its original sense of *land* or *laund*, any open space, even if moory. Over such, and over the "*grey fallows*," the sheep might be seen nibbling. A *fallow* is a piece of ploughed land left unsown, generally yellow or tawny in colour, as in *fallow deer*; but the A.-S. *fealu*, like the German *falb* (Latin *fulvus*), implies a range of hues from yellow to gray, and is allied indeed to *pale* (*pallidus*).

73, 74. "*Mountains*," etc. See Introd. I. 132.

75. "with daisies pied." Almost certainly a recollection of Shakespeare's "When daisies pied and violets blue" in the last song in *Love's Labour's Lost*. "Pied," a common word with the old poets, means variegated in colour: thus *pie* or *magpie*, and *piebald*. Drayton speaks of the "py'd kingfisher." Shakespeare is supposed to have invented the word "*piedness*" in a passage about flowers (*Winter's Tale*, IV. 3); but Hakluyt has the same word. See Richardson's Dict. and Skeat's under *Pie*.

77—80. "*Towers and battlements*," etc. See Introd. I. 132.

79. "*lies*," lodges, resides: not an uncommon old meaning. A passage in point, quoted by Mr. Browne, is "When the Court lay at Windsor" (*Merry Wives*, II. 2); and the same sense of the word *lie* gives the point to Sir Henry Wotton's jocular definition of an ambassador as "one who *lies* abroad for the good of his country."

80. "*cynosure*" (literally "the dog's tail," *κυνος οὐρα*) was the Greek name for that part of the constellation of the Lesser Bear which contains the pole-star. The Phœnician mariners directed their eyes to this in steering their course, while the Greeks steered by the Greater Bear. Thus Ovid, *Fasti*, III. 107-8:—

"Esse duas Arctos, quarum Cynosura petatur
Sidoniis, Helicen Graea cœfina notet."

By metaphor from this "*cynosure*" of Phœnician navigation, any thing or person on whom eyes were fastened for any reason might be called their "*cynosure*." Mr. Browne quotes an apt passage from Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, where the Countess of Buckingham is spoken of as "the Cynosura that all the Papists steered by."

83—88. "*Corydon and Thyrsis . . . Phillis . . . Thestylis*." Stock-names in pastoral poetry, here applied by Milton to English rustics. Their being at dinner indicates that it is now about mid-day.

91, 92. "Sometimes, with secure delight,
The upland hamlets will invite."

So Milton again marks a new paragraph in the poem, changing the scene. It is now past mid-day, and in the afternoon; and we are invited to a rustic holiday among the "upland hamlets" or little villages among the slopes, away from the river-meadows and the haymaking.—"*secure*," not here in its derivative meaning of "safe," but in its original meaning of "careless" or "free from care" (*securus*). Mr. Browne happily quotes a discrimination, and even opposition, of the two meanings from Ben Jonson—

"Men may securely sin, but safely never."

94. "*rebecks*." The *rebeck* was a kind of fiddle, supposed to be the same as Chaucer's *ribibe*; which again is the Arabic *rebeb*, a two-stringed instrument played with a bow, which the Arabs are said to have brought into Spain (Warton, and Richardson's Dict.) Warton notes that the name of the fiddler in *Romeo and Juliet* (IV. 4) is Hugh Rebeck.

96. "*chequered shade*." So, as the commentator Richardson noted, in *Titus Andronicus*, II. 3:—

"The green leaves quiver with the cooling wind
And make a chequered shadow on the ground."

98. "*On a sunshine holiday*." The word "sunshine" used adjectively, for "sunshiny." Milton repeats the exact phrase in *Comus*, 959. Shakespeare had the adjective before him (*Richard II.* IV. 1); Spenser has "sunshiny" (*F. Q. I.* xii. 23).

100. "*Then*": *i.e.* as it grows dark.

102. "*How Faery Mab the junkets eat*." See the famous description of the Fairy Queen Mab in *Romeo and Juliet*, I. 4; also another, more prosaic, in Ben Jonson's masque, *The Satyr* (1603). The beginning of the latter may be quoted:—

"This is Mab, the mistress Fairy,
That doth nightly rob the dairy,
And she can hurt or help the churning,
As she please, without discerning ;

.
She that pinches country wenches
If they rub not clean their benches,
And with sharper nails remembers
When they rake not up their embers ;
But, if so they chance to feast her,
In a shoe she drops a tester."

—"junkets," from Low Lat. *juncata*, Ital. *giuncata*, meaning cream-cheese, or the like country delicacy made from milk, and so called because such things were wrapt in rushes (Ital. *giunco*, a rush).

103, 104. "*She was pinched and pulled, she said ;*
And he," etc.

She in the first line and *he* in the second are two of the persons who are telling the stories round the nut-brown ale. One, a girl, tells about Queen Mab, and can vouch, from her own experience, that all is true that is said of the pranks of that Fairy; for "*she was pinched and pulled*" by her, exactly as in the legends. Then, another colloquist, a man, follows with *his* story.

104, 105. "*And he, by Friar's lantern led,*
Tells how the drudging goblin," etc.

So in the First Edition; but in the Second the first line runs "*And by the Friar's lantern led.*" This seems to be a misprint; for, though the construction is difficult with the other reading, it would be hopeless with this. The construction with the other seems to be "And he [the male speaker], by Friar's lantern led [*i.e.* who had had an experience of Friar Rush as distinct as the girl had had of Queen Mab], tells how the drudging goblin," etc.—"*By Friar's lantern led*": *i.e.* who had once been led into a marsh at night by that mysterious flickering light which philosophers call the *Ignis Fatuus*, and try to explain by physical causes, but which is known in English and Scottish popular mythology as the fiendish being *Jack-o'-the-Lantern*, or *Will-o'-the-Wisp*, or *Spunkie*, who flits in luminous form over marshy lands, to deceive travellers and lure them to their destruction. Milton here calls the same "*Friar's lantern*," meaning, it is supposed, "*Friar Rush's lantern*"; and, if so, Mr. Keightley insists that he is wrong, inasmuch as the "*Friar Rush*" of the popular Fairy mythology is a domestic spirit, who haunts houses, and not the same being at all as the out-of-doors "*Jack-o'-the-Lantern*." Whether it was the Friar's lantern or Jack's lantern, however, it had once misled the rustic who was now talking over the nut-brown ale. He was therefore an authority in this class of subjects, and any story of his would be heard with attention. The story he does tell, after his qualifying personal prefacé about his encounter with Jack-o'-the-Lantern, refers to quite another member of the Fairy brotherhood, viz. "The Drudging Goblin."

- 105—114. "how the drudging goblin sweat
To earn his cream-bowl," etc.

The "drudging goblin" is Robin Goodfellow, *alias* Hobgoblin, *alias* (by high promotion) "Shakespeare's Puck.—Although the word "Robin Goodfellows" is sometimes found in the plural as a name for an order of goblins (*Goblin*, *Kobold* in the German mythology, perhaps the same as the Greek *κόβαλος*, a rogue), there was one pre-eminent Robin Goodfellow. He was a kind of masculine Queen Mab, performing among the ploughmen and farm-labourers the same offices of mischievous interference and occasional good service that her fairy ladyship did among the housemaids and dairymaids. In the rustic imagination, and usually in books, he was represented as a huge, loutish fellow, of great strength, but very lazy, who could be roused, by kind treatment, and especially by a bowl of cream or the like set out for him, to do an immense stroke of work in the barn during the night. He figures a good deal in Elizabethan popular literature; *e.g.* he is one of the characters in Ben Jonson's masque *Love Restored*. Coming in there among the Court masquers, he says: "Are these your court sports? Would I had kept me to my

"gambols o' the country still, selling of fish, short service, shoeing the wild mare, or roasting of robin-redbreast! These were better than, after all this time, no masque. You look at me: I have recovered myself now for you. I am the honest plain country spirit and harmless Robin Goodfellow: he that sweeps the hearth and the house clean, riddles for the country maids, and does all their drudgery." If, after this, the reader will pass to the Puck of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, expressly introduced there (Act II. Sc. 1) as identical with Robin Goodfellow and also called Hobgoblin, it will be seen how Shakespeare, keeping some of his lineaments, has refined and idealised him. Milton's "dudging goblin," however, is the genuine uncultured Robin Goodfellow of the rustics themselves, more Jonson's than Shakespeare's. He is the "lubber fiend" (*lob, looby*, an old word, both Celtic and Germanic, meaning a lout, though it must be in another sense that Shakespeare calls Puck "thou lob of spirits"); the cream-bowl tempts him to exert himself and do ten men's work with his flail in the night; and, this work done, and the cream in his crop, he lies basking his hairy strength at the kitchen fire till morning.

117. "*Towered cities please us then*": i.e. when the rustics, according to their early habits, are asleep, and the pall of darkness comes over the country fields, the mood of L'Allegro, the educated youth who would still prolong his waking hours with fit employment, transfers itself to cities and *their* objects of interest. Observe, it is the *mood* that is transferred; not the youth in person. The rest of the poem, from this point onward, may be taken as describing the evening reveries, readings, and other recreations, of the imaginary youth in his country-cottage, after his morning's walk and afternoon among the rustics. The word *then* in this line, as elsewhere in the poem, does important duty.

120. "*In weeds of peace, high triumphs hold*." The word *weeds*, now usually confined to the phrase "widow's weeds," was once far more general (A.-S. *wed*, clothing). Shakespeare has the phrase "weeds of peace" (*Troil. and Cres.* III. 3).—"triumphs," in the sense of lordly entertainments, is a common word in Elizabethan literature, and is perhaps best defined, as Mr. Browne has pointed out, in Bacon's *Essay On Masques and Triumphs*. After treating of Masques, he passes to Triumphs thus:—"For justs, and tourneys, and barriers, the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots wherein the challengers make their entry . . . or in the devices of their entrance, or in the bravery of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour."

121. "*store of ladies*." So, in Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, as

quoted by Warton, "store of faire ladies," and in Spenser's *F. Q.* (v. iii. 2), as quoted by Todd, "Of lords and ladies infinite great store."

122. "*Rain influence.*" A metaphor from Astrology. See *Ode Nat.* 71.

125, 126. "*There let Hymen oft appear
In saffron robe, with taper clear.*"

Warton refers to Ben Jonson's *Hymenai, or the Solemnities of Masque and Barriers at a Marriage*,* where there is this introductory account of Hymen's appearance:—"Entered Hymen, the God of Marriage, "in a saffron-coloured robe, his under-vestures white, his socks "yellow, a yellow veil of silk on his left arm, his head crowned with "roses and marjoram, in his right hand a torch of pine-tree." This is Hymen at his gaudiest; but he and his saffron robe and torch are frequent in poetry. Milton substitutes a taper for the torch.

127. " *pomp*": i.e. solemn procession (Greek, πομπή).

131. "*Then to the well-trod stage.*" • The reading and reverie hitherto have been among romances and tales of chivalry, such as Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*; but now there come readings in the dramatists.

132—134. "*If Jonson's learned sock be on,
Or sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child,
Warble his native wood-notes wild.*"

It is the lighter kind of drama, the drama of the "sock" (*Comedy*, in performing which the actors wore low-heeled shoes), rather than that of the "buskin" (*Tragedy*, in performing which the actors wore high-heeled boots), that suits the mood of L'Allegro. Jonson himself has the phrase "when thy socks were on" with reference to Shakespeare's comic dramas, as distinct from his tragedies, or the "tread" of his "buskin,"—hardly knowing which to praise most (*Lines to the Memory of Shakespeare*); and Milton probably borrowed the phrase from Jonson to increase his compliment to that stalwart writer. As Jonson did not die till 1637, the compliment was, probably, one to a living man. In speaking of "Jonson's *learned sock*," Milton kept to the established epithet about Jonson, whose "learning" was his chief quality with most critics. So in the epithets "sweetest" and "Fancy's child," applied to the dead Shakespeare, who was still remembered as "the gentle" and "the honey-tongued," and whose prodigious natural genius critics contrasted with Jonson's learning and laboriousness. The two lines given to Shakespeare in *L'Allegro* have been thought under the mark of the subject; and the words

"warble his native wood-notes wild," though perhaps a suitable mention of Shakespeare's lyrics, do strike one as not comprehensive enough for his Comedies. It is to be remembered, however, that Milton is touching things here but lightly and briefly, and that "Fancy" (Phantasy) had a larger meaning then than now. Fortunately, also, we can go back to Milton's lines *On Shakespeare* in 1630, and be fully satisfied. See *Introd.* and *Notes* to that piece. For variations in Milton's regard for Shakespeare and the Drama generally in his more advanced life, see *Introd.* to *Samson Agonistes*. With the references there given we may include, after Warton, a quotation from the *Theatrum Poetarum* of Milton's nephew Edward Phillips, published in 1675. Milton had then been dead a year; but he had trained Phillips and formed his tastes in poetry, and had probably helped him with hints for this very book. "In Tragedy," says Phillips of Shakespeare, "never any expressed a more lofty and "tragic highth, never any represented nature more purely to the "life; and, where the polishments of art are most wanting, as "probably his learning was not extraordinary, he pleases with a "certain wild and native elegance."

135, 136. "And ever, against eating cares,
Lap me in soft Lydian airs."

In other words, readings are now exchanged for music. But, as it was the lighter and more luscious kind of reading that suited the lively mood, so it is the softer and sweeter kind of music,—the "Lydian," rather than the "Dorian" or the "Phrygian." These were the three ancient kinds of music; and their differences are described technically by musicians.—"eating cares" is a translation of Horace's *mordaces sollicitudines* (*Ode* I. xviii. 4), or rather of his "*curas edaces*" (*Od.* II. xi. 18).

137. "Married to immortal verse." There is the same metaphor in *At a Solemn Music*; and other poets have it.

139. "bout," a bend or turn, connected with the verb *bow*. Spenser, who uses the word several times, in the sense of the *folds* or *wreathings* of a serpent's body or a dragon's tail, spells it "boughte" (*F. Q.* I. i. 15, and I. xi. 11, and Virgil's *Gnat*, 305).

144. "harmony," in its express musical sense, as more than melody.

145—150. "That Orpheus' self," etc. Orpheus, in the Greek mythology, was the unparalleled singer and musician, the power of whose harp or lyre drew wild beasts, and even rocks and trees, to follow him. His wife Eurydice having died, he descended into Hades to recover her, if possible. His music, charming even the

damned, prevailed with Pluto, who granted his prayer on condition that he should not look on Eurydice till he had led her completely out of Hades and into the upper world. Unfortunately, on their way upwards, he turned to see if she was following him; and she was caught back. Hence the significance of lines 148—150.

IL PENSEROSO.

1—30. "*Hence, vain deluding Joys,*" etc. The studied antithesis of *Il Penseroso* and *L'Allegro* throughout declares itself in these opening thirty lines, which exactly match and counterpoise the first four-and-twenty lines of *L'Allegro*. So closely is the one poem framed on the model of the other that it would be impossible to say, on mere internal evidence, which was written first. Most probably the idea of two such companion pieces was in Milton's mind before he wrote either, and he fulfilled that idea by writing them in the order in which they now stand, and in which they were originally published by himself. This is a case in which a writer, describing two moods or doctrines, would place that one last which, on the whole, he favoured most, and to which he meant to lend his weight. So fairly is the question stated, however, and with such real liking for both sides, that, but for this matter of the arrangement, all signs of ultimate preference may be said to be removed. Perhaps combination was the lesson intended. Thinking of Milton's whole life, we identify him most naturally with *Il Penseroso*; but may we not have forgotten how much of *L'Allegro* there was in him potentially, at all events in his youth?

3. "*bested*": avail, advantage, stand in stead to, or stand by (by-stand). The same meaning of the verb is instanced in a passage from Sir Francis Drake's *West India Voyage*, quoted in Richardson's Dictionary. Speaking of a quantity of dried fish of which he had made a prize, and which he distributed among his fleet, he says, "The same [was] so new and good as it did very greatly bestead us in the whole course of our voyage." But another and perhaps more usual meaning of the word is "placed," "situated" (A.-S. *stede*, a place). Richardson quotes this instance from Barrow: "He who looks so deformedly and dismally, who in outward sight is so ill bestead, and so pitifully accoured, hath latent in him much of admirable beauty and glory." So "hardly bestead and hungry," in Isaiah viii. 21. In this second sense the word seems to be a past participle passive of the former verb: thus, "*to bestead*" (perhaps originally pronounced *bestede*), "*to stand by*," "*bested*," "*stood-by*."

6. "*fond*," in its old sense of "foolish."

6-10. "gaudy shapes . . . as thick and numberless as the gay notes that people the sun-beams, or likest hovering dreams . . . *Morpheus' train*." In his notes on this passage, Warton, besides unnecessarily quoting Chaucer's "As thick as notes in the sunne-beams" (*Wife of Bath's Tale*, 868), and the like brief examples of the use of a phrase which is common property, ventures on the assertion that the imagery of the whole "is immediately from Sylvester's *Cave of Sleep* in Du Bartas." It may be well to quote the passage :—

"Confusedly about the silent bed,
Fantastick swarms of dreams there hovered,
Green, red, and yellow, tawny, black, and blew;
Som sacred, som profane, som false, som true;
Som short, som long, som develish, som divine,
Som sad, som glad; but monstrous all (in fine):
They make no noise, but right resemble may
Th' unnumbered moats which in the sun do play,
When (at som cranny) with his piercing ey
He peepeth in, som darker place to spy."
Sylv. Du Bartas, ed. 1613, p. 396 (*The Vacation*).

In the fancy that Milton remembered this passage Warton may be right, more especially as "*Morpheus*" is named a few lines before, and the phrase "gaudy swarms of dreams" occurs a few lines after; but this single instance will show on what little results parallel-passage-hunting may plume itself as successful.

10. "*pensioners*": retinue, literally "paid dependents." So Shakespeare, "The cowslips tall her pensioners be" (*Mids. Night's Dream*, II. 1). Warton thinks this metaphorical use of the word originated in the fact of the establishment by Queen Elizabeth of a guard composed of handsome young noblemen and gentlemen, specially under the name of *Pensioners*; and he cites Dame Quickly's "Yet there had been Earls, nay, which is more, Pensioners," as proving the influence of the institution on the popular speech. But as *Pensioners* or *Pensionaries*, both word and thing, were certainly older than Elizabeth's time, so may have been the metaphorical application of the word.

14. "*To hit the sense*." Mr. Browne cites "A strange invisible perfume hits the sense" (*Ant. and Cleop.* II. 2).

18. "*Prince Memnon's sister*." Memnon, in the legends of the Trojan War, is a prince of the Ethiopians who came to the aid of Priam, and was killed by Achilles. Though black or dark, he was of splendid beauty (*Od.* XI. 522), and the same might be presumed of any sister of his. Milton was supposed to have invented the "sister" for his purpose; but there are actual sisters in the

legends. Tithonus, the brother of Priam, and Eos or Aurora, were the parents of these dark beauties.

19—21. "*that starred Ethiop queen that strove*," etc. Cassiope, wife of Cepheus, King of the Ethiopians, and mother of Andromeda, challenged the Nereids for the superiority of beauty. In revenge, they got Poseidon to send a ravaging monster into Ethiopia; and Andromeda was about to be sacrificed to this monster, when she was saved by her lover Perseus. Cassiope was raised to heaven and turned into the constellation *Cassiopeia*: hence Milton's epithet of "*starred*." Her daughter Andromeda had afterwards the same honour.—Warton had seen, in books, an old Gothic astronomical print in which Cassiope was represented as a black female figure marked with white stars. He suggests that Milton must have seen the same, and that "*starred*" may thus more easily have come into his mind. Warton, Mr. Bowle, and others, also found in the whole description of Melancholy in the *Penseroso*, from line 12 onwards, traces of Milton's acquaintance with Albert Dürer's print of *Melancholia*. ••

23—30. "*Thee bright-haired Vesta . . . to solitary Saturn*," etc.: As Milton had invented a genealogy for Mirth (*L'Allegro*, 14—24), so now, with even more subtlety of significance, he invents one for Melancholy. She is the daughter of the solitary Saturn (from whose name and disposition our word *saturnine*) by his own child Vesta or Hestia, the goddess of the domestic hearth; and she was born in the far primeval time, while Saturn still reigned as the supreme God and had not been dispossessed by his son Zeus. That Milton here implied that Melancholy comes from Solitude or Retirement cannot be doubted; the question is as to the meaning of the other form of the parentage. Is Vesta to be taken simply as the Hearth-affection, or pure Domesticity? Perhaps so; and to say that Melancholy comes of solitary musings at the fireside, or at one's own "ingle-nook," would be no bad derivation. But the epithet "*bright-haired*" applied to Vesta, and the subsequent imagination of her meetings with Saturn in the glimmering glades of fount Ida, seem to require a more bold and mystic view of the nature of this goddess. Warton identifies her with Genius, and sup-

Milton to mean therefore that Melancholy is the daughter of solitude and Genius. One remembers, however, that Vesta was the goddess of the sacred eternal fire that could be tended only by vowed virginity; and here one is on the track of a peculiarly Miltonic idea. See *Comus*, 783—789, *Elegia Sexta*, 55—66, and a famous autobiographic passage in the prose *Apology for Smectymnus*.

31. "*pensive Nun*." Does not the immediate occurrence in

Milton's mind of this epithet for Melancholy give an additional likelihood to the suggestion in the end of last note?

33. "*grain*": colour. See note, *Par. Lost*, V. 285.

35. "*sable stole of cypress lawn*": i.e. scarf or mantilla of fine black linen crape. Some derive the word *cypress* in this sense from the old French word *crepé*, crisped or curled (modern *crêpe*, whence crape); there is a probability, however, that this kind of fabric was brought first from the island of Cyprus, and that the name signifies that origin. Frequently, in the old poets, when the fabric is mentioned, it is spelt "*Cyprus*": thus in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* the pedlar Autolycus comes in with his wares (IV. 4) singing—

"Lawn as white as driven snow,
Cyprus black as e'er was crow."

But we have also the spellings "*cypress*," "*cypres*," "*cipresse*," "*cipres*," etc., as if all recollection of the island in connexion with the article had been lost. Milton's spelling in this line, both in the First and in the Second Edition is "*Cipres*," with a capital letter and in italics; which is his usual way of printing a proper name.

37. "*keep thy wonted stte*": i.e. stately mien and behaviour. One of the old meanings of the noun "state" was "regal or ceremonial chair," or the "canopy" over such a chair (see note to *Par. Lost*, VII. 440); and from this meaning there were extensions. Sometimes these still implied the seated posture, as in Ben Jonson's lines (*Cynthia's Revels*, V. 3) cited by Warton:—

"Seated in thy silver chair,
* State in wonted manner keep."

But the "*stately*" behaviour might be maintained after the chair was left, and Milton here, though using Jonson's very phrase, imagines it of Melancholy not seated, but walking "with even step and musing gait"

39. "*commercing*": accented on the second syllable, as was then rather common.

42. "*Forget thyself to marble*": same idea as in line 14 of the piece *On Shakespeare*; which see, and the note on it.

43. "*With a sad leaden downward cast*." Leaden-coloured eyesockets betoken melancholy, or excess of thoughtfulness; but see *Epitaph. Dam.* 79, 80:—

"Saturni grave sæpe fuit passibus astrum,
Intimaque obliquo figit præcordia plumbo."

i.e. the star Saturn has a *leaden* or dispiriting influence on shepherds,

Sons of the Muses, making them causelessly melancholy. It is much to Warton's credit that, in his note on these lines in the Latin poem, he thought of referring to the present line in *Il Penseroso*. Leadon was the Saturnian colour; and Melancholy was the daughter of Saturn. Her eyes had the leaden hue of the blast from her father's star.

46—48. "*Spare Fast*," etc. A favourite Miltonic principle here. See again *Eleg. Sexta*, 55—66.

51—54. "*But, first and chiefest, with thee bring
Him that yon soars on golden wing,
Guiding the fiery-wheel'd throne,
The Cherub Contemplation.*"

A daring use of the great vision, in Ezekiel, chap. x., of the sapphire throne, the wheels of which were four cherubs, each wheel or cherub full of eyes all over, while in the midst of them, and underneath the throne, was a burning fire. Milton, whether on any hint from previous Biblical commentators I know not, ventures to name one of these cherubs who guide the fiery wheelings of the visionary throne. He is the Cherub *Contemplation*. With Milton, as with other writers of his century, Contemplation was a word of high meaning. It was by the serene faculty named Contemplation that one attained the clearest notions of divine things,—mounted, as it were, into the very blaze of the Eternal, or the sight of the Throne of God. Nay, the Throne itself wheeled partly on *him*!—"yon" (A.-S. *geon*) adverbially for "*yonder*," as if the poet pointed his finger to heaven when he spoke of Contemplation. In nine other cases in which the word occurs in Milton's poetry it is uniformly an adjective,—"*yon flowing estuary*," etc. The adverbial use of *yon* still exists in Scotland.

55, 56. "*And the mute Silence hist along,
'Less Philomel will deign a song.*"

"*Hist*" is imperative, in continuation of the imperative "*bring*" in line 51; and the meaning is "Move through the mute Silence hushingly, or saying Hush!—*i.e.* telling the Silence to continue—unless the nightingale shall choose to break it by one of her songs."—*Less* or *les*, as a contraction or substitute for *unless*, occurs occasionally in old writers; and Richardson, in his Dictionary, quotes two examples from Ben Jonson. That Milton here means it for a contraction appears by his prefixing the apostrophe. This is done both in the First and in the Second Edition.

59, 60. "*While Cynthia checks her dragon yoke
Gently o'er the accustomed oak.*"

i.e. "while the Moon, entranced with the song, is seen to check, pace of her dragon-drawn chariot over a particular oak-tree, that she may listen the longer" In Milton's Latin poem *In ob. Ppæ. El.* (56—58) there is exactly the same image for the Moon in her course :—

"deam
Vidi triformem, dum coercebat suos
Frænis dracones aureis."

Shakespeare also, in two passages quoted by Mr. Browne (*Mid. N. Dr.* III 2, and *Cymbel.* II 2), has "Night's dragons," or "dragons of the night" This is apparently a modern poetical liberty, for in the ancient mythology, as Mr Keightley remarks, it is only the chariot of Demeter or Ceres that is drawn by dragons—"accustomed oak" Why the epithet "accustomed"? Is it because Milton here thinks not from the point of view of Cynthia, but from that of an observer of Cynthia? Was there a particular oak over which he himself had often watched the slowly moving Moon? Altogether it is a beautiful picture

61—64 "*Sweet bird,*" etc In Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (First Week, 5th Day) there is a long passage on the Nightingale, in the opening of which a certain stiff resemblance may be discerned to this passage in the *Penseroso* He has been speaking of other birds, and especially of the songs of the lark, linnet, and goldfinch, and continues —

"All this is nothing to the Nightingale,
Breathing, so sweetly from a breast so small,
So many tunes, whose harmony excels
Our voice, our viols, and all music else
Good Lord ! how oft in a green oaken grove,
In the cool shadow, have I stood and strove
To marry mine immortal lays to theirs,
Rapt with delight of their delicious airs !
And yet, methinks, in a thick thorn I hear
A nightingale to warble sweetly clear"

Milton's fondness for the Nightingale appears not only in the present famous passage and in Sonnet I, but also in *Comus*, 234 5 and 566-7, and in *Par Lost*, IV. 602—604, and 771, and VII 435-6.

65. "*unseen*" In antithesis to line 57 of *L'Allegro* See note there.

66 "*On the dry smooth shaven green*" One fancies this green to be a well-kept lawn near some house, close to the "accustomed oak" of line 60

67. "*wandering moon.*" Mr. Keightley cites the "*vaga luna*" of Horace (*Sat.* I. viii. 21) and the "*errantem lunam*" of Virgil (*Æn.* I. 742)

69. "had." Some editions have "has"; which is a misprint.

72. "*Stooping through a fleecy cloud.*" Every one must have noticed this appearance of the moon, when surrounded by masses of white cloud-wreath in an otherwise blue sky. Their motion is transferred to her; and she seems sometimes to wade or bowl through them horizontally, sometimes to stoop among them.

73—76. "*Oft, on a plat of rising ground,
I hear the far-off curfew sound,
Over some wide-watered shore,
Swinging slow with sullen roar.*"

Milton, or Il Penseroso, who has last moment been walking, in fancy, on a "dry smooth-shaven green," watching the moon over an oak-tree, is now on a higher bit of flat ground, the level top of some hillock, listening to the sound of the far-off curfew bell, booming in the darkness, or rather in the moonlight, over miles of scenery. But what scenery? "Over some wide-watered shore," he says. Observe the word "*some*." It is a distinct intimation, if such were at all necessary, that the visual circumstance is all ideal,—that the Penseroso of the poem is not actually out walking in any particular locality, but is imagining himself, in reverie, here, there, and everywhere, at the bidding of his mood. Still, a recollection of some actual spot may well have been in Milton's mind as he suggested the imaginary one. The old custom of ringing the curfew at eight or nine o'clock in the evening (originally the signal for people to put out or cover up their fires: *couvre-feu*) was kept up in various parts of England in Milton's time, as it is in some to the present day; and, if Milton wanted to think of any particular spot, he could have no difficulty in choosing. The neighbourhood of Oxford has put in a claim. The sound of the nine o'clock bell from Christ Church is still one of the characteristics of Oxford, and is heard afar. It might be heard, say, at Forest Hill. But where in that vicinity is the "wide-watered shore"? It is suggested that the word "shore" may stand, as it sometimes does in old writers, for the banks of a river or the boundary of a lake; and, if the country near Oxford were flooded, as it used to be, there would be a sufficient "shore" in this sense. Even those who have no thought of the neighbourhood of Oxford in the passage still imagine that it is over "some wide-watered shore" in the sense of some inland lake or sheet of waters that the curfew is heard sounding. But why should the "wide-watered shore" not be the sea-shore? This seems the natural meaning of the phrase; and would it not be an omission in a poem on Melancholy if there were no mention of "the melancholy main"? Moreover, "shore," in every other case where Milton uses the word, is with him the shore of a sea, or of something that cannot be all seen round at once, and

is therefore vast enough to be called a sea ; and, even were it not so, the phrase "wide-watered shore" itself would suggest that here at all events Milton was thinking of a long single line of coast beaten against by the waves, and not of a limited circular lake-boundary. In this last case it would be the country or district that would be said to be "wide-watered," and not the "shore."—"Swinging slow with sullen roar." Were it concluded that by the "wide-watered shore" Milton meant some imaginary bit of sea-shore, then, by no very forced construction, it might be the sea on this shore, and not the bell, that was swinging and roaring. The ordinary construction, however, which connects "swinging" with the "far-off curfew" is perhaps the more natural. "Roar," as applied to a bell, is not usual, but it is conceivable ; and "sullen" is proper enough, for we have Shakespeare's "sullen bell" (*King Henry IV.* Part II. i. 1), and even his "surly, sullen bell" (Sonnet LXXI.).

77, 78. "Or, if the air will not permit,
Some still removed place will fit."

"air" is "state of the weather," and the "still removed place" is some quiet part of the house conveniently away from the rest.—"*removed*" is an alternative form for "remote," with a slightly modified meaning. In *Hamlet* the ghost beckons the Prince to "a more removed ground" (I. 4). Observe that, whereas in *L'Allegro* the evening indoors did not begin till line 117, or near the end of the poem, here we are indoors at line 77, and three-fifths of the poem are yet to come.

83, 84. "Or the bellman's drowsy charm, to bless the doors," etc. The house imagined is, therefore, one in some town, where the bellman or watchman may be heard outside, going his rounds with his usual sing-song (*charm*, from *carmen*) or cry. Now perfect silence is the rule for the night-policeman on his beat ; but of old, not only had he a bell, for warning when necessary, but at stated times he called out information as to the state of the weather, or pious phrases of blessing on those going to bed. "Half-past nine, and a fine cloudy evening," may be remembered by persons yet alive as a cry of the last of the old watchmen in some towns before gas was known ; but the pious phrases of blessing were even then extinct. Their style may be learnt from some lines in Herrick's little poem entitled *The Bellman*, quoted by Warton :—

"From noise of scare-fires rest ye free,
From murder, *Benedicite* !
From all mischances that may fright
Your pleasing slumbers in the night
Mercy secure ye all, and keep
The goblin from ye while ye sleep !"

- 85, 86. "Or let my lamp, at midnight hour,
Be seen in some high lonely tower."

Evidently we are now back in the country, in the turret of some solitary mansion, where there are books, and perhaps astronomical instruments. How fine, however, not to give us the inside view of the turret-room first, but to imagine some one far off outside observing the ray of light from its window!

87. "*outwatch the Bear*." As the Bear never sets, this implied, as Mr. Keightley has noted, sitting up till daybreak, when all stars disappeared.

88. "*With thrice great Hermes*": i.e. studying the works of the Egyptian king and philosopher Thot, called by the Greeks Hermes Trismegistus, or Hermes the Thrice-great, because they identified him with their god Hermes or Mercury, and attributed to him the possession of all knowledge, and the invention of all arts. Books bearing the name of this mythical personage are still extant, and in the beginning of the Christian era there were many more such. They were of various kinds,—theological, philosophical, astrological, chemical, medical, etc. They were in reality the productions of the Neo-Platonist opponents of Christianity in Alexandria and elsewhere; and the so-called Hermetic lore which they contained was Neo-Platonism presenting itself in the guise of a recovery of that old Egyptian wisdom in which Plato and the earlier Greek philosophers were supposed to have been grounded.

88, 89. "*unsphere the spirit of Plato*." Here again the literal meaning is couched in metaphor. The literal meaning is "disentangle the doctrine of Plato by the profound study of his writings"; the metaphor is "bring back the disembodied spirit of Plato from those invisible regions where it is now insphered." Compare *Comus*, 3—6. "Sphere," both noun and verb, was a great word in Milton's language, the Ptolemaic cosmology having taken an unusually strong grasp of his mode of thinking, and yielding him indirect as well as direct metaphors (see *Intro. to Par. Lost*, II. 87—93). But we still speak of a dead person as removed to a higher "sphere"; hence, reversely, to hold communion with such a person would be to "unsphere" him.

89—92. "*to unfold what worlds*," etc.: a reference to the *Phædo* of Plato, and other parts of his writings where the doctrine of Immortality is discussed.

93—96. "*And of those demons*," etc. In the syntax here we have a curious example, as Mr. Keightley notes, of that variety of ellipsis which the rhetoricians call *Zeugma*: thus, "*to unfold what*

worlds, etc., and [tell] of those demons," etc. But, though Plato does tell of demons, the peculiar doctrine of the demons of the four elements (Fire, Air, Water, and Earth) hinted at in the passage is rather a mediæval one.—"consent," sympathetic connexion.

97—102. "Sometime let gorgeous Tragedy . . . the buskined stage." Hitherto the occupation in the turret-chamber has been in philosophy and science, especially mystical science; but now the readings may be in the best Tragic poets. The best and most solemn only,—to wit, the ancient Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (the subjects of some of whose dramas, "*Thebes*," "*Pelops' line*," and "*the tale of Troy*," are hinted at), and among moderns perhaps only Shakespeare. One can hardly construe lines 101-2 as applying to any other than Shakespeare. Refer to the passage in *L'Allegro* (131—134) to which this is the counterstroke; and compare also *Eleg. Prima*, 37—46, and Milton's Preface to his *Samson Agonistes*.—The "*sceptred pall*" of line 98 is doubtless from Ovid's description of Tragedy (*Amor.* III. i. 11—13), quoted by Warton:—

" Venit et ingenti violenta Tragœdia passu :
Fronte comæ torva, palla jacebat humi ;
Læva manus sceptrum late regale tenebat."

103—108. "But, O . . . raise Musæus . . . or bid the soul of Orpheus," etc. The meaning is: "But ah! that we could recover some of those primeval poems, now lost, which were perhaps nobler than anything that has come down to us,—such as the sacred hymns, oracles, and theogonies of the semi-mythical Musæus of the Greeks, or the similar poems of his contemporary Orpheus, of whom and his Eurydice there is that deathless legend." Note the reappearance of Orpheus from the *L'Allegro* (145—150) and the manner of it.

109—115. "Or call up him that left half-told
The story of Cambuscan bold," etc.

i.e. Chaucer, whose *Squire's Tale* is left unfinished. The preceding reference to great poems that had been wholly lost suggests to Milton the thought of poems that had come down in a fragmentary state, and gives him the opportunity of this mention of Chaucer, and of that tale of Chaucer of which he was probably fondest:—

" At Sarra, in the lond of Tartarie,
Ther dwelt a king that overreied Russie,
Thurgh which ther died many a doughty man :
This noble king was cleped Cambuscan.

This noble king, this Tartre Cambuscan,
Hadde two sones by Elfeta his wife,—
Of which the eldest sone highte Algarsife,
That other was ycleped Camballo.

A daughter had this worthy king also,
That yongest was, and highte Canace.

In at the halle dore al sodenly
There came a knight upon a steed of brass,
And in his hond a brod mirrour of glass :
Upon his thombe he had of gold a ring."

These lines give the key to the story; but the reader ought to turn to the story itself.—"*virtuous*" here means "possessed of magical virtue."

116—120. "*And if aught else great bards . . . forests, and enchantments drear, where more is meant than meets the ear.*" An allusion certainly to Spenser among others, Ariosto and Tasso perhaps included; and an exact description of Spenser's *Faery Queene*, where we are in an enchanted land of forests and castles, listening to stories of the adventures of knights, and yet underneath, as Spenser himself explained, there is a "continued allegory or dark conceit," which the wise may interpret.

122. "*civil-suited Morn*": i.e. in plain citizen garb, as differing from court or military dress.

123. "*tricked*," dressed; "*frowned*," curled and plaited (from *froncer*, to plait).

124. "*the Attic boy*": Cephalus, the lover of Eos (Morning) in the Greek legends.

125. "*kerchief*": spelt "*chercheft*" in First and Second Editions.

128. "*his fill*." A remarkable instance of the use of *his* for our present *its*.

130. "*minute-drops*": drops falling at intervals. So "*minute-guns*."

134. "*Sylvan*": the woodland god Sylvanus.

135. "*monumental oak*": "because," says Mr. Keightley, "the monuments in churches were often formed of carved oak"; and he quotes Shakespeare's "monumental alabaster" (*Oth.* V, 2) as an example of the word in the same sense. Too prosaic by far! Here the oak is surely "monumental" rather in the sense of "memorial," "old," "telling of bygone years."

141. "*day's garish eye*": *garish*, staring, from Old-English *gare* to stare.

145. "*consort*": perhaps in the sense of our modern word "concert," as in *At a Solemn Music*, 27; but perhaps merely in

the sense of "companionship," i.e. "such other sounds of nature as accompany these."

147—150. "*And let some strange mysterious dream wave at his wings, in airy stream,*" etc. : a difficult passage, so that some have proposed a change of the text, such as the omission of "at" or the substitution of "an" for "in." There is no warrant for this; and the text as it stands seems to yield this meaning: "Let some strange mysterious dream wave (i.e. move to and fro) at his (i.e. Sleep's) wings, in airy stream," etc. *Wave* is a neuter verb here, as in *Par. Lost*, XII. 593.

156—166. "*To walk the studious cloister's pale,
And love the high embow'd roof,*" etc.

Here again the pestering spirit of local identification breaks in to disturb the artistic eclecticism of the poem. What Gothic cloister did Milton mean? Old St. Paul's in London (not the present St. Paul's), where he must have often walked, or what other? Any of fifty others, I should say, if the question is as to Milton's acquaintance with the Gothic cathedrals or chapels of his time. But surely by "*studious cloister*" he meant, for the moment, the cloisters of some college, say at Cambridge. "*Cloister*" (originally a shut-in place: from *claudo*, to shut) meant not only a monastery, or a church, but also any part of such building, or of a college, roofed from the rain, even if it had open or pillared sides. Such are "the cloisters" in various English colleges now, where the students walk up and down; and, as in line 156 *Penseroso* is "walking," it must be in the pale of the cloister in this sense (*pale* inclosure, with a recollection of "*palings*," the primitive form of enclosure) and not yet in the chapel. But from the "cloister" he does move, in the next line, to the chapel; and surely it is the college-chapel, even though in the subsequent lines the vision is enlarged to that of a fully-appointed cathedral. Observe: only at this point of the poem is *Penseroso* in contact with his fellow-creatures. Throughout the rest he is solitary.

157. "*embow'd*": arched.

158. "*massy-proof*": perhaps proof against the mass they have to support. The word is one of curious formation; if indeed Milton intended it as one word, for in the First and Second Editions it is printed as two, without a hyphen, "*massy proof*." Did he mean "massively proof"?

159. "*storied windows richly dight*": i.e. windows of stained glass, with subjects on them from Scripture history. Milton had not as yet quarrelled so much as he did afterwards with the symbols

and rich ritual of the English Church. Yet, even in later days, he probably felt no inclination to cancel this passage of the *Penseroso*.

164. "As may," a common old idiom. We should now say "such as may."

167—176. "And may at last my weary age," etc. Recollected by Scott in his *Marmion* (Intro. to 2nd Canto).

170. "spell". read, construe, get at the sense of, by putting together the letters.

ARCADES.

1. "*Nymphs and Shepherds*": meaning the young ladies and young gentlemen who were acting in the Masque, attired in pastoral habits. For who these were see Intro.

5 "*This, this is she*" A recollection perhaps of the line "Peace, stay! it is, 'tis, it is even she," in Marston's Masque presented before the same Countess of Derby in 1607 (see Intro. I. 142), but perhaps rather of the song beginning "This is she, this is she," in Ben Jonson's *Satyr*, performed at Althorpe, the seat of the Countess's father, Lord Spenser, in 1603, in honour of Queen Ann, then just come from Scotland into England. When Milton had undertaken to prepare the *Arcades*, it would be natural for him to look up old masques, and especially any in which the Countess had had a prior interest. Todd finds a resemblance to the first and third stanzas of *Arcades* in some lines of Crashaw's in his Panegyric to Queen Henrietta Maria "upon her numerous progeny" —

"Who's this that comes circled in rays that scorn
Acquaintance with the sun! What second morn
At midday opes a presence which Heaven's eye
Stands off and points at? Is't some deity,
Stepped from her throne of stars, deigns to be seen?
Is it some deity? or is't our Queen?
'Tis she, 'tis she!"

But Crashaw did not write this till some years after *Arcades* had been written.

8—13. "*Fame, that . . . erst*," etc. An interesting recognition by Milton of the fact that the venerable lady in whose honour *Arcades* was to be performed had been one of the heroines of the living Spenser's muse in her youth forty years before, and had received in the interval an abundance of other poetical applauses. See sketch of her life in Intro.

14—19. "*Mark what radiant state*," etc. In the phraseology

of this stanza there is perhaps a reference to the actual surroundings of the Countess in the Masque,—devices of bright light, silver rays seeming to shoot from her throne, etc.

20—25. "*the wise Latona . . . or the towered Cybele.*" Latona or Leto preceded Juno as the wife of Jupiter, and was the mother of Apollo and Diana. Cybele, otherwise Rhea, or Berecynthia, was the wife of Saturn, and the mother of the great gods, Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Pluto, Vesta, and Ceres; but other children are assigned to her in the mythologies. The epithets "the great mother," "the mother of the gods," "the great Idæan mother of the gods," are applied to her by the ancient poets; and in her images she is represented as "*towered*" or "*turreted*," i.e. as wearing a diadem from which three towers rise over the forehead. Mr. Keightley most aptly quotes Virgil's description of her (*Æn.* VI. 785), which must have been in Milton's mind here:—

"Qualis Berecynthia mater
Invehitur curru Phrygiæ turrata per urbes,
Lætæ Deûm partu, centum complexa nepotes,
Omnes cœlicolas."

Observe how gracefully, in his choice of goddesses to be named, Milton alludes to the age of the Countess of Derby, and her numerous offspring (Introd. I. 143—145). And how gracefully, in continuation, he turns the compliment!—"Juno dares not give her odds." The commentators find the phrase a little too familiar, if not unpoetical; but they have missed the latent meaning which justified the familiarity. "If Juno would contend with her for beauty, then even that goddess must meet her on equal terms, and cannot afford to give her any advantage": such is the obvious meaning of the phrase. Interpret it, however, by the circumstances at Harefield on that summer evening when the aged Countess was seated on her throne in the Masque, robed and coroneted (the coronet not unlike Cybele's turreted tiara), and representatives of two generations of her descendants were about her. Does it not then mean, "Even now the handsomest of her daughters can hardly maintain equality with her"?—While I write this note (June 15, 1872) it is but a fortnight since I paid my second visit to the site of old Harefield House, close to the old church and yew-bordered churchyard. I saw again the old cedar of Lebanon which guards the scene of *Aggades* in chief, traced the mounds that perhaps still conceal the foundations of the mansion, and found old bricks cropping out here and there in hollows torn among the rank grass; but the recollection of the place which I have again carried away as the sweetest and keenest is that of the Countess's tomb in the church, of her singular beauty as she is represented in her life-size sculptured effigy, recumbent on the

tomb in crimson robe and gilt coronet under a canopy of pale green, while miniature effigies of her three daughters, fair-haired like herself and also beautiful, but not so beautiful, adorn the side of the tomb underneath. (See *Intro. I. p. 152.*) The small hands of the Countess, represented with delicate finger-tips touching each other over her breast in prayer, are exquisitely perfect. You could sigh as you looked at them, or at the small feet represented as carefully in their antique shoes, and then at the fair and stately face of the long-dead. To prove that the sculptor had been exact, they used to have in the church till lately one of the actual shoes which the Countess wore; but it has disappeared.

26. "GEN. *Stay, gentle swains,*" etc. It is a fair enough surmise that THE GENIUS OF THE WOOD, who speaks this speech, was personated by Henry Lawes. (See *Intro. I. pp. 146—150.*) He first addresses the "*swains,*" or young gentlemen of the masque.

27. "*honour*": i.e. honourable or noble birth.

30, 31. "*Divine Alpheus . . . secret sluice . . . his Arethuse.*" Alpheus or Alpheius was the name of a river of Arcadia in the Peloponnesus. The legend connected with it was that a certain youthful hunter, named Alpheus, had been in love with the nymph Arethusa, and that, when she had fled from him to the island of Ortygia, on the coast of Sicily, close to Syracuse, he was turned into a river, and, in that guise, pursued her by a secret channel under the sea between Peloponnesus and Sicily, rising again in Ortygia, where he and she became one in the well or fountain called, after her, Arethusa. Both Arethusa and Alpheus are re-introduced in *Lycidas* (85 and 132). Todd quotes the phrase "*secret sluices*" from Sylvester's *Du Bartas*.

33. "*silver-buskin'd Nymphs*": the lady-performers, wearing buskins, like Diana and her wood-nymphs.

36—60. "*the great mistress . . . whom with low reverence I adore as mine . . . I am the Power of this fair wood,*" etc. Although, as I have said, it is a probable guess that the speaker was Lawes, the wording of this whole passage might suggest that it was rather some gentleman land-steward, or the like, in the service of the Countess. If Lawes is the speaker, he speaks all this part of the speech metaphorically, in his assumed character of "The Genius of the Wood"; but it is not unlike Milton to veil literal fact under poetic language. Yet, on the other hand, if the speaker was any such gentleman-steward as I have supposed, he must also, from the sequel (61—76), have been a devotee of music. On the whole, therefore, on internal evidence, as well as from the external, Lawes is likeliest. Meta-

phorically a woodsman through this part of his speech, he emerges more himself at the close.

46. "*curl the grove.*" The word "curl" was often applied to foliage in the old poets.

47. "*wanton windings wove.*" Notice the alliteration. It reminds one of the alliterative passage in Spenser (*F. Q. I. ii. 13*):—

"Her wanton palfrey all was overspred
With tinsel trappings, woven like a wave,
Whose bridle rung with golden bells and bosses brave."

51. "*thwarting thunder blue.*" "*Thwarting*" means athwart, or zigzag. Todd compares Shakespeare's "*cross blue lightning*" (*Jul. Cæs. I. 3*).

52. "*the cross dire-looking planet*": *i.e.* Saturn. See note to *Pens.* 43.

55. "*Over the mount.*" This suggests personal acquaintance with the ground about Harefield. The house was on a slight slope; and behind the site there is still a wooded rise which might be called a mount. But see *Intród. I. pp. 150, 151*.

57. "*tasselled horn*": *i.e.* the horn of the huntsman, which had tassels attached to it. Spenser, as Newton noted, has (*F. Q. I. viii. 3*):—

"an horne of bugle small,
Which hong adowne his side in twisted gold
And tasselles gay."

60. "*murmurs*": *i.e.* muttered phrases or charms. Mr. Browne notes the same sense of the word in *Comus*, 526.

63—73. "*the celestial Sirens' harmony*
That sit upon the nine infolded spheres,
And sing to those that hold the vital shears,
And turn the adamantyne spindle," etc.

Another of those passages in which Milton shows his fondness for the old or Ptolemaic system of the Cosmos. (See *Introd. to Par. Lost*, II. pp. 87 *et seq.* and note on *Pens.* 88, 89.) Here, however, Milton revels in a particular poetical sub-notion of that physical system,—the notion involved in the phrase "music of the spheres." This mystical or Pythagorean use of the main notion was also one of Milton's dearest and most habitual fancies. See his lines *At a Solemn Music*; see also his Latin Academic Prolusion *De Sphaerarum Concentu*. In the present passage he offers it expressly. There is a music of the spheres, he seems to say; the whole Universe rolls by the law of an eternal music. On each of the "nine infolded

spheres" that compose the physical Universe (in *Par. Lost*, e.g. III. 481—483, Milton accepts all the *ten* spheres of the Alphonsine development of the Ptolemaic system, but here he is content with the earlier *nine*; or perhaps by "the nine *infolded* spheres" he specially means only the inner nine and excludes the tenth or outermost, called the "*primum mobile*"),—on each of these spheres there sits a Muse or Siren; and these nine Muses or Sirens are singing harmoniously on their revolving spheres all the while that the three Fates, called Lachesis, Clotho, and Atropos, are turning the spindle of so-called Necessity on which the threads of human and even divine lives are wound. This very spindle of Necessity goes round to the tune of the music that lulls the Fates as they turn it.—In all this description, even to minute points in its phraseology, Milton, as Warton pointed out, had in view an extraordinary passage in Plato's *Republic* (Book X. chap. 14). Whoever would study the notion in detail ought to refer to that passage. Plato, however, according to the astronomy of his time, recognised but *eight* spheres, the outmost ~~that~~ of the fixed stars, and the inner seven those of the planets.

72, 73. "which none can hear of human mould with gross unpurged ear." So in Shakespeare's well-known speech of Lorenzo to Jessica on the same "music of the spheres" (*M. of Ven.* V. 1):—

"But, whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close us in, we cannot hear it."

See also Milton's Prolusion *De Sphærarum Concentu*, where there is, however, a consolatory passage which may be thus translated: "Yet, if *we* carried pure and chaste and snow-clean hearts, as erst did Pythagoras, then should *our* ears sound and be filled with that sweetest music of the ever-wheeling stars."

75. "height": so spelt here in the First and Second Editions, though usually "*highth*" in Milton. The "*her*" following probably made the sound of *highth* objectionable.

81. "glittering state." "State" here in its old sense of "chair of state." See note, *Pens.* 37.

88—99. "shady roof of branching elm star-proof": clearly a recollection of Spenser's famous, but always misquoted, line (*F. Q.* I. i. 7):—

"Not perceable with power of any star."

96—109. *Ladon* was a river in Arcadia; *Lycaeus*, *Cyllene*, and *Mænalus*, were mountains in the same; and *Erymanthus* was an Arcadian river-god. Of *Pan* and his *Syrinx* all have heard. Both are mentioned, as Warton notes, in that masque of Ben Jonson's

which the Countess may have seen nearly thirty years before at her paternal Althorpe. A Satyr there, gazing on the Queen^e and the young Prince, says :—

“ That is Cyparissus’ face,
And the dame hath Syrinx’ grace :
O that Pan were now in place ! ”

As Cyparissus here was young Prince Henry, and Syrinx Queen Ann, the Pan whose absence was regretted must have been King James.

ADDITIONAL NOTE :—The original draft of *Arcades* in Milton’s own hand in the Cambridge volume of Milton MSS. (see Vol. I. pp. 102—107) shows that the text did not stand at first exactly as now, but sustained some corrections, either at the moment of composition, or at all events before it went to press in 1645. Todd (IV. 22, edit. 1852) has given a list of these little changes, calling them “Original Various Readings of *Arcades*.” That, however, is hardly a fair name to give them. By “various readings” we usually mean those varieties of the text which are presented by different manuscripts or different printed copies of the same piece, and from among which we have to do our best to find out the correct readings, —viz. those that the author intended. But here there is no such doubt, and no such liberty. Milton printed his text, as he wished it to stand, in 1645, and reprinted it in 1673; and we have no more right to amend that text now by referring to the earlier manuscript draft than we should have to substitute parts of the rough draft of a legal document for the corresponding parts of the later and authenticated copy, or to change the wording of a letter by bringing back into it expressions which the writer, erased, but which we can still read under the lines or blots of erasure. Still, out of curiosity respecting Milton’s habits of composition, it is interesting to note differences between his first wording of a piece and the text as finally approved by his taste. In the present case they are but few, and of small consequence. The most important are these :—

1, 2. Milton had originally started Song I. in a different metre, thus (our present spelling substituted for that of the MS.) :—

“ *Look, Nymphs and Shepherds, look ! here ends our quest,
Since at last our eyes are blest.* ”

These two lines, however, he instantly dashes out with a cross line, to begin afresh as now.

10—14. These four lines were originally written thus (present spelling) :—

*"Now seems guilty of abuse
And detraction from her praise:
Less than half she hath expressed;
Envy bid her hide the rest."*

"her hide" is erased and "conceal" written over the erasure; the rest of the correction into our present form being made by marginal substitution.

23. Originally as now, "*Juno dares not give her odds*"; but "*Juno*" erased, "*Ceres*" substituted, and then "*Ceres*" erased, so as to let back "*Juno*."

41. "*What shallow-searching*": a substitution for "*Those virtues which dull*" expunged.

59. The first form of this line was "*And number all my ranks and every sprout*."

62. "*locked up mortal sense*": substitution for "*chained mortality*" erased.

Slighter corrections are these:—18. "*sitting*" substituted for "*seated*"; 24. "*had*" for "*would have*"; 44. "*am*" for "*have*"; 47. "*With*" for "*In*"; 49. "*and*" for "*or*"; 50. "*boughs*" for "*leaves*"; 52. "*Or*" for "*And*"; 81. "*ye*" for "*you*"; 91. "*you*" for "*ye*."

AT A SOLEMN MUSIC.

2. "*Sphere-born*." In *Comus* (241) Echo is called "Daughter of the Sphere."—See also note to lines 125—132 of *Ode on the Nativity*.

6. "*concent*," from the Latin *concentus*, "singing together," or harmony. In the First Edition it was printed "*content*."

7—16. "*sapphire-coloured throne*," etc. Ezek. i. 26; Rev. v. 11, and vi. 9.

20. "*nature's chime*." Warton quotes the exact phrase from Ben Jonson.

23. "*perfect diapason*": *perfect* in First Edition, but "*perfet*" in Second. *Diapason* (literally "through all") is, in music, "the octave or interval which includes all the notes of the scale."

27. "*Consort*": the word is so spelt in both Milton's own editions, and not "*concert*" as in some modern ones. *Consortium*, in Latin, means "society."

Various Readings from the Cambridge MS. Drafts :—There are several drafts of this piece in Milton's own hand in the Cambridge MS. volume (see Vol. I. p. 105); and they form an interesting example of Milton's habits of composition and care in correcting. From Todd's examination of these drafts (Todd, edit. of 1852, Vol. IV. pp. 280-1) it appears, in the first place, that the piece as it now stands does not contain several passages of the original sketch, these having been rejected by Milton's taste in revision. Thus, between lines 4 and 5 in our present copy there came in the first draft these four lines (printed here in our present spelling):—

“ And, whilst your equal raptures, temper'd sweet,
In high mysterious spousal meet,
Snatch us from earth a while,
Us of ourselves and native woes beguile.”

Again, after our present line 16, “*Singing everlastingly*,” there came in the first draft this couplet, now omitted—

“ While all the starry rounds and arches blue
Resound and echo Hallelu.”

Farther, after our present line 18 the first draft ran as follows, three lines now omitted standing instead of the present seven between 18 and 26 :—

“ By leaving out those harsh ill-sounding jars
Of clamorous sin that all our music mars :
And in our lives and in our song
May keep in tune with Heaven,” etc.

But, besides these positive omissions or recasts of whole passages, a scrutiny of the drafts in comparison with each other and with our present printed copy brings to light many minute variations. Thus *native* in the last line of the first of the now omitted passages is a substitution in the original draft itself for *home-bred*. For *whilst* in the first line of the same passage the second draft substitutes *as*; and in the second line the second draft has the additional adjective *holy* before “spousal,”—this word *holy* being again deleted and *happy* substituted in the margin. So, in the second draft, the first two lines of the third of the now omitted passages are altered thus :—

“ By leaving out those harsh chromatic jars
Of sin that all our music mars.”

The following is an indication of the chief differences of the original phrasing in the lines as they are now printed, and of the successive verbal changes through which the present text of these lines was arrived at :—

Line 3 : originally,

“ Mix your choice words, and happiest sounds employ ;”

now,

"Wed your divine sounds and mixed power employ."

Line 10: originally *princely*, then *tripled*, now *burning*.

Line 11: originally,

"Their loud immortal trumpets blow;"

then,

"Loud symphony of silver trumpets blow;"

then,

"High-lifted, loud, and angel trumpets blow;"

now,

"Their loud ^uplifted angel-trumpets blow."

Line 12: originally,

"And Cherubim, sweet-winged squires;"

now,

"And the Cherubic host in thousand quires."

Line 14: originally *the blooming*, now *victorious*.

Line 15: originally *sacred*, now *holy*.

Line 19: originally *could*, now *did*.

Line 28: originally,

"To live and sing with Him in ever-endless light."

Subsequent successive variations:—

"To live and sing with Him in ever-glorious light;"

"To live and sing with Him in uneclipsed light;"

"To live and sing with Him where Day dwells without Night;"

"To live and sing with Him in endless morn of light;"

"To live and sing with Him in cloudless birth of light;"

"To live and sing with Him in never-parting light;"

and now, finally,

"To live with Him, and sing in endless morn of light."

ON TIME.

3. "*Whose speed is but the heavy plummet's pace*": i.e. the slow rate of descent of the leaden weights in a clock. The lines, as the draft of them among the Cambridge MSS. shows, were written "to be set on a clock-case." Compare Shakespeare in Sonnet LXXVII.—

"Thou by thy dial's shady stealth mayst know
Time's thievish progress to eternity."

12. "*individual*": meaning here "indivisible," never to be separated. See *Par. Lost*, IV. 486, VII. 382, and XII. 85, with notes.

18. "*happy-making sight*": "the plain English," says Newton, "of Beatific Vision."

21. "*Attired with stars*." Either "clothed with stars," or, as Mr. Keightley suggests, "crowned with stars." He produces instances of "attire" meaning head-dress.

UPON THE CIRCUMCISION.

1—5. "*Ye flaming Powers*," etc. From the wording of these first lines of the piece, one may imagine it to have been written on some 1st of January, that being Circumcision Day in the Church Calendar. The "flaming Powers" are the Seraphim (which name in Hebrew implies "burning"); the "wingèd Warriors" may be the Cherubim. Gabriel is styled the "wingèd warrior," *Par. Lost*, IV. 576. Todd quotes from Tasso the very phrase "wingèd warriors" ("*guerrieri alati*").

6—9. "*if . . . your fiery essence can distil no tear, burn in your sighs*," etc. : *i.e.* "if it is impossible for your Angelic constitutions, formed as they are of fire, to yield tears, yet, by burning as you sigh, you may borrow the water of our tears, turned into vapour."

10. "*Heaven's heraldry*": *i.e.* the heraldic pomp of Heaven.—"*whilere*": a little while ago.

15, 16. "*O more exceeding love*," etc. This begins the second stanza of the piece; which consists of two stanzas of fourteen lines each, of exactly the same construction. The stanzas are not separated in the original editions.—In the opening of the second stanza, as Richardson pointed out, there seems to be a recollection of two lines in Virgil's Eighth Eclogue (49, 50):—

„ "*Crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?*
Improbus ille puer : crudelis tu quoque mater !"

CMUS.

1—4. "*Before the starry threshold*," etc. Mr. Browne compares the passage in the Latin poem to Mansus, 94—98, and refers to John xiv. 2.

3. "*insphered*." See notes, *Penseroso*, 88, 89, and *Arcades*, 63—73.

4. "*serene*." Mr. Keightley thinks the word has to be pronounced here with the accent on the first syllable; which I doubt.

I seem to detect a finer effect in the metrical liberty involved in the ordinary pronunciation; and the first syllable of "*serenus*" is short.

7. "*pestered . . . pinfold*." *Pestered* is interpreted "crowded" by Todd, as if from the Italian *pesta*, a crowd; but Skeat's derivation of the word is far more accurate, and more exact to Milton's meaning here. "PESTER: see PASTOR" is the entry of the word in Mr. Skeat's Etymological Dictionary; which looks mischievous, till it is explained by turning to PASTOR, when it becomes very innocent. *Pastorium* in later Latin meant "a clog for a horse at pasture"; whence the French *empestrer* "to hobble a horse at pasture"; whence *pester*, to clog or impede one's movements. This gives point and coherence to Milton's phrase "*confined and pestered in this pinfold here*": i.e. confined and clogged.—*Pinfold*, a pen or enclosure in which sheep are folded; from A.-S. *pyndan* to shut in, whence also *pound*, an enclosure for strayed animals.

9, 10. "*the crown that Virtue gives, after this mortal change*." See Rev. iv. 4. The meaning of "*mortal change*" is a little obscure. Hastily it may be read as if it meant "death"; but rather it seems to mean "this mortal state of life." Mr. Browne imagines a recollection of the use of "change" for a figure in a dance (as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. 2); but may not Milton, without any definite idea of pre-existence, have had in his mind such a meaning as "this variation of our condition"?

11. "*Amongst the enthroned gods*": spelt *enthron'd* in the First and Second Editions, and therefore to be pronounced as a dissyllable, and not *enthroned*. As Mr. Ross points out, this passage is an instance of Milton's habit of expressing Christian doctrine in the language of classic mythology.

13. "*golden key*." See *Lycidas*, 111.

16. "*ambrosial weeds*." Though, from the special use of *ambrosia* as the name for the food of the gods, we are apt to confine the adjective *ambrosial* to the sense of "delicious," it really means only "immortal"; whence "celestial" or "heavenly."—"weeds": see note, *L'All.* 120.

20, 21. "*Took in by lot, 'twixt high and nether Jove, imperial rule*," etc. Homer calls Hades or Pluto Ζεύς καταχθόνιος, or "under-ground Jove" (*Il.* IX. 457); Ovid has the phrase "Jupiter Stygius"; and Dunster quotes from Sylvester's *Du Bartas* the line

"Both upper Jove's and nether's diverse thrones."

The primeval distribution of rule among Jupiter, Pluto, and Neptune, after Saturn's overthrow, is described by Neptune himself in the *Iliad* (XV. 190 *et seq.*):—"We are three brothers, sons of Saturn by Rhea,—Jupiter and myself two, and Pluto, governing the

infernal regions, the third : all things were divided into three portions, and each of us was allotted his dignity. The lots being shaken, I, in the first place, was appointed to inhabit for ever the hoary sea ; Pluto next obtained the pitchy darkness ; but Jove, in the third place, had allotted to him the wide Heaven in the air and in the clouds. Nevertheless, the Earth is still the common property of all, and the lofty Olympus."—*Took in* is the past tense here, with *Neptune* in line 18 for its nominative, and *rule* in line 21 for its objective. This is necessary to the syntax and might seem obvious ; but the pointing in some editions shows a tendency, in hasty reading, to regard *took* as an old past participle, applying to "the sway of every salt flood," etc. About the pointing of line 20, however, there is farther room for difference. The pointing in the First and Second Editions is

" Took in by lot 'twixt high, and neather Jove,
Imperial rule," etc.

This leaves it questionable whether we should now point

" Took in, by lot 'twixt high and nether Jove,
Imperial rule," etc.

or

" Took in by lot, 'twixt high and nether Jove,
Imperial rule," etc.

The second, which makes *'twixt* a preposition of place, and understands " 'twixt high and nether Jove " as meaning " between Heaven and Hell," is truer to the myth that all the three gods were concerned in the lot, and Mr. Keightley adopts it. Perhaps he is right ; but the other reading, though it seems to make Jove and Pluto the only active parties in the lot, may possibly be what Milton intended. If less accurate, it keeps the personality of the two Joves in the passage, instead of using their names only for their realms while Neptune figures in person. To the ear also it is perhaps the more natural. A pause after " lot " is not agreeable.

23. "*unadorned*" : for " otherwise unadorned."

24. "*his tributary gods*" : *i.e.* the sea-gods under Neptune and paying him tribute.

25. "*several*" : separate.

27. "*this Isle*" : *i.e.* Great Britain. Compare Shakespeare's splendid burst about " England " from the mouth of John of Gaunt (*Rich. II.* II. 1).

29. "*He quarters to his blue-haired deities.*" *Quarters* in the sense of divides, not necessarily in the sense of dividing into four parts, though Mr. Keightley finds a shadow of reason for this sense

in the fact that Great Britain was then divided into the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, and that in the latter the Northern Counties and Wales were distinct Viceroyalties. There seems to be some emphasis on the phrase "*blue-haired deities*," as if these were a special section of the "*tributary gods*" of line 24. Can there be a recollection of "blue" as the British colour, inherited from the old times of the blue-stained Britons who fought with Cæsar? "*Green-haired*" is the usual poetic epithet for Neptune and his subordinates.

30. "*all this tract that fronts the falling sun*": i.e. Wales, or West Britain.

31—33. "*A noble Peer*," etc.: i.e. the Earl of Bridgewater, Viceroy of Wales, at whose expense the Masque was given, and who was looking on at the performance. See Introd. I. pp. 154 *et seq.*

33. "*An old and haughty nation*": i.e. the Welsh. Milton, as well as Shakespeare, had a kindness for this people.

34. "*nursed in princely lore*." In this phrase some find an allusion to a link with Royalty at a remote point in the pedigree of the Egerton family; others find a reference to the fact that the young people had been a good deal at Court (see Introd. I. pp. 157, 158). The more natural meaning, however, is simply "highly-educated."

37. "*perplexed*": in its etymological sense of "entangled," "intertwined."

43—45. "*And listen why*," etc. Not unlike Horace's *Favete linguis*, etc. (*Od.* III. i. 2), and with something of the sound of *Par. Lost*, I. 16.—"*hall or bower*," a frequent phrase with Spenser and the minstrel-poets: "*hall*" being the great general room in princely residences, and "*bower*" the more private apartment.

46—50. "*Bacchus . . . after the Tuscan mariners transformed, coasting the Tyrrhene shore . . . on Circe's island fell*." For Circe and her famous Island of *Ææa*, off the coast of Latium, see the *Odyssey*, Book X., where it is Ulysses that is her visitor; and for the story of the voyage of Bacchus along the Tyrrhene shore, the seizure of him by the pirate sailors, and the transformation of these, all save the good pilot, into dolphins for this act of violence to his godship, see the Homeric *Hymn to Bacchus*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, III. 660 *et seq.* The bringing of Bacchus to Circe's Island, after this last adventure in probation of his godship, is Milton's own invention, with a view to the parentage he had resolved on for Comus.—Notice the Latin idiom "after the Tuscan mariners

transformed" (like *post urbem conditam*) for "after the transformation of the Tuscan mariners."

50. "On Circe's island fell. (Who knows not Circe, etc.?)"
An example of the figure of speech called by the rhetoricians *anadiplosis*, or "doubling-back." It is common in Spenser in this exact form; thus (*F. Q.* VI. x. 16):—

"Poore Colin Clout (who knows not Colin Clout?)"

"Island" is spelt "iland" in Milton's editions. The phrase "to fall on" here is, as Mr. Browne observes, the Latin *incidere in*.

51. "The daughter of the Sun." Circe was the daughter of Helios (the Sun) by the ocean-nymph Perse. William Browne (*Inner Temple Masque*) has

"By mighty Circe (daughter to the Sun)."

See subsequent note at line 254.

51—53. "whose charmed cup . . . a grovelling swine." This account of Circe's magic and its effects is from the *Odyssey*, Book X.

54. "This Nymph . . . had by him a son, etc. . . . Comus named." See, on Milton's *Comus*, and his parentage and character, *Introd.* I. pp. 176—178. Also compare this passage with *L'Allegro*, 11—24; and see note to that passage. If the first of the alternative genealogies there given for Euphrosyne, or Innocent Mirth, is accepted, then Comus, the god of Sensual Delirium, was half-brother to Euphrosyne. The father in both cases was Bacchus, while the respective mothers were Venus and Circe. As Milton was punctilious in such matters, I daresay he recollected this, and had a meaning in it. He hints, it may be noted, that Comus, though he had a good deal of his father in him, inherited his worst qualities from his mother. Bacchus and good-tempered Queen Venus, he seems to say, were not so bad a conjunction as Bacchus and the subtle island-witch Circe.

59. "frolic": see note, *L'Allegro*, 18.

60. "the Celtic and Iberian fields": i.e. Gaul and Spain.

61. "this ominous wood": i.e. this wood in Shropshire, on the Welsh border, full of omens, or magical appearances. The derivation of the word *omen* is disputed.

65. "orient liquor": literally "eastern," but derivatively "bright," "splendid," as in *Par. Lost*, I. 546.

66. "drouth": so in Milton's own editions; not "drought," as in some later. It is a Scottish word still.

68. "*count'naunce*": so spelt in both Milton's editions, and to be pronounced accordingly.

73. "*perfect*": so spelt here in both Milton's editions; not "*perfet*," as usually with him.

72. "*All other parts remaining as they were.*" Here Milton deviates from the representation in the *Odyssey*, where the whole bodies of Circe's victims are changed into brute-forms. It is an acute remark of Newton that the deviation served stage-purposes. The crew of Comus were to come in with him in the performance at Ludlow Castle (see subsequent stage-direction after line 92); to have trotted them in as beasts entire would have been inconvenient; it was enough that they should have masks on, resembling beasts' heads, like Bottom in *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

73—77. "*And they . . . not once perceive their foul disfigurement, but,*" etc. Another deviation, as Newton noted, from the Homeric account. There Circe's victims "had the heads, and voice, and hairs, and body of swine, but their understandings were firm as before." In making the effect of Comus's transformations different in this respect from his mother's Milton had a meaning. Once he had adopted the difference, however, Homer's description of the Lotos-eaters (*Od.* IX. 94 *et seq.*) and Plato's ethical application of the same (*Rep.* VIII. 13) may have helped him in the rest of the passage. "Whoever ate of the pleasant food of the lotos no longer wished to bring back news, nor to return home, but preferred to remain there with the Lotophagi, eating lotos, and to be forgetful of return." So says Homer; and Plato speaks of the moral lotophagus, or youth steeped in sensuality, as accounting his very viciousness a developed manhood, and the so-called virtues but signs of rusticity and want of spirit. Mr. Browne refers also to Spenser, *F. Q.* II. xii., stanzas 86, 87.

79. "*adventurous*": full of adventures or dangers, like the "*ominous*" of line 61. Spelt "*adventrous*" in the First and Second Editions.

80. "*Swift as the sparkle of a glancing star.*" The simile of a shooting-star is common in the poets; but how exquisitely Milton has rendered it here! Compare *Par. Lost*, I. 745, and Shakespeare's *Ven. and Adon.* line 815.

83. "*spun out of Iris' woof.*" Warton quotes *Par. Lost*, XI. 244: "*Iris had dipped the woof.*"

84—91. "*a swain that to the service of this house belongs, who,*" etc. A compliment to Henry Lawes and his musical talent, put into his own mouth. Compare *Arcades*, 36 *et seq.*, and note there.

88. "*nor of less faith*": i.e. not less trustworthy than he is skilled in music.

92. "*viewless*": invisible. A word used by Milton in other two places—*The Passion*, 50, and *Par. Lost*, III. 518. It is a peculiarly Shakespearian word: "*To be imprisoned in the viewless winds*" (*Meas. for Meas.* III. 1). Did Shakespeare invent it?

93. "*The star that bids the shepherd fold*": i.e. the evening star, or the first star seen at eventide. Keightley quotes Shakespeare's exactly opposite expression for the morning star: "*Look, the unfolding star calls up the shepherd*" (*Meas. for Meas.* IV. 2); and Todd notes that Collins, in his *Ode to Evening*, has the phrase "*Thy folding star*."

95—97. "*the gilded car of day his glowing axle doth allay in the steep Atlantic stream*." A Miltonic repetition of a frequent image. Todd quotes from Petrarch both "*l'aurato carro*" and "*inflammate ruote*" as applied to the sun; and he thinks Milton may have had in his mind here the ancient fancy that the Atlantic hissed when the setting sun dropped into it, and Juvenal's line to that effect (*Sat.* XIV. 280):—

"Audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem."

98. "*slope sun*": the adjective "*slope*," invented for *sloped* or *aslope*. Chaucer has the latter.

101. "*his chamber*." See Psalm xix. 5.

105. "*rosy twine*": i.e. twined roses.

110. "*saws*": sayings, maxims; as in Shakespeare's "full of wise saws and modern instances" (*As you Like it*, I. 9).

113. "*watchful spheres*." See notes, *Pens.* 88, 89, and *Arcad.* 63—73.

115. "*sounds and seas*": i.e. straits and open seas. *Sound*, in this sense of strait (*Sund*, Germ. and A.-S.), is of uncertain derivation. We have indeed five words so spelt and pronounced in our language—(1) *sound*, n. and v., in the sense of "noise" (same as the Latin *sono*, the *d* being an intrusion); (2) *sound*, adj., in the sense of "whole," "healthy" (same as Lat. *sanus*); (3) *sound*, y., in the sense of "to measure the depth of the sea by a line and plummet," and so, by metaphor, "to try," "to inquire," etc.; (4) *sound*, n., for the air-bladder or swimming-bladder of a fish; and (5) *sound*, a strait, or narrow sea, as in the present passage, yielding also "*The Sound*" as a proper name for one such strait in Europe. As in the 3rd sense we have the French *sonder*, it has been proposed by Diez to

derive the word in that sense from the Latin *sub unda*, "under water"; and he would extend the same etymology to the 5th—taking *sound* in that sense to be a comparatively shallow, or easily "sounded," piece of sea. This appears fantastic. *Sound* in the 3rd sense is as much Germanic as Romance, *sund-gyrd* being A.-S. for a "sounding-line." Does not this suggest that 3, 4, and 5 are identical, and that the common meaning is to be sought in one etymology of the word *sund*? Now, in 4 the etymology seems obvious: we are referred at once to *swim*. Grimm, accordingly, derives 5 also from that root; i.e. a *sound* is a bit of sea that can be *swimmed* over. May not 3 be included somehow? The word in all its senses, however, yet waits investigation (see Richardson's Dict. and Chambers's Etym. Dict.)

116. "*wavering morrice*": i.e. in wavering dance-like undulation. *Morrice* was originally one kind of dance that came from Spain, and was called the *Moorish dance*, *morisco*, or *morris-dance*. There was also the *morris-pike*, or Moorish pike.—Observe the alliteration in the line.

118. "*the pert fairies and the dapper elves*." Mr. Ross has a good note here. "There is no real distinction," he says, "in Milton's usage between 'fairies' and 'elves,' but the words come to us from different languages. The former is from a Latin (*fatum*), the latter from a Teutonic, source (A.-S. *aelf*; Ger. *elfe*). In Spenser's *Faery Queene* the Red Cross Knight is called indifferently a Fairy Champion and an Elfin Knight."—*Pert* (also *piert* and *peart* in O.-E.), lively, nimble, is by some connected with the word *pretty*, but by others derived from the Latin *peritus*, skilful, or *apertus*, open, free. *Malapert* favours the last conjecture; Chaucer uses both *pert* and *malapert*, and Evelyn has the word *perite*. *Dapper* same as Ger. *tapfer*, brave.

119. "*fountain-brim*." Warton finds the phrase in Drayton:—
"Sporting with Hebe by a fountain-brim."

121. "*wakes*." A "wake" in old England was the watch or sitting-up till late before one of the Church holidays; hence a merry-making.

125. "*rites*": spelt "*rights*" here in both Milton's editions, though the same editions have "*rites*" in line 535.

129—137. "*Dark-veiled Cotytto*," etc. The following is Dr. Schmitz's summary (Smith's *Dict. of Myth. and Biog.*) of what is known of this goddess:—"Cotys or Cotytto, a Thracian divinity, whose festival, the Cotytia, resembled that of the Phrygian Cybele, and was celebrated on hills with riotous proceedings. In later

times her worship was introduced at Athens and Corinth, and was connected, like that of Dionysus, with licentious frivolity. Her worship appears to have spread even as far as Italy and Sicily. Those who celebrated her festival were called *βάρραι*, from the purifications which were originally connected with the solemnity."

132. "*spets*": ejects, throws forth. The word, which strikes us now as so much more energetic and tasteful than "spits," is really but a form of that word. It was common among the Elizabethans, and Todd refers to occurrences of it in Spenser, Drayton, and especially Sylvester's *Du Bartas*. He might have gone back to Wycliffe.

135. "*Hecat*": so spelt in First and Second Editions, to indicate that it is to be pronounced as a dissyllable, and not in its proper form of "*Hecate*" as in line 535. The word, as Todd notes, is used dissyllabically by Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Ben Jonson. Thus, Shakespeare:—

"By the triple Hecate's team."—*Mids. N. D.* V. 1.

"Pale Hecate's offerings and wither'd murder."—*Macb.* II. 1.

"Why, how now, Hecate? You look angerly."—*Macb.* III. 5.

The dark goddess *Hecate* is a shadowy and unsettled personage in the ancient mythology, and various origins are assigned to her; but, on the whole, she is derived from Thrace,—which may account for Milton's fancy of her and Cotytto riding together through the darkness in the same ebony chariot. She was essentially, in later representations at least, the goddess of all kinds of nocturnal ghastliness, such as spectral sights, the howlings of dogs, haunted spots, the graves of the murdered, witches at their incantations.

• 138—142. "*the blabbing eastern scout, the nice Morn on the Indian steep . . . to the tell-tale Sun descry,*" etc.: an exquisite combination into one picture of images variously culled. Shakespeare has "blabbing day" and "tell-tale day," and Spenser "tell-tale Sun," the idea being the obvious one that daylight blabs or reveals the secrets of the night; and in how many poets we have morning *peeping* in different fashions!—*Nice*, meaning here "dainty" or "fastidious," with a sarcasm in the epithet from *Comus*, is derived by etymologists from the Latin "*nescius*," ignorant, and certainly had once that sense in English.—"*descry*," in the sense of "describe" or "relate," as here, is a common Spenserian word.

144. "*In a light fantastic round.*" See *L'Allegro*, 34.

145. "*the different pace*": i.e. different from the pace of *Comus*'s own dancing retinue.

151. "*trains*": allurements (*traho*, to draw), as in *Par. Lost*, XI. 624.

153, 154. "Thus I hurl
My dazzling spells into the spongy air."

Conceive that at this moment of the performance the actor who personates Comus flings into the air, or makes a gesture as if flinging into the air, some powder, which, by a stage-device, is kindled, so as to produce a flash of blue light. In the original draft among the Cambridge MSS. the phrase is "*powdered spells*"; but Milton, by a judicious change, concealing the mechanism of the stage-trick, substituted "*dazzling*." The air is called "*spongy*" because it sucked in the substance of the spell. Shakespeare (*Cymb.* IV. 2) has

"I saw Jove's bird, the Roman eagle, wing'd
From the spongy South to this part of the West."

165. "*this magic dust*." See note, lines 153-4, *supra*. Some commentators think Milton had forgotten that he had changed "*powdered*" into "*dazzling*" in the former passage, or else he would not have kept "*dust*" here. The criticism is absurd. Why should Comus not divulge here that it was "*dust*" or "*powder*" he had thrown in line 154?

166—169. "*I shall appear*," etc. It is rather difficult to decide what should be the text of this passage. In the edition of 1645 it stood

"I shall appear som harmles Villager
Whom thrift keeps up about his Country gear,
But here she comes, I fairly step aside
And hearken, if I may, her busines here."

In the Edition of 1673 a line was omitted, and the passage stood thus:—

"I shall appear some harmles Villager
And hearken, if I may, her busines here.
But here she comes, I fairly step aside."

But there is a direction among the Errata of this edition to leave out the comma after "*may*" in the second of these lines and to change "*here*" in the same line into "*hear*."—I rather think the reading of the Second Edition as amended was what Milton finally resolved on, as it ends Comus's speech abruptly with a line left unrhymed; but, as the omission of a line would disturb uniformity of numbering with all extant editions, I retain the reading of the First Edition, only giving that edition the superfluous benefit of the Erratum in the Second.—"*gear*" here means "*business*." Once it meant "*apparatus*," "*appurtenances*": thus Chaucer's Franklin was

angry if his cook had not "ready all his gear"; and we still speak of "fishing-gear," "travelling-gear," etc. In Scotch the word now means "acquired property," "money," "goods and chattels."

175. "*granges*." Grange is literally "a granary" (*granum*, grain); hence a farm-stead, or the like.

178. "*swilled insolence*": i.e. drunken insolence, from "*swill*," to drink.

179. "*wassailers*": health-drinkers, from the salutation *waes-hael*, "your health," of the old English, to each other over their cups.

188—190. "when the grey-hooded Even,
Like a sad votarist in palmer's weed,
Rose from the hindmost wheels of Phæbus' wain."

If this fine image is optically realised, what we see is Evening succeeding Day, as the figure of a venerable grey-hooded mendicant might slowly follow the wheels of some rich man's chariot.

195. "*stole*." So in First and Second Editions; not "*stolen*," as in some modern editions. But in the Cambridge draft it is "*stolne*."

203. "*rife, and perfect in my listening ear*": i.e. thick or dense, and distinctly heard. The spelling in Milton's editions is *perfet*. See Essay on Milton's English, p. 44.

205—209. "*A thousand fantasies begin to throng into my memory, of calling shapes*," etc. As the Lady here expressly says that she began to think of all the weird stories of supernatural sights and sounds she had ever read or heard of, so Milton too may be supposed to draw on his memory of books in the description. Warton, Todd, and others name books of the sort to suit, such as Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Angels*, and even quote particular passages from them; but it is dull guess-work. Mr. Browne's remark that "the *Tempest* may well have suggested the whole imagery" is more to the point.

212. & "*Conscience*": pronounced as a trisyllable.

215. "*Chastity*." Mr. Keightley notes that *Chastity* is here substituted for *Charity*, the real Biblical companion of *Faith* and *Hope*.

221—224.—"*Was I deceived*," etc. Of the peculiar figure of speech which characterises this passage there are many previous examples in the poets. One, quoted by Hurd from Ovid's *Fasti* (V. 549), must have been in Milton's mind at the moment—

"Fallor? an arma sonant? Non fallimur; arma sonabant."

But with what scenic effect the figure is here used by Milton!

225. "*And casts*": a frequent form of syntax with Milton. We should now write "*And cast*." See Essay on Milton's English, p. 84.

226. "*hallo*": spelt "*hallow*" in original Editions; not "*halloo*."

230—243. "*Sweet Echo*," etc. The commentators refer here to a passage in Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, where Echo, who is one of the characters, is invoked to the stage by Mercury thus (I. 1):—

"Echo, fair Echo, speak!
'Tis Mercury that calls thee. Sorrowful nymph,
Salute me with thy repercussive voice,
That I may know what cavern of the earth
Contains thy airy spirit, how or where
I may direct my speech that thou mayst hear."

231. "*thy airy shell*": i.e. the shell, or hollow vault, of the atmosphere.

232. "*Meander's margent green*." Mæander, the river in Asia Minor so celebrated for its numerous windings (whence our verb "meander"), and also, as Professor J. W. Hales has pointed out (*Athenæum*, 20th April 1889), as a haunt of swans.

234, 235. "*Where the love-lorn nightingale
Nightly to thee her sad song mourneth well*."

Todd cites Virgil (*Georg.* IV. 511—515):—

"Qualis populeâ mœrens Philomela sub umbrâ
Amisos queritur fetus, quos durus arator
Observans nido implumes detraxit: at illa
Flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen
Integrat, et mœstis late loca questibus implet."

But the particular "violet-embroidered vale" in Milton's mind here, Mr. Hales suggests, must have been the nightingale-haunted valley of the Cephissus, near Athens. He refers to the famous passage in Sophocles, *Æd. Col.* 668 *et seq.*

237. "*thy Narcissus*": the youth for whose love Echo pined away till only her voice was left, and who was afterwards punished for his insensibility by being made to fall in love with his own shadow, and was at length turned into a flower.

241. "*Sweet Queen of Parley, Daughter of the Sphere!*" The first elegant epithet, "*Queen of Parley*" (i.e. of Speech), recommends itself; the other, "*Daughter of the Sphere*," is more obscure, but may mean that Echo was born, if not of one of the great cosmical spheres, at least of the hollow sphere of space nearest to the

Earth, *i.e.* of the Air. Compare "Sphere-born harmonious sisters, Voice and Verse," in the lines *At a Solemn Music*.

243. "*resounding grace*": the grace of resonance.

244—270. "*Can any mortal mixture,*" etc. As Warton points out, the whole of this speech of Comus, so pertinent to the action of the Masque, must have had a double significance to the audience at Ludlow. It fell on their ears as the precise compliment to the young Lady Alice Egerton, after her beautiful Echo-song, which they were themselves longing to pay, and had already tried to pay, we may suppose, by hand-clappings and other applauses. She was a beautiful young fair-haired girl, not more than fifteen years of age.

248. "*his hidden residence.*" One of the most striking possible instances of Milton's abstinence from the mongrel word *its*. The antecedent to which "*his*" refers is "*something holy*"; and we should inevitably have written *its*.

252—257.

"*I have oft heard*"

*My mother Circe with the Sirens three,
Amidst the flowery-kirtled Naiades,
Culling their potent herbs and baleful drugs,
Who, as they sung," etc.*

In the *Odyssey* (Books X. and XII.) the Sirens, or Singing Maidens who lured mariners to their destruction, are not companions of Circe, nor inhabitants of her island. Indeed, she warns Ulysses against the encounter he will have with them in his voyage from her island, and instructs him how to escape them. But Circe certainly sang herself, and had Naiads, or fountain-nymphs, among her hand-maidens, who helped her to cull her potent herbs. See Ovid (*Met.* XIV. 261 *et seq.*) for a detailed description of their employment in the work under her superintendence. Milton's conjunction of the Sirens with Circe and her Naiads, whether in the work or in the singing, is, therefore, a liberty taken with the myth. Perhaps, as the Sirens were neighbours of Circe, and known to her, he thought he might venture on the liberty. It was but to suppose that they had visited Circe some time, and that Comus had thus seen them with his mother, engaged as in the text. The same liberty, at all events, had been taken by William Browne in his *Innet Temple Masque*, performed about 1615. Though not published when Milton wrote his *Comus* (it was not published till 1772), yet possibly the piece was known to Milton, either in manuscript, or through one of a few copies that are said to have been printed for the Templars at the time of the performance. Circe and the Sirens *are* there on the same island, when Ulysses is thrown upon it, and indeed the Sirens

are Circe's attendants, doing her bidding in all things. Thus one of them says :—

“ Circe bids me sing ;
And, till some greater hand her power can stay,
Whoe'er command, I none but her obey.”

The Sirens are sometimes mentioned indefinitely in the plural, sometimes as two, and sometimes as three.—Not only the Sirens and Circe, but the beast-shapes of those they have transformed by their incantations, figure in Browne's *Masque* ; and Echo sings in it. Hence, and from one or two coincidences of expression (see *ante*, note to line 51), the belief that Milton had read the *Masque*. He had some respect for Browne as a poet on account of his *Britannia's Pastorals*. But the *Masque* is a slovenly thing in comparison with the *Pastorals*.

257—259. “ *Scylla wept,
And chid her barking waves into attention,
And fell Charybdis murmured soft applause.*”

Homer places the island of the Sirens to the south-west of Italy, not far from Scylla. The imagined effect of the song on the two famous rock-monsters may, Warton suggests, be a recollection of the lines in Silius Italicus, describing the effects of a shepherd's ditty (XIV. 471—475) :—

“ Ille ubi septena modulatus arundine carmen
Mulcebat sylvas, non unquam tempore eodem
Siren adsueto effudit in æquore cantus :
Scyllæi tacuere canes ; stetit atra Charybdis ;
Et lætus scopulis audit sibila Cyclops.”

But “ *barking waves* ” is from Virgil (*Æn.* VII. 588) : “ *multis circum latrantibus undis.*”

265. “ *Hail, foreign wonder !* ” Warton compares Ferdinand's first salutation of Miranda in the *Tempest* (I. 2).

267, 268. “ *Unless the goddess that in rural shrine
Dwell'st here.*”

Two deviations from normal English syntax here ; for the regular construction would be “ Unless *thou be* the goddess that in rural shrine *dwells* here.”

269, 270. “ *Forbidding,* ” etc. Compare *Arcades*, 44—53.

271. “ *ill is lost* ” : another Latin idiom, as Mr. Keightley points out,—“ *male perditur* ” : “ there is little loss in losing.”

277—290. “ *What chance, good Lady,* ” etc. On this colloquy of fourteen lines, a line alternately, between Comus and the Lady,

Hurd remarks "Here is an imitation of those scenes in the Greek tragedies where the dialogue proceeds by question and answer, a single verse being allotted to each." A convenient example, from Euripides, beautifully rendered into English, will be found in Mr. Browning's *Balaustion*.

278. "*leavy*." All modern editions have "*leafy*"; but in the First Edition it is "*leavy*," and in the Second "*leavie*." There is no doubt, therefore, that Milton intended the soft *v* sound.

279. "*near-ushering*": closely preceding.

280. "*turf*." I have not seen it observed before that here, as well as in each of the other three occurrences of this word in Milton's poetry—viz. *Lycidas*, 140, and *Par. Lost*, V. 391 and XI. 324—it is spelt "*terf*" or "*terfe*." I have refrained from restoring this spelling in the text, and I can hardly see the reason of it. In A.-S. the word was *turf* or *tyrfe*, and in German it is *torf*. Perhaps *terf* was an optional variety in Milton's time; but in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* I find *turfe*.

285. "*forestalling night*": i.e. anticipating. *Forestall* is literally to anticipate the market, by purchasing goods before they are brought to the stall.

287. "*Imports their loss, beside the present need?*" "Apart from the present inconvenience, would their loss be of importance?"

290. "*unrazored lips*." Warton quotes Shakespeare's "till new-born chins be rough and razorable" (*Tempest*, II. 1).

291—293. "*Two such I saw, what time,*" etc. The idiom "*what time*" for *when* (*quo tempore* for *eo tempore quo*) is still used in poetry, but was once more common. The Bible has several instances: thus "What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee" (Ps. lvi. 3). A good instance is Shakespeare's

"What time the shepherd, blowing of his nails,
Can neither call it perfect day nor night."

3 *King Henry VI.* II. 5.

See *The Bible Word-Book* by Messrs. Eastwood and W. A. Wright.—The notation of time in the passage, as all the commentators have remarked, is picturesquely pastoral, with traces from such classical passages as that in Virgil, *Ecl.* II. 66, 67:—

"Aspice, aratra jugo referunt suspensa juvenci,
Et sol crescentes decedens duplicat umbras."

The "*swinked* [laboured, tired] *hedger at his supper*," however, is quite English.

297—304. "*Their port was more than human,*" etc. Note in this passage, besides the fine picture, the cleverly-introduced compliment to the two boys, Lord Brackley and Mr. Thomas Egerton, who were about to come on the stage.—"*as they stood*": so in *Epit. March. Winchester*, 21 :—

"And in his garland, as he stood,
Ye might discern a cypress-bud."

In the First and Second Editions there is a comma after *human*, and a semicolon after *stood*; else one might have been disposed to put a stronger stop at *human*, and to read "*as they stood*" in connexion with the following line. This, as Warton notes, was the reading in Lawes's Edition of 1637; but Milton had changed it, perhaps to increase the impression of the stately appearance of the boys.

299. "*the element*": i.e. the sky or air. According to Thyer, the word was used in this sense in the North of England in last century: perhaps it is so still.

301. "*plighted . . . awe-strook*." By *plighted* is meant "folded," "plaited." For "*awe-strook*," which is the word in Milton's own editions, "*awe-struck*" has been substituted in some others. This is wrong. See note, *Par. Lost*, II. 165.

312. "*Dingle*": defined by etymologists as "a little hollow, as if made by a blow" (from the old verb "*to ding*," still preserved in Scotch; whence *dint*). Another form of the word, now obsolete, was *dimble*.

313. "*bosky bourn*": i.e. shrubby boundary or watercourse. *Bosky* is but a form of *bushy* (Ital. *bosco*), but with the meaning slightly differenced by the sound. It is disputed whether the two Old-English words *bourn*, a boundary (Fr. *borne*, a limit), and *bourne*, a stream (Scot. *burn*), are etymologically the same. See Earle's *Philology of the English Tongue*, 86, 87.

315. "*attendance*," for attendants.

317, 318.

"or the low-roosted lark
From her thatched pallet rouse."

On this passage Mr. Keightley comments thus:—"The ideas here "belong rather to a hen-house than to the resting-place of the lark, "which has no *thatch* over it, and in which, as it is on the ground, "he does not *roost*. Milton, whose mornings were devoted to "study rather than to rambles in the fields, does not seem to have "known much of the habits of the lark. Compare *L'Allegro*, v. "41." Now, as we have seen that the charge of incorrect descrip-

tion, and ignorance of the habits of the lark, deduced from the passage in *L'Allegro* so referred to, arises from a gross misreading of the passage and neglect of its obvious syntax (see note on the passage), so here we believe the repeated charge springs equally from a misapprehension. *Roost*, though it has come to mean to rest on trees or on timber joists, contains in it not the less the general sense of "rest"; and by "*the low-roosted lark*" Milton means simply "the lark in her low resting-place." The very phrase calls attention to the fact that the lark does not roost on trees like other birds, but has a nest on the ground. As for "*thatched*," applied to this nest or "*pallet*," surely the texture of the nest itself, or the corn-stalks or rushes over it, might be called "the thatch." Few birds, except those in the "hen-house," have a thatch over them in any other sense. Student though Milton was, it is not safe to challenge his accuracy in any reference to natural history which he has permitted himself.—"*rouse*." Though *rouse* is sometimes used in a neuter or reflective sense, for to *rise* or *rouse oneself* (e.g. "Rouse, rouse, ye kilted warriors!"), yet perhaps here it is to be taken actively as usual; in which case the construction is "*ere morrow wake, or rouse the roosted lark*," etc.

322—326. "*courtesy, which oft is sooner found*," etc. Though the word *courtesy* is derived from *court*, yet, says the Lady, the thing is not always so readily found now in courts as in humbler places. Here she differs from Spenser, as quoted by Newton:—

"Of Court it seems men Courtesie do call,
For that it there most useth to abound."

F. Q. VI. i. 1.

Warton quotes a stanza from Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* XIV. 62) which Milton may have had in his mind in this passage. The idea is there the same, and the expression similar.—Warton proposed that the first word in line 326 should be read *In*, and Todd adopted the suggestion; but in Milton's editions it is "*And*."

328, "*that*," for "*so as tha*": peculiar elliptical syntax, the meaning being "Less warranted than this, or less secure, I cannot be, [so as] that I should fear to change it." On a similar use of *that* in Shakespeare see Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, edit. 1872, par. 283.

329. "*square*": measure out, adapt. Thus in *Measure for Measure* (Act V.) the Duke says to the gipsy-ruffian Barnardine:—

"Sirrah, thou art said to have a stubborn soul,
That apprehends no further than this world,
And squarest thy life according."

331. "*Unmuffle*": i.e. unmuffle yourselves.

334. "*disinherit Chaos*": drive Chaos from his possession.

335. "*double night, of darkness and of shades*": i.e. both the natural darkness of night and the local darkness of the woods.

338. "*wicker hole*": the wretched wicker-crossed aperture, not worth the name of window.

340. "*thy long levelled rule*," etc. How true to the fact described!

341, 342.

"*our Star of Arcady,*
Or Tyrian Cynosure."

Cynosura, the constellation of the Lesser Bear, or the pole-star in it: see note on *L'Allegro*, 80. It was the Phœnician mariners that steered by this pole-star, and hence it is called *Tyrian*. The *Star of Arcady* is any conspicuous star in the adjacent Greater Bear, which served the same purpose to the Greek mariners. For the epithet one has to recollect the myth. It was the nymph Callisto, daughter of the *Arcadian* king Lycaon, that was turned into the constellation of the Great Bear and called *Arctos*, while it was her son, *Arcas*, that was whirled up beside her as the Lesser Bear, or *Cynosura* proper.

349. "*innumeros*": from the Latin *innumerus*, and common in Old English in the sense of "innumerable."

• 355. "*Leans*": perhaps for "*she leans*." This "ellipsis of the nominative," when there was no doubt what it should be, was common. See Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, par. 399.

359. "*over-exquisite*": too precisely inquisitive. There is a recollection of the etymology of the word.

360. "*To cast the fashion of uncertain evils*": i.e. to fling them into definite shape beforehand. The metaphor may be from Metallurgy or from Astrology.

361. "*grant they be so*": i.e. really be evils.

366. "*so to seek*": i.e. so at a loss; so in want of anything and uncertain where to find it; a common old phrase.

367. "*unprincipled in*": ungrounded in the principles of.

368. "*bosoms*": i.e. "has in its bosom."

370. ("*Not being in danger, as I trust she is not.*") In very strict syntax "not being" would cling to "want" as its substantive; but the phrase passes for the Latin ablative absolute.—Lord Mon-

boddo greatly admired this parenthesis, and pointed out how the voice of the speaker must have varied its tone in passing from the first clause to the second.

375—378. "*Wisdom's self oft seeks to,*" etc.: i.e. "oft has recourse to": an old idiom. Mr. Aldis Wright notes several examples in his *Bible Word-Book*: thus Deut. xii. 5, "Unto his habitation shall ye seek"; and 1 Kings x. 24, "And all the earth sought to Solomon, to hear his wisdom."

378. "*plumes her feathers.*" Warton suggests that "*plumes*" should be "*prunes*"; this last being the word for the action of a bird dressing and arranging its feathers. Thus Spenser (*F. Q.* II. iii. 36):—

"She gins her feathers fowle disfigured
Proudly to prune, and set on every side."

But a meaning to the same effect may be found for *plume*.

380. "*all to-ruffed.*" In Milton's own editions this phrase is printed as three distinct words, "*all to ruff'd,*" without hyphen. As this did not seem to make sense, Tickell and other editors in the first half of the eighteenth century changed *to* into *too*. This change, plausible enough in itself (for *too* is originally the same as *to*, and their spellings were interchanged by Elizabethan writers and printers), appeared to give very good sense: viz. "all too much ruffed," or "wholly too much ruffed." The form is common with us now in such phrases as "It is all [wholly] too sad to tell." But later editors, especially Warton, perceived that this emendation did not meet the entire case. They saw that the phrase as it stands in Milton is a relic of an old form of which there are many examples, before his time, where the emendation suggested could not be applied with any intelligible effect. There is one such in our Authorised Version of the Bible (Judges ix. 53): "And a certain woman cast a piece of millstone upon Abimelech's head and all to-brake his skull." Here "all too broke" would be nonsense. In older versions there are more frequent instances; and the form occurs in popular writers, from Chaucer, Gower, and the author of *Piers Plowman*, downwards. Thus:—

☛ "And do bote [good : repairs] to brugges [bridges] that
to-broke were."

Piers Plowman: Vision (Clar. Press edit.) VII. 28.

"Al is to-broken thilke region."

CHAUCER : *Knight's Tale*, I. 2759.

"Whereof the sheep ben al to-tore."

GOWER : *Conf. Am.* I.

" . . . As frute, that with the frost is taken,
To day red-ripe, tomorrow al-to shaken."

SURREY : *Sonnet* IX.

"They love and all-to love him."

LATIMER : *Sermons*.

From these and other examples the question arises whether originally it was the *all* and the *to* that went together in meaning, forming the compound *all-to*, or whether the *to* belonged in the first place to the verb following it, and ought now to be hyphenated with it. In connexion with this question it is not unimportant to observe that in the first of the above-quoted examples the word *all* does not occur, and the *to* and the *broke* manage by themselves, and that in the second the *all* is separated from the *to* by an *is*. This proves that, whatever claims *all-to* may put in for itself, such phrases as *to-broke*, *to-broken*, had certainly a legitimate existence at one time on their own account, without needing the co-operation of the *all*. Accordingly, the conclusion of late has rather been in favour of the supposition that the primordial form was that of the *to* compounded with a verb as an intensifying prefix, and that the *all* came in as an addition. *Zu* is now compounded with verbs in German with a certain intensifying effect; and so, it is supposed, "*to-broken*" in Old English meant "thoroughly broken" or "smashed," "*to-torn*" meant "torn to shreds," and the like. How naturally, however, in such cases the word *all* would slip in! You can hardly say "broken to pieces" without saying "~~all~~ broken to pieces." And, when *all* had slipped in, though the strict form of writing would be *all to-broken*, still hyphenating the *to* with its proprietor verb, how natural to combine all the three factors in one compound, "*all-to-broken*," or even gradually to let the *all* pull the *to* away from the verb, presenting "*all-to broken*"! Thus, it would seem, a word "*all-to*" came into being, signifying "quite," "completely," or "altogether," while the "*all too*" of such phrases as "*all too severe*" (wholly or decidedly too severe) may have had an obvious independent origin. The meanings being so similar, it would in many cases be indifferent whether *all-to* or *all too* were written; but not in all,—not, for example, in the instance from the Book of Judges in the Authorised Version. "*All-to* (completely) *brake his skull*" would answer there, whereas "*all too brake his skull*" would, as was said, be nonsense.—To apply all this to the passage under notice:—The reading "*all too ruffled*," proposed by the earlier editors of last century, makes very good sense ("wholly or decidedly too ruffled"); but it is unwarranted and unnecessary. Warton's substituted reading, "*all-to ruffled*" ("altogether ruffled"), showed greater knowledge of Old English, and may have been what Milton intended. But "*all to-ruffled*" seems, on the whole, the best reading and the likeliest.—On the subject of this note see Mr. Aldis Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, article "All-to," and Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, pars. 28 and 436. But further investigation is desirable.

382. "*i the centre*": *i.e.* as if at the centre of the Earth, which, according to the old Ptolemaic astronomy, was also the central and one steady point of the whole Universe. See *Par. Lost*, I. 74 and 686, and *Par. Reg.* IV. 534. The idea came easily to Milton; but *centre* in this sense, or in the sense of the Earth itself, was a common one. Thus in *Hamlet* (II. 2) Polonius says:—

" I will find
Where truth is hid, though it were hid indeed
Within the centre."

385. "*Himself is his own dungeon*." See *Sams. Ag.* 155-6.

391. "*maple dish*." In *Eleg.* VI. 59—62, it is a "*beechen bowl*" that the hermit or sage has beside him:—

" Stet prope fagineo pellucida lympha catillo."

393—395. "*like the fair Hesperian tree laden with blooming gold*," etc. The golden apples, given to Juno as a marriage-gift, were entrusted to the charge of the nymphs called Hesperides; in whose gardens, called the Hesperian gardens, they were watched day and night by the sleepless dragon Ladon. It was one of the labours of Hercules to slay this dragon and get at the apples.

395. "*unenchantèd*": in the sense of "incapable of being enchanted." For other instances of this use of the same form see note, *L'Allegro*, 40.

398. "*unsunned*": never exposed to daylight. So, as Todd noted, Spenser, *F. Q.* II. viii. 4:—

• " Which to that shady delve him brought at last
Where Mammon erst did sun his treasury."

401. "*Danger will wink on Opportunity*." A quaint metaphor! The image suggested is that of a sentry, who has been set to prevent people from going a particular road, winking to some friend of his who breaks the prohibition, and letting him pass as if he did not see him.

404. "*it recks me not*": *i.e.* I take no account or reckoning. "*I reck not*" would have been more customary; but the impersonal form was also used. Thus Gower (*Rich. Dict.*), who has in one passage of his *Conf. Am.*,

" He recketh not, be so he wyne,
Of that another man shall lese,"

has, in another passage,

" Him recketh nought what men recorden
Of hym, be it evill or good."

413. "*squint suspicion*." Thyer quotes Spenser, who, personifying Suspicion or Suspect, describes him (*F. Q.* III. xii. 15) as

" fowle, ill-favourèd, and grim,
Under his eiebrowes looking still askaunce."

419. "*if Heaven gave it*." The "*if*" here has somewhat of the sense of "*though*"; and the meaning is "Yes! she is protected by that general unseen strength of Heaven you speak of; but she has another strength also, which, though it too comes from Heaven, may be called her own, because it does not merely encircle her externally, but is lodged within herself."

420. "'*Tis chastity, my brother, chastity*." The passage which begins with this line and extends to line 475 is not only a concentrated expression of the moral of the whole *Masque*, but also an exposition of what was a cardinal idea with Milton through his whole life, and perhaps the most central idea of his personal philosophy in early manhood. See Introduction to *Comus*. See also the extraordinary autobiographic passage, so often referred to, in that one of Milton's Smectymnuan Tracts called *An Apology against a Pamphlet*, etc. There, defending himself against certain moral charges made against him by Bishop Hall and his son, he breaks out into an exposition of the Doctrine of Personal Purity which may be regarded as a prose-expansion in 1642, with included autobiographic particulars, of the present passage in *Comus*, written in 1634.

421. "*complete steel*." The accent is on the first syllable of *complete*, as it also is in the line from *Hamlet* (I. 4) where the same phrase occurs:—

"That thou, dead corse, again in *complete* steel
Revisit'st thus the glimpses of the moon."

422. "*like a quivered nymph with arrows keen*." Perhaps, as Thyer hinted, a recollection of Spenser's Belphebe, the hunter-goddess (*F. Q.* II. iii. 29):—

"at her back a bow and quiver gay,
• Stuff with steele-headed darts, wherewith she queld
The salvage beasts."

But this Belphebe is immediately (stanza 31) compared to Diana, who

"Wand'eth alone with bow and arrowes keene."

423. "*unharboured*": interpreted "unsheltered"; but rather, I think, "not containing shelters."

424. "*Infamous*," accented on the second syllable.—"*Perilous* is dissyllabic," says Mr. Browne, and he refers to Shakespeare's form *parlous*. Not so: it is distinctly *perilous* in Milton's editions.

426. "*bandite, or mountaineer.*" *Bandite*, so spelt in Milton's editions, and probably rather a new word about Milton's time, is from the Italian *bandito*, an outlaw (literally "declared under ban"). We now use the foreign form only in the plural, *banditti*; but Shakespeare has (1 *Hen. VI.* IV. 2):—

"A Roman sworder and banditto slave
Murdered sweet Tully."

Mountaineer. Warton notes the fact that this word had a bad sense, like *bandit*. See *Cymbeline*, Act IV. Sc. 2, where it occurs several times as an epithet of opprobrium; thus, "called me traitor, mountaineer." Now a kindly admiration mixes with the term. There has been perhaps a similar change of associations with the word *Highlander*, and from the same causes,—change of habits among the mountain-peoples, and better acquaintance with them.

430. "*unblenched*": unabashed, from "*blench*" or "*blanch*," to turn pale.

432. "*Some say no evil thing,*" etc. Undoubtedly, here, as Warton remarked, Milton had the passage in *Hamlet* (I. 1) in his mind:—

"Some say that, ever 'gainst that season comes
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night long:
And then, they say, no spirit dares stir abroad."

The sequent imagery, to line 437, with the sentiment included, led Newton to produce a parallel passage from Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*:—

"Yet I have heard (my mother told it me,
And now I do believe it) if I keep
My virgin-flower uncropt, pure, chaste, and fair,
No goblin, wood-god, fairy, elf, or fiend,
Satyr, or other power that haunts the groves,
Shall hurt my body, or by vain illusion
Draw me to wander after idle fires,
Or voices calling me."

Milton's "Some say" may perhaps be a kind of acknowledgment of recollection of this passage; but, as the passage itself implies, the belief quoted by both poets was a popular one.

434, 435. "*unlaid ghost,*
That breaks his magic chains at curfew time."

For *curfew* see note, *Pens.* 74.—The popular superstition was that ghosts and other supernatural beings had liberty to begin their wanderings at the sound of the evening bell. Warton quotes, in

illustration, Edgar's speech in *King Lear*, III. 4: "This is the foul fiend Flippertigibbet; he begins at curfew, and walks till the first cock."⁶

438—440. "*Do ye believe me yet, or shall I call
Antiquity from the old schools of Greece?*" etc.

The Brother has hitherto been quoting popular superstitions of the Northern or Gothic mythology, which was also the native English; but he is now to cite the more lightsome legends of Greek antiquity in proof of his doctrine. Accordingly, from line 441 to line 452, we have a sublimation of the legends of the two virgin goddesses Diana and Minerva. Thyer thought Milton might here have had a passage of one of Lucian's dialogues in view, where Cupid tells his mother Venus how the first of those two goddesses eluded him by hunting, while the other, with her fierce looks and Gorgon shield, positively frightened him.

453. "*So dear to Heaven is saintly chastity
 • • That,*" etc.

The language of mythological allusion now ceases, and the speaker passes, in his own name, into a strain of Platonic philosophy tinged with Christianity. It lasts to the end of his speech, line 475.

459—463. "*Till oft converse with heavenly habitants
 Begin to cast a beam on the outward shape,
 The unpolluted temple of the mind,
 And turns it by degrees to the soul's essence,
 Till all be made immortal.*"

"*Heavenly habitants*" means here "inhabitants of heaven," viz. the angels deputed to attend on the pure soul. The syntax "*begin . . . and turns*" is abnormal, but I think, intentionally so; as if certainty had so increased before the second clause that it could be stated as a fact. More is notable in the passage, however, than these verbal minutiae. It is a hint of a peculiar doctrine, or form of physio-metaphysical speculation, developed at length, long afterwards, in *Par. Lost*, V. 404—503. Accordingly, Warburton's note on the passage was: "This is agreeable to the system of the Materialists, of which Milton was one"; and Mr. Keightley adds, "With Warburton we discern here the germ of the Materialism which is developed by the Angel in *Par. Lost*, V." With reserve of our notes on the portion of *Par. Lost* in question, we may merely say here that, if the doctrine is to be called *Materialism*, it is by using *Materialism* in a sense utterly different from that which it now holds in the vocabulary of philosophers, and in their classifications of metaphysical systems. Milton as a metaphysician, might rather be classed ultimately with

the *Idealists*; and any portion of his belief describable as *Materialism* came in definitely as a conception subordinate to his *Idealism*, and melting back into that higher generality. Even in this passage the distinct proposition is that body itself, by due education, may be promoted into identity with spirit.

467—475. "*The soul grows clotted by contagion,
Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
The divine property,*" etc.

As, by purity and heavenly converse, the body may rise into identity with spirit, so, by sensuality, the soul may sink into identity with body,—may *imbody* and *imbrute* (words possibly of Milton's coining: see *Par. Lost*, IX. 166) till her divine essence is lost. Warton perceived that here Milton was appropriating a passage in Plato's *Phædo*. The passage, in Mr. Jowett's Translation of Plato, is as follows:—"The soul which has been polluted, and is impure at the time of her departure, and is the companion and servant of the body always, and is in love with and fascinated by the body, until she is led to believe that the truth only exists in a bodily form, which a man may touch and see and taste and use for the purposes of his lusts,—the soul, I mean, accustomed to hate and fear and avoid the intellectual principle, which to the bodily eye is dark and invisible, and can be attained only by philosophy;—do you suppose that such a soul as this will depart pure and unalloyed? . . . She is engrossed by the corporal, which the continual association and constant care of the body have made natural to her. . . . And this, my friend, may be conceived to be that heavy, weighty, earthy element of sight by which such a soul is depressed and dragged down again into the visible world below,—prowling about tombs and sepulchres,* in the neighbourhood of which, as they tell us, are seen certain ghostly apparitions of souls which have not departed pure, but are cloyed with sight and therefore visible."

474. "*sensuality.*" So spelt in the First and Second Editions, but in most editions now printed "*sensuality*"; which mars the metre.

476—479. "*How charming is divine Philosophy!
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute.*"

A compliment to Plato, from whom Milton has just been quoting, and whom he especially admired! Perhaps there is a side-glance also at other philosophies, as less musical, and more harsh and crabbed, than Plato's. It is Love, and not Philosophy, that is

described by Shakespeare (*Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. 3) in the phrase that Milton has here borrowed:—

“For valour, is not Love a Hercules,
Still climbing trees in the Hesperides?
Subtle as Sphinx; as sweet and musical
As bright Apollo's lute, strung with his hair?”

483. “*night-foundered*”: swallowed up in night, as a ship is in the sea when she *founders* (i.e. goes to the bottom). The word reappears in *Par. Lost*, I. 204.

490. “*That hallo I should know.*” These words are distinctly printed in both Milton's editions as a continuation of the Elder Brother's speech; else we might assign them to the Attendant Spirit, who has just entered in the habit of a Shepherd. In fact, a stage-direction, printed in Lawes's edition of 1637, but omitted in Milton's editions, ought to have been retained: “*He hallos; the Guardian Dæmon hallos again, and enters in the habit of a Shepherd.*” There was a succession of hallos heard by the audience: first that of the Attendant Spirit some way off in the woods (line 481); next, several more from him as he came nearer (486); next the Elder Brother's hallo back from the stage (487); and finally the Attendant Spirit's hallo near at hand as he emerged from the wood. This last is implied, but not registered.

491. “*Come not too near; you fall on iron stakes else.*” Not necessarily said in defiance, but rather in caution to an unknown person approaching in the dark, who may, after all, be friendly.

494, 495. “*Thyrsis! whose artful strains have oft delayed
The huddling brook to hear his madrigal.*”

The compliment here, as the audience would see at once, though professedly to the supposed shepherd Thyrsis, was really to the actor of the part, Henry Lawes, in his own character of musician and composer.—“*madrigal*,” though in music the name for an elaborate composition in parts, meant literally a *shepherd's song*: Ital. *madrigale*, from *mandra*, a flock or sheepfold (which is also a Greek word). It is this kind of *madrigal* that the Thyrsis of the masque is supposed to have been accomplished in. Lawes and Milton's own father had composed well-known *madrigals* in the higher musical sense. In the form of the compliment to Lawes there is a recollection, as Todd observed, of Horace, *Od.* I. xii. 7—10:—

“insecutæ
Orpheusylvæ,
Arte maternâ rapidos morantem
Fluminum lapsus.”

495—512. These eighteen lines, it might not be perceived by a hasty reader with the eye only, are rhyming couplets. "Was the introduction of such a rhymed passage into a blank-verse dialogue a mere freak, or had it any significance? Probably Milton, having spoken of the "*madrigals*" of Thyrsis, wanted to prolong the feeling of Pastoralism by calling up the cadence of known English Pastoral Poems, such as those of Spenser and William Browne. In Ben Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*, as Todd remarked, passages of rhyming couplets are intermixed with the blank verse.

508. "*How chance she is not*": for "How chances it that she is not?"—an idiom of those days, frequent in Shakespeare. Mr. Abbott (*Shakespearian Grammar*, par. 37) gives instances, and supposes *chance* in such phrases to be a kind of adverb.

511, 512. "*true . . . shew*": observe the rhyme, indicating a pronunciation of "*shew*" now obsolete.

515—518. "*What the sage poets . . . storied of old . . . of dire Chimeras*," etc. A reference especially to Homer and Virgil, some of whose stories are of the kind indicated.

520. "*navel*": i.e. centre. So Delphi was named by the Greeks the navel of the Earth.

522. "*Of Bacchus and of Circe born, great Comus*." See note ante, lines 46—61.

526. "*With many murmurs mixed*." See note ante, lines 252—257. Todd quotes the very phrase from Statius (*Theb.* IX. 733-4):—

"Cantusque sacros, et conscia miscet
Murmura."

529, 530. "*unmoulding reason's mintage charactered in the face*." The metaphor is from the melting down of a coin. *Charactered*, accented on the second syllable. This was occasional, but not uniform in Milton's time. In *Hamlet* (I. 2) Polonius says to his son,

"And these few precepts in thy memory
See thou character."

In both cases the meaning is the original one of the Greek word *χαρακτήρ*, an impressed mark or stamp.

531, 532. "*the hilly crofts that brow this bottom glade*": i.e. "the enclosed fields on the slopes that ascend from this wood in the hollow."

532. "*whence*": i.e. from the "bottom glade."

533—535. "to howl like stabled wolves . . . to Hecate." Mr. Browne quotes Virgil's phrase, "*triste lupus stabulis*" (*Ecl.* III. 80); and Todd Ovid's "*longit Hecaten ululatus orat*" (*Met.* XIV. 405). For Hecate see note *ante*, line 135.

547. "*To meditate my rural minstrelsy.*" So in First Edition; but Second has "*To meditate upon my rural minstrelsy,*"—clearly a misprint. The phrase is from Virgil's well-known line "*Sylvestrem tenui musam meditaris avenâ*" (*Ecl.* I. 2). It reappears in *Lycidas*, 66.

548. "*ere a close*": *i.e.* before he had finished the song he had begun on his pipe.

552—554. "*Till an unusual stop of sudden silence
Gave respite to the drowsy-flighted steeds
That draw the litter of close-curtained Sleep.*"

The "unusual stop of sudden silence" here referred to by the Attendant Spirit is that which occurred at line 145 of the masque, when Comus stopped the dancing and revelry of his rout of monsters on becoming aware of the near presence of the Lady. "*Break off, break off,*" Comus had then said, and his followers had dispersed and hidden themselves among the trees, the roar they had been making till that moment suddenly ceasing. The sudden change from uproar to dead silence might be said to have had an effect even upon the steeds that were drawing the chariot of Sleep through the vault of Night. It gave them "*respite*" from the trouble the noise had been causing them.—There has been much dispute as to a reading here. Both Milton's printed editions give "*drowsie frightened*" in two distinct words, and so does Lawes's edition of 1637; but the Cambridge MS. gives "*drowsy flighted.*" If this last is hyphenated, as was evidently intended, we have a very poetical epithet, much in Milton's manner,—*drowsy-flighted*, *i.e.* "always drowsily-flying"; and clearly the choice lies between this and the "*drowsy frightened*" unhyphenated,—"the drowsy steeds that had been frightened." An intermediate reading that has been proposed—*drowsy-frighted* as one compound word—is evidently absurd, and is hardly mended by supposing the meaning to be that of *drowsy-frighted* (*freight*, burden). On the whole, though I have adopted *drowsy-flighted* as the more poetical, I am not sure but I ought to have kept to the *drowsy frightened* of the first printed editions. The objection to this last is that *drowsiness* and *fright* could hardly co-exist; but this may be got over by supposing *drowsy* to denote the habitual character of the steeds, and *frighted* the state into which they had been startled by the uproar in the wood underneath. Still, as that uproar had lasted some time, to call them *drowsy* and *frighted* at once seems a little incongruous. If they were "*frighted*,"

their "*drowsiness*" was over. On the other hand, *drowsy-flighted* would simply imply that the steeds maintained their habitual character throughout, but had been a little fidgeted in their drowsiness by the uproar, so that the sudden silence was a *respite*.

555—562. "*At last*," etc. Note here the renewed compliment (see *ante*, lines 244—270, and note) to the Lady Alice's singing,—a compliment all the more memorable from the elevated splendour of the passage. The words "*At last*" indicate the interval between the beginning of the silence and its interruption by Lady Alice's Echo-song,—an interval marked by eighty-six lines in the text (from 144 to 230).

556. "*a steam*." So in the First Edition; misprinted "*stream*" in Second.

557—560. "*Silence was took ere she was ware, and wished she might deny her nature*," etc. A quaintly daring fancy, partly repeated in *Par. Lost*, IV. 604, but rather disturbing to the eighteenth-century critics, so that even Warton ventured to say "The conceit in both passages is unworthy the poet." The meaning is "Even Silence was so ravished by the song that she wished herself annihilated, if such singing were to be the substitute for her."

560—562.

"I was all ear,
And took in strains that might create a soul
Under the ribs of Death."

This famous passage, one of those word-jewels which Time has consented to wear for ever on her forefinger, seemed "grotesque" to Warburton; and he found the origin of it coarsely in an old engraving, which he thought Milton might have seen in Quarles's *Emblems*, of some such book. To illustrate the text "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" (Rom. vii. 24), this print exhibited the figure of a living child confined within the ribs of a skeleton.

568. "*lawns*." See note to *L'All.* 71.

580. "*further*." So in Second Edition, but "*furder*" in First.

585. "*period*": in the grammatical sense of "*sentence*."

586—599. "*Against the threats . . . built on stubble*." A peculiarly Miltonic passage: one of those that ought to be got by heart both on their own account and in memory of Milton.

591. "*which Mischief meant most harm*": i.e. "which the Power of Evil intended should do most harm."

604. "*Under the sooty flag of Acheron*": i.e. of Hell, where Acheron was a river. Todd quotes from Phineas Fletcher's *Locusts* (1627) the line

"All hell run out, and sooty flags display."

605. "*Harpies and Hydras*": spelt "*Harpyies*" in First Edition, "*Harpyes*" in Second. The *Harpies* of the Greeks were unclean bird-shaped creatures; the *Hydra* a water-serpent.

606. "*'Twixt Africa and Ind*": the region of black enchantments.

607. "*purchase*": in the sense, "stolen possession," in which it occurs in Spenser.

608. "*by the curls*." Because, as Mr. Keightley says, Comus, the voluptuary god, is represented as wearing curled hair.

609. "*venturous*": spelt "*ventrous*" in original editions.

619—628. "a certain shepherd lad,
Of small regard to see to, yet well skilled
In every virtuous plant," etc.

With not unnatural fondness, biographers of Milton have detected in this passage an affectionate allusion to the bosom-friend of his youth, the half-Italian Diodati, a medical student while Milton was at Cambridge, and in medical practice somewhere in the country when *Comus* was written. For an account of the life of this Diodati see Introductions to the First and Sixth of the Latin Elegies and Introduction to the *Epitaphium Damonis*. For a parallel passage to the present, if the present does allude to Diodati, see lines 150—154 of the *Epitaphium*, where Diodati's botanical knowledge, and his habit of regaling Milton with the same, are expressly mentioned. Is it possible that Diodati was in the neighbourhood of Ludlow when *Comus* was performed, and had some interest in the performance?—"Of small regard to see to" (i.e. to look at), if the allusion is to Diodati, would imply that he was of puny appearance.—"*Virtuous plant*" is plant possessing medical virtue (see note, *Pens.* 113).—"He loved me well," intensifies the impression that Diodati is meant. See the two Latin Elegies and the *Epitaphium*.

634. "*like*": i.e. correspondingly.

636, 637. "*that Moly that Hermes once to wise Ulysses gave*." In the *Odyssey*, Book X., it is by means of a plant called Moly that Ulysses is made proof against the charms and drugs of Circe. It had been given to the hero by the god Hermes or Mercury, who pulled it from the earth on purpose. It is thus described by Ulysses

himself: "It was black at the root, and its flower was like unto milk; and the gods call it *Moly*; but it is difficult for mortal men to dig up; but the gods can do everything."

638. "*He called it Hæmony.*" Milton invents this name for the prickly darkish-leaved plant of his fancy, described as rather unsightly in this country, but bearing a bright golden flower elsewhere. Is there any significance in the name? It has been suggested that the reference may be to *Hæmonia*, as the old name for Thessaly, an especial land of magic among the Greeks. Spenser, in his *Astrophel*, uses the word for the name of a district:—

"About the grassie bancks of Hæmony."

642. "*little reckoning made*": same phrase in *Lycidas*, 116.

650, 651. "*with dauntless hardihood and brandished blade rush on him.*" After the precedent of Ulysses with Circe, in Homer, and in Ovid's *Met.* XIV. 293 *et seq.*

653. "*But seize his wand.*" Warton ingeniously remembers that in the *Tempest* Caliban supposes it to be in Prospero's books that his power chiefly lies. He says (III. 2) to Stephano:—

"Thou mayst brain him,
Having first seized his books, or with a log
Batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake,
Or cut his wezand with thy knife. Remember
First to possess his books; for without them
He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not
One spirit to command: they all do hate him
As rootedly as I. Burn but his books."

655. "*Or, like the sons of Vulcan, vomit smoke.*" The giant Cacus, the son of Vulcan, does this in his last struggle (*Æn.* VIII. 231-3):—

"Ille autem, neque enim fuga jam super ulla pericli,
Faucibus ingentem fumum, mirabile dictu,
Evomit."

657. "*apace*": i.e. swiftly; *a-pace, on-pace*. Skeat says, "The phrase has changed sense; it used to mean *slowly* (Chaucer, *C. T.* 10,702); it now means *fast*."

660. "*alabaster*": spelt "*alablaster*" in both Milton's editions, according to an erroneous form then not uncommon, and used by Spenser. The word occurs twice besides in Milton's poetry: *Par. Lost*, IV. 544, where it is spelt wrongly, as now, in the First Edition; and *Par. Reg.* IV. 545, where it is spelt rightly in the First Edition.

661, 662. "*or as Daphne was, root-bound, that fled Apollo.*" A

curious and rare instance of the figure-called inversion: the meaning being "or root-bound, as Daphne was, that fled Apollo." The story of the nymph Daphne, "root-bound" by being turned into a laurel-tree as she was fleeing from Apollo, is told by Ovid (*Met.* I.)

665. "*hast . . . while*": spelt "*haste*" in both the original editions. "*While*" here has the sense of "so long as."

672—674. "*this cordial julep here, that flames . . . in his crystal bounds, with . . . syrups mixed.*" *Julep*, literally "rose-water" (from the Persian), had come to mean any bright medical liquid; *syrup* (from an Arabic word meaning "to drink") meant a sugared liquid or essence. Note the possessive form *his* applied even to so inanimate a thing as a "julep."

675, 676. "*Not that Nepenthes which the wife of Thone
In Egypt gave to Jove-born Helena.*"

Nepenthes (νηπενθής, in Greek literally "pain-dispelling") was the opiate which Helen is represented as giving to her husband Menelaus (*Odyss.* IV. 220 *et seq.*) thus: "She straightway cast into the wine whence they were drinking a drug that frees men from grief and from anger, and causes oblivion of all ills. Whoever should drink down this, mixed in a cup, would not shed a tear down his cheeks for a whole day, not even if both his mother and his father should die, or if they should kill a brother or a beloved son before his eyes. Such cunning and potent drugs the daughter of Jove [Helen] possessed; which Polydamna, an Egyptian, the wife of Thone, gave her."

680—689. "*which Nature lent . . . but you invert the covenants of her trust . . . like an ill borrower . . . scorning the unexempt condition,*" etc. The meaning is, "Nature lent you this personal beauty on certain conditions, one of which,—the *unexempt* one, the most necessarily binding one, from which no human being can be exempt,—was refreshment after fatigue; and yet you, like an unjust borrower, subvert the agreement, even in the most essential particular, inasmuch as all this while you have gone without repast or needful rest." Steevens cited Shakespeare's Sonnet IV. for a certain similarity of idea; and the comparison is worth while.—Notice the distance of "*that*" in line 688 from its antecedent "*you*" in line 682.

694. "*grim aspects*": i.e. grim appearances or objects. Spenser, Drayton, and Shakespeare have the identical phrase.

695. "*oughly-headed.*" So in both Milton's editions. In all modern editions it is printed "*ugly-headed.*" I have restored the original form, concluding that, as Milton has the common spelling

ugly in all other cases where he has used the word (*Par. Lost*, II. 662, X. 539, and XI. 464, and *Par. Reg.* IV. 408), he must have intended a different form here, perhaps to indicate a more guttural pronunciation.

698. "*vizored falsehood*": falsehood wearing a vizor, to conceal his face.

702, 703.

"None

But such as are good men can give good things."

Almost a translation, as Newton pointed out, of line 618 in the *Medea* of Euripides:—

κακοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς δῶρ' ὀνησιω οὐκ ἔχει.

(A bad man's gifts convey no benefit.)

707. "*those budge doctors of the Stoic fur.*" The old word "*budge*" had two meanings. As a noun, it meant "fur," and especially "lambskin fur." Thus the street called "Budge Row" in London had its name, according to Stow, from the fact that skinnners and furriers lived and carried on their trade there; and Todd quotes a Latin edict of 1414 as to the dresses to be worn by the different ranks of students and graduates of the University of Cambridge, regulating that those of the rank of Bachelor shall wear only budge or lamb furs (*tantum furrūris buggeis aut agninis*). Hence we hear of "*Budge-Bachelors*"; and in one of Milton's own prose-tracts (*Obs. on Articles of Peace between Ormond and the Irish*) he speaks satirically of certain clergymen as "parting freely with their own budge-gowns from off their backs." The idea of "fur" in connexion with the word "*budge*" in this passage must therefore have been in Milton's mind; but, as he uses "*fur*" immediately afterwards, it has been thought he used "*budge*" rather in its acquired adjective sense of "baggy" "big," "burly," "stout," or "surly." That it had the sense of "burly" or "stout" is proved by a sentence quoted by Todd from the Autobiography of Milton's friend, the Quaker Ellwood, "The warden was a budge old man, and I looked somewhat big too," and also by a quotation from Stanyhurst in Rich. Dict.: "A Sara for goodnesse, a great Bellona for budgenesse." On the whole, this last meaning is the likeliest in the present passage; but the other is possible. In that case, the apparent tautology would be got rid of by supposing that "budge doctors" meant simply doctors generally, duly robed, and that the subsequent phrase "of the Stoic fur" defined the particular sect of doctors in view.—The Stoic philosophers, and the Cynics, were those who most despised the pleasures of the senses.

719. "*hutch*": kept as if in a chest, from the old word "*hutch*," a box or chest.

721. "*pulse*": beans, pease, etc. Daniel and the other three children of Israel at the court of Nebuchadnezzar chose, in a pet of temperance, to live on pulse and water, rather than on the food and wine allowed by the king (Dan. i.)

739. "*hoarded*": spelt "*hoorded*" in First and Second Editions.

739—755. "*Beauty is Nature's coin . . . you are but young yet.*" The idea that runs through these seventeen lines is a favourite one with the old poets; and Warton and Todd cite parallel passages from Shakespeare, Spenser, Daniel, Fletcher, and Drayton. Thus, from Shakespeare (*Mids. N. Dr.* I. 1):—

"Earthlier happy is the rose distilled
Than that which, withering on the virgin thorn,
Grows, lives, and dies in single blessedness."

And Drayton (*Heroical Epistles: K. John to Matilda*):—

"Fie, peevish girl, ungrateful unto nature!
Did she to this end frame thee such a creature,
That thou her glory shouldst increase thereby,
And thou alone dost scorn society?
Why, Heaven made beauty, like herself, to view,
Not to be locked up in a smoky mew:
A rosy-tinted feature is heaven's gold,
Which all men joy to touch, all to behold.
It was enacted, when the world begun,
So rare a beauty should not be a Nun."

See, however, also Shakespeare's first six Sonnets, which are pervaded by the idea in all its subtleties, and his *Venus and Adonis*, lines 163—174, where it reappears.

750. "*cheeks of sorry grain*": i.e. of poor colour. On the word *grain* and its history see note, *Par. Lost*, V. 285.

756—761. "*I had not thought,*" etc. These six lines are spoken by the Lady *aside*; and only in line 762 does she begin to address Comus.

760. "*bolt her arguments*": i.e. present them sifted and refined. To *bolt* or *boult* was the name for the miller's process of separating the meal from the bran (old French *butter*, older French *buleter*, "a corruption of *bureter*, to sift through coarse cloth," says Skéat); and, by an easy metaphor, it was applied to the sifting of any matter by inquiry or reasoning.

768—774. "*If every just man,*" etc. As a parallel passage to this striking one, Todd quotes *K. Lear*, IV. 1, where Gloucester says to the supposed beggar and madman:—

"Here, take this purse, thou whom the heavens' plagues
Have humbled to all strokes: that I am wretched

Makes thee the happier ; heavens, deal so still !
 Let the superfluous and lust-dieted man,
 That slaves your ordinance, that will not see
 Because he doth not feel, feel your power quickly ;
 So distribution should undo excess,
 And each man have enough."

780. "*enow*": printed "*enough*" in First Edition, "*enow*" in Second.

780—799. "*To him that dares,*" etc. Here we have an eloquent recurrence to that leading doctrine of the masque of which we have already spoken as pre-eminently Miltonic (see note *ante*, lines 420—475). On the previous occasion it was uttered by the Elder Brother ; now it is re-uttered by the sister, and pushed to its utmost. The "sublime notion and high mystery," as Milton calls it here, is spoken of in his *Apology for Smectymnus*, as "an abstracted sublimity" which he had learnt from Plato.

791. "*dazzling fence*" : i.e. art of fencing. Milton in one of his pamphlets speaks of "hired masters of tongue-fence." •

797. "*the brute Earth*" : a translation, as Warton noted, of Horace's "*bruta tellus*" (*Ode* I. xxxiv. 9).

800—806. "*She fables not . . . more strongly.*" This passage is spoken by Comus *aside*. Warton quotes 1 *K. Henry VI.* IV. 2, "He fables not : I hear the enemy."

803—806. "*as when the wrath of Jove,*" etc. The image is from the mythical wars of Zeus against Cronos (Saturn) and the Titans, which ended in their imprisonment under Tartarus.

808. "*Against the canon laws of our foundation.*" "*Canon laws ! a joke !*" is Warburton's note on this passage. But Milton had not yet figured as a church-reformer and satirist of ecclesiastical laws and law-courts. Hence no political jibe may be intended, but only, as Mr. Keightley says, "a humorous application of the language of universities and other foundations."

809, 810.

" . . . 'tis but the lees
 And settlings of a melancholy blood."

A phrase from the old physiological system of the "humours." Todd aptly quotes a passage in illustration from Nash's *Terrors of the Night* (1594):—"The grossest part of our blood is the melancholy humour ; which, in the spleen congealed (whose office it is to disperse it), with his thick-steaming fenny vapours casts a mist over the spirit . . . It [melancholy] sinketh down to the bottom like the lees of the wine, corrupteth all the blood, and is the cause of lunacy."

815. "Ye should have snatched his wand." According to the direction given to them in line 653.

816, 817. "Without his rod reversed, and backward mutters," etc. As old as the belief in magic itself seems to have been the belief that the effects of enchantment could be undone by reversing the spells, pronouncing the words of charm backward, etc. Warton refers to Ovid's *Met.* XIV. 299—301, where the companions of Ulysses are restored to their natural shapes by Circe in this way:—

"Spargimur innocuæ succis melioribus herbæ,
Percutimurque caput conversæ verbere virgæ,
Verbaque dicuntur dictis contraria verbis."

He refers also to the *Faery Queene*, III. xii. 35 *et seq.*, for the disenchantment of Amoret by the magician Busyrane on the compulsion of Britomart.—Mesmerists now reverse their "passes" to restore their patients.

823. "sootheest": truest.

824—857. "There is a gentle Nymph not far from hence,
That with moist curb sways the smooth Severn stream:
Sabrina is her name:" etc.

The legend of Sabrina, the nymph of the Severn, is gracefully introduced here to please the Welsh-English audience at Ludlow, many of whom knew that western river well and were patriotically proud of it. The oldest form of the legend is to be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin History of the Britons, a compilation of Welsh traditions and tales in the twelfth century; but it was repeated, after Geoffrey, by many writers, including Spenser (*F. Q.* II. x. 14—19), Drayton (*Polyolbion*, VI.), and Warner (*Albion's Eng.*) Milton himself afterwards told the story with some minuteness in his *History of Britain*, taking it direct from Geoffrey of Monmouth, —who therefore (and not Spenser) may be that "*Melibæus* old" from whom the Attendant Spirit learnt it in the present masque. If so, the epithet "*the sootheest shepherd that e'er piped on plains*" has a sly significance, inasmuch as Geoffrey's reputation with all matter-of-fact people was that of an unblushing preserver, if not fabricator, of old British fables. The legend is this:—On the death of the famous Brutus of Troy, the second founder of Britain, his dominions were divided into three parts: his eldest son, Locrine, taking the chief part (now England); the second, Camber, taking the west part (now Wales); and the youngest, Albanact, taking the north part, called Albania (now Scotland). This did not account for the whole island, however; for Corineus, the old comrade of Brutus, and his copartner in the conquest of the island, still reigned in Cornwall. But lo! at this crisis, when the island was thus

separated into four parts, an event or series of events which tended to bring the parts together again! There came a great invasion of the Huns, under their King, Humber; Albanact was killed; and his people were driven into the protection of Locrine, who, at the head of a general coalition, became opponent-in-chief of the Huns. Most successfully; for they were all routed, and their King drowned in the river called Humber after him. Unfortunately, however, among the spoil left by Humber was a German princess, Estrildis, of matchless beauty, with whom Locrine fell in love. As he had been previously engaged to Guendolen, daughter of Corineus, this caused a scandal; and old Corineus, going to Locrine, battle-axe in hand, compelled him to do justice to his daughter by marrying her at once. The love for Estrildis, however, still remained; and for seven years she was kept secretly in Locrine's palace; where she bore him a most beautiful daughter, Sabre or Sabrina, just about the time when Guendolen had born him a son called Madan. At length, Corineus being dead, Locrine divorced Guendolen, and openly acknowledged Estrildis and her daughter. But Guendolen was a woman of dauntless spirit; her own Cornish people, among whom she took refuge, rallied round her; she raised war against her husband, and fought a battle with him, in which he was slain. Thus supreme in Britain, and governing it for her son Madan, she took revenge on her rival and the innocent daughter. "She commanded Estrildis and her daughter Sabre," says Geoffrey, "to be thrown into the river now called Severn, and published an edict through all Britain that the river should bear the damsel's name, hoping by this to perpetuate her memory, and by that the infamy of her husband. So that to this day the river is called in the British tongue *Sabren*, which, by the corruption of the name, is in another language *Sabrina*." Milton, it will be seen, slightly varies the legend in the poem, to improve its beauty, and the better to bring out Sabrina's maiden innocence. She alone is represented as drowned in the river, and that by accident in flight from Guendolen: of the mother Estrildis nothing is said. In Spenser also it is only Sabrina that is drowned, Estrildis being otherwise disposed of by Guendolen:—

"The one she slew upon the present floure;
But the sad virgin, innocent of all,
Adoune the rolling river she did poure,
Which of her name now Severne men do call."

Milton in his prose *History of Britain* reverts to Geoffrey's rougher form of the legend.

835. "*Bearing her straight to aged Nereus' hall*." A curious blending of classic mythology with the native British legend.

Nereus is the sage and aged Greek divinity, the father of the Nereids or Sea-nymphs, dwelling always deep down in the sea, and knowing its secrets.

838. "*nectared lavers strewed with asphodel*": i.e. "in baths into which nectar had been dropped, and in which flowers of asphodel floated." *Asphodel* (whence, by corruption, our word *daffodil*) was a flower of the lily kind, the perfect mythical variety of which grew in the meadows of Heaven, where heroes took their repose.

839. "*through the porch*," etc. Perhaps, as Newton pointed out, a recollection of *Hamlet*, I. 5:—

"And in the porches of my ears did pour
The leperous distilment."

845. "*urchin-blasts*": i.e. evil strokes from the hedgehog (French *hérisson*, hedgehog). "The urchin, or hedgehog," says Warton, "from its solitariness, the ugliness of its appearance, and from a popular opinion that it sucked or poisoned the udders of cows, was adopted into the demonologic system; and its shape was sometimes supposed to be assumed by mischievous elves." He instances Caliban's enumeration of his punishments by Prospero in the *Tempest* (II. 2):—

"His spirits hear me,
And yet I needs must curse. But they'll nor pinch,
Fright me with urchin-shows, pitch me i' the mire,
Nor lead me, like a firebrand, in the dark
Out of my way, unless he bid 'em: but
For every trifle are they set upon me—
Sometimes like apes that mow and chatter at me,
And after bite me; then like hedgehogs which
Lie tumbling in my barefoot way and mount
Their prickles at my footfall."

The *urchin*, in this malicious character, is mentioned elsewhere in Shakespeare; but the present is its only appearance in Milton's poetry, whether as *urchin* or as plain hedgehog.

846. "*the shrewd meddling elf*": hardly Robin Goodfellow, but one of his fraternity. See note, *L'Allegro*, 105.

851. "*daffodils*." See note, line 838.

852. "*as the old swain said*": i.e. the Melibœus of line 822. But neither Geoffrey of Monmouth nor Spenser has this development of the legend.

863. "*amber-dropping hair*." If it be not profanation to seek a literal meaning in any of the epithets in this exquisite song, we may suppose the fancy in Milton's mind to have been that of hair of

amber colour with the waterdrops falling through it. The thought of "ambergris," though that was the chief of fragrances, is profanation; but some critics have suggested it.

867—889. "Listen, and appear to us,
In name of great Oceanus," etc.

The mythological allusions in this ditty are as follows:—*Oceanus* was the most ancient Ocean-god, the god of the great ocean-stream that was supposed, in the oldest mythical geography, to encircle the inhabited earth, the sea-ruler *Neptune* or *Poseidon*, with his earth-shaking mace or trident, is a later being. *Tethys* is the wife of *Oceanus*, and the mother of the river-gods, and is named "the venerable" in *Hesiod*. "Hoary *Nereus*" is the "*aged Nereus*" of line 835: see note there. The "*Carpathian wizard*" is the subtle *Proteus*, who could change himself into any shape: he dwelt in a cave in *Carpathus*, an island in the Mediterranean; he had a "hook," because he was a sea-shepherd and had to manage a flock, though it consisted of sea-calves (see *Virgil, Georg. IV.* 387—395, and also *Milton's Epitaph. Dam.* 99, 100). *Triton*, son of *Neptune* and *Aphrodite*, had a palace down in the sea, but generally rode on sea-horses atop of the waves, blowing his shell-trumpet (the "wreathèd horn" of *Wordsworth's* famous sonnet); he was "scaly," because the lower part of him was fish. *Glaucus* was a *Bœotian* fisherman who, having chanced to eat of a certain divine herb, was changed into a marine god; after which he rowed about islands and coasts, in strange form and with seaweeds about him, uttering oracles and prophecies, which were highly valued, especially by fishermen and sailors. *Leucothea* ("the white goddess") had not that name originally; she was first only the mortal *Ino*, the daughter of *Cadmus*, and the wife of *Athamas*, by whom she had two sons; but, the anger of several of the gods having been brought down on the family, and *Athamas* in a fit of madness having slain one of his sons, *Ino*, with the other son *Melicertes* in her arms, had thrown herself into the sea, to be converted into a sea-deity, and named *Leucothea*. "Her son that rules the strands" is the said *Melicertes*, deified at the same time, and called thenceforward *Palæmon* or *Portumnus* (the god of ports or harbours). *Thetis*, one of the daughters of *Nereus*, and therefore a sea-deity, was the wife of *Peleus*, and the mother of the great *Achilles*: *Homer's* epithet for her is "silver-footed." For the "*Sirens*" see note *ante*, lines 252—257. The "*Parthenope*" and "*Ligea*" mentioned immediately afterwards were two of these *Sirens* or singing *Sea-nymphs*. The "dear tomb" of the first was at *Naples*, where her memory was so sacred that the city itself sometimes went by her name. (See the third of *Milton's* Latin pieces, *Ad Leonoram Romæ canentem*.)

Why the other Siren should come last, employing her "golden comb" at such leisure, does not appear, unless we suppose that Milton remembered the line in Virgil (*Georg.* IV. 337) where this particular nymph is one of a group described as

"*Cæsariem effusæ nitidam per candida colla,*"

and wished also to hint at the mermaids of our Northern mythology, seen so often "combing their yellow hair."

890. "*rushy-fringed*." An adjective formed, as it were, from a previous compound noun, "*rushy-fringe*"; unless, by a very forced device, for which there is no authority, we should resolve the word thus, "*rush-yfringed*."

893, 894. "*azurn . . . turkis*." Todd derives the form "*azurn*" (azure) from the Ital. *azzurino*, as *cedarn* in a following line (990) may be from the Ital. *cedrino* (made of cedar).—*Turkis* (now *turquoise*) is the Turkish-stone, so called because, though Persian, it came by way of Turkey.

897—899. "Thus I set my printless feet
O'er the cowslip's velvet head,
That bends not as I tread."

The mere phrase "printless feet," as Warton noted, is from Shakspere (*Tempest*, V. 1):—

"Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves,
And ye that on the sands with printless foot
Do chase the ebbing Neptune."

But the special fancy of a light tread, as scarcely bending the heads of flowers and the stalks of grass, is immemorial among poets. Keats has it among the last:—

"O Sorrow,
Why dost borrow
Heart's lightness from the merriment of May?
A lover would not tread
A cowslip on the head,
Though he should dance from eve till peep of day,
Nor any drooping flower
Held sacred for thy bower,
Wherever he may sport himself and play."

914, 915. "*Thrice upon thy finger's tip,
Thrice upon thy rubied lip;*" etc.

In Browne's *Inner Temple Masque* (see note *ante*, 252—257) Circe rouses Ulysses from sleep by this charm, addressed to the sleep possessing him:—

"Thrice I charge thee by my wand;
Thrice with moly from my hand
Do I touch Ulysses' eyes," etc.

Warton, who had not observed this passage, quotes several passages from Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* containing even fainter verbal resemblances to Sabrina's speech.

921. "*To wait in Amphitrite's bower*," i.e. in the court* of Amphitrite, the wife of Neptune and Queen of the Sea.

922, 923. "*Virgin, daughter of Locrine,
Sprung of old Anchises' line.*"

According to the British legends, Brutus, the father of Locrine (see note *ante*, line 824), was the son of Silvius, who was the son of Ascanius, who was the son of the famous Æneas, the son of the Trojan Anchises.

924—937. "*May thy brimmed waves . . . groves of myrrh and cinnamon.*" The whole of this poetical blessing on the Severn and its neighbourhood, involving at the end, though in purposely gorgeous language, the wish of what we should call "solid commercial prosperity," would go to the heart of the assemblage at Ludlow. Drayton had said much about the Severn in the first eight Songs of his *Polyolbion*; and there is an elaborate personification of her in the Fifth Song, followed by a speech from her.

927. "*tumble*": misprinted "*tumbled*" in the Second Edition. The "*snowy hills*" of the line are, of course, the Welsh mountains, whence come the feeders of the Severn.

929. "*thy tresses fair*": i.e. the foliage along the banks of the Severn.

932—937. "*May thy billows roll ashore
The beryl and the golden ore;
May thy lofty head be crowned
With many a tower and terrace round,
And here and there thy banks upon
With groves of myrrh and cinnamon.*"

Here Milton's glance seems to quiver irregularly along the course of the Severn: first taking it at its mouth in Gloucestershire, where it opens into a sea-firth, and where alone it could be properly said to have "billows"; then mounting to its "lofty head" in Welsh Plinlimmon, and following it thence through Montgomeryshire to Shrewsbury and so through the rest of its curve.—The construction of the last two lines has puzzled critics. Whether "*head*" be taken

for "source," or regarded as a synecdoche for the whole river, is it not something of a mixed metaphor, they have asked, to pray first that this *head* may be crowned "with many a tower and terrace round," and then that it may be crowned *upon its banks* "with groves of myrrh and cinnamon"? To obviate the difficulty, it has even been proposed to tamper with the text, and change the "*With*" of line 937 into *Be*. But the true key seems to be furnished in a scholarly note which Todd quotes, without comment, from Mr. Calton. The note suggested that Milton let his idiom be affected by the recollection at once of two allied Greek verbs,—*περιστεφανώω*, to crown, in the sense of to *put a crown round*, and *ἐπιστεφανώω*, to crown, in the sense of to *put a crown upon*,—and that his meaning was "May thy lofty head be *crowned round* with many a tower and terrace, and thy banks here and there be *crowned upon* with groves," etc. By this reading "*banks*" in line 936 is to be taken as a nominative to a second "*be crowned*" omitted.

946, 947. • "And not many furlongs thence
Is your Father's residence."

As the play was going on *within* that residence, the words may have had a whimsical effect. Of course, however, what scenery there was on the stage represented them as still in the "gloomy covert" or wood, some furlongs from Ludlow.

958—965. "*Back, shepherds, back!*" etc. Understand that, in the few minutes that have elapsed since the last speech, the Attendant Spirit, the Lady, and her two Brothers, are supposed to have walked the several furlongs intervening between the wood of Comus and Ludlow town and castle. When they come there (and, to aid the fancy that they have done so, the former scene has been removed from the stage and a picture of Ludlow town and castle substituted) it is broad daylight; and they find, as they had expected, the town all astir, welcoming the Earl, and country lads and lasses before the castle dancing,—i.e. the stage in possession of a number of supernumeraries, dressed as peasants, and engaged in a merry country-dance. It is to these that the Attendant Spirit, appearing suddenly with his three precious charges, addresses the present speech in the form of a song. In effect, it is "Begone, ye clodhoppers; ye have had enough of it; and here are three whose style of dancing will be different!" Compare the country merrymaking in *L'Allegro* (92—98), from which the line "*Till next sunshine holiday*" is almost a repetition.—"*Duck or nod*" characterises the style of the clodhoppers; the dance to come is to be a lighter tripping in "court guise," dainty as that which Mercury might have devised on some Greek meadow for the Dryades or Wood-nymphs.

966—975. *Noble Lord and Lady bright*," etc. Imagine the cheering when Lawes, advancing with the three young ones, addressed this speech to the Earl and Countess of Bridgewater, they perhaps rising and bowing. When the speech was ended, there was more dancing, in which other ladies and gentlemen, we are to suppose, figured with Lady Alice and her Brothers; after which nothing remained but Lawes's *Epilogue*. For the difference between the *Epilogue* as actually spoken and the *Epilogue* as it had been written by Milton and is now printed, see *Intro.* I. pp. 161-2 and 166-7.

976—979. "*To the ocean now I fly*," etc. These four lines are in the very rhythm and rhyme of the first four in Ariel's song in the *Tempest* (V. 1):—

"Where the bee sucks, there suck I," etc.

979. "*the broad fields of the sky*." Warton cites Virgil's "*Aeris in campis latis*" (*Æn.* VI. 888).

982, 983. "*Hesperus and his daughters three*," etc. See *ante*, note 393. Hesperus, the brother of Atlas, was the father of the Hesperides.—"*golden tree*." Usually it is only the apples of the tree that are represented as golden; but Ovid, as Warton noted, makes the tree itself gold.

990. "*cedarn*." See note, line 893.

993. "*blow*." An active verb here, as occasionally with Milton's contemporaries.

995. "*purfled*": i.e. fringed, embroidered with colours or gold (from French *pourfiler*): a rather common old word. Thus Spenser (*F. Q.* I. ii. 13):—

"A goodly lady clad in scarlot red,
Purfled with gold and pearle of rich assay."

997. "*(List, mortals, if your ears be true)*": i.e. "if you have minds fine enough to perceive the real meaning of the legends I am about to cite."

999—1011. "*young Adonis . . . his deep wound . . . the Assyrian queen . . . celestial Cupid . . . holds his dear Psyche*." In those happy regions of the air to which the Spirit is ascending there are not only, he means to say, all those physical delights he has been describing,—the gardens, the shades and bowers, the eternal summer, the odours, the flowers; there is also, in a higher way than can be conceived on Earth, the full experience of that passion of Love which counts for so much in all human histories, and on the recognition of which, though in its most ignoble form, even Comus

might be said to have based his action. It was just because Comus had misapprehended Love, knew nothing of it except in its vile counterfeit, that he had been outwitted and defeated. But there *is* true Love, and it is to be found in Heaven! Yes, whatever of fine and good significance may be discerned in such an earthly myth, say, as that of Venus (identified with "the Assyrian queen," Astarte) grieving over her wounded Adonis (Thammuz: see note, *Par. Lost*, I. 446—457), to *that* Heaven itself contains something to correspond! Much more is there realised there the highly spiritual or pre-eminently celestial love set forth perhaps in the famous Greek myth of Cupid and Psyche, where Psyche (the Human Soul), parted from her beloved Cupid, has to wander about sadly and undergo all kinds of sufferings and humiliations, till at last, becoming immortal, she is united to him for ever, with the consent of all the gods!—Such I take to be that allegorical meaning to which the parenthesis in line 997 points as underlying the whole passage. It is, in fact, one of Milton's favourite ideas, sometimes assumed by him implicitly in his poetry, sometimes expounded and argued by him as a notion of the Platonic kind, involving a truth beyond the scope of common spirits. See *Lycid.* 172—177, *Epitaph. Dam.* 212—219, *Par. Lost*, VIII. 612—629; also some sentences in the autobiographic passage in the *Smectymnuan Apology* already referred to more than once, and some passages in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. In one of the passages in the *Apology*, where the myth of Cupid and Psyche is evidently again in Milton's mind, commentators have noted that "Knowledge and Virtue" are the twins of Psyche's celestial generation, and not, as now, "Youth and Joy." They find a reason for this in the greater gravity of spirit which eight years had brought upon Milton. He was in his twenty-sixth year when he wrote *Comus*, in his thirty-fourth when he wrote the *Apology*.—In Spenser's *Faery Queene* there is a passage (III. vi., stanzas 46—52) where the myths of Venus and Adonis and Cupid and Psyche are similarly lifted up into Heaven. "Pleasure" is there the offspring of Psyche. Milton must have known the passage well.—The word "*advanced*" in line 1004 seems to agree with "*Psyche*" in the following line; the meaning being "Celestial Cupid, her famed son, holds his dear Psyche, in her now promoted condition." Or it may mean "put forward."

1016, 1017. "And from thence can soar as soon
To the corners of the moon."

As Warton pointed out, there is a double touch from Shakespeare here: from *Mids. N. Dr.* (IV. 1) where Oberon sings:—

"We the globe can compass soon
Swifter than the wandering moon";

and from Hecate's phrase in *Macbeth* (III. 5):—

"Upon the corner of the moon
There hangs a vaporous drop profound."

"Corner" here retains the sense of its original (*cornu*, a horn).

1021. "*Higher than the sphery chime.*" See note, *Arcad.* 63—73.

1022, 1023. "*Or, if Virtue feeble were,
Heaven itself would stoop to her.*"

Respecting these closing lines of *Comus*, in which the moral of the poem is summed up, there is an interesting anecdote:—Returning to England in 1639, after his year and more of continental travel and residence in Italy, Milton passed through Geneva. There was then residing there, as teacher of Italian, or the like, a certain Camillo Cerdogni or Cardouin, of Neapolitan birth, and of Protestant opinions; and this Cardouin, or his family (for he had been in Geneva since 1608, and must have now been advanced in life), kept an Album, in which it was their habit to secure the autographs of distinguished persons passing through the town. The volume itself, rich with signatures and inscriptions and scraps of verse in all languages, is still extant. It was purchased in Geneva for a few shillings in 1834, brought to England, sold once or twice by auction, and at last taken to America, where it was in the possession of the Hon. Charles Sumner. Among the autographs in it are those of not a few eminent Englishmen of Milton's time, including Thomas Wentworth, afterwards the famous Earl of Strafford; but the most valued autograph is Milton's. It is as follows (all in Milton's hand except the date):—

—if Vertue feeble were
Heaven it selfe would stoope to her.

Cælum non animum muto dum trans mare curro.

JOANNES MILTONIUS,

Junii 10, 1639.

Anglus.

Milton, taken perhaps by Dr. Diodati of Geneva, the uncle of his friend Charles, to see the Cardouins, had been asked to comply with the family weakness for autographs; and, when the pen was in his hand, the above is what occurred to him. If we combine the English lines with the Latin addition, it is as if he said "The closing words of my own *Comus* are a permanent maxim with me."

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The text of *Comus* as published by Milton himself in the editions of 1645 and 1673 supersedes, of course, the text of Lawes's printed edition of 1637, and also the two MS. texts mentioned in our

Introduction to the poem, Vol. I. p. 154: viz. (1) Milton's original draft in his own hand, now among the Cambridge MSS., (2) the Bridgewater MS., apparently the stage-copy used by Lawes for the actual performance at Ludlow in 1634,—of which MS. there was a special printed edition by Todd at Canterbury in 1798. It is interesting, however, to note the variations from the present text furnished by these earlier and less perfect texts. The following is an arranged digest of the information on that subject given by Todd, as it appears at pp. 180—194 of the 1852 issue of his edition of Milton's Poetical Works.

I. VARIATIONS IN THE STAGE-DIRECTIONS.—For the present opening stage-direction,—“*The first Scene discovers a wild wood. The ATTENDANT SPIRIT descends or enters,*”—the original Milton draft at Cambridge has “*The first Scene discovers a wild wood. A Guardian Spirit or Dæmon*”; and the Bridgewater MS. has “*The first Scene discovers a wild wood: then a Guardian Spirit or Dæmon descends or enters.*”—For the second stage-direction (after line 92) the Cambridge draft has: “*Goes out.—COMUS enters, with a charming-rod and glass of liquour, with his rout all headed like some wild beasts, their garments some like men's and some like women's. They come on in a wild and antic fashion. Intrant κωμάζοντες.*” The Bridgewater MS. has “*COMUS enters, with a charming-rod in one hand and a glass of liquour in the other; with him a rout of monsters, like men and women, but headed like wild beasts,*” etc.—For the present simple stage-direction after line 144, “*The Measure,*” the Cambridge draft gives “*The Measure, in a wild, rude, and wanton antic,*” and the Bridgewater MS. retains the same.—After line 147, where there is no stage-direction now, both the Cambridge draft and the Bridgewater MS. give the direction, “*They all scatter.*”—Before line 244, where there is no stage-direction now, both the Cambridge draft and the Bridgewater MS. give the direction “*Comus looks in and speaks.*”—After line 330, instead of the present direction “*The TWO BROTHERS,*” the Cambridge draft gives the fuller direction “*Exeunt: The TWO BROTHERS enter.*”—For the present stage-direction after line 489, “*The ATTENDANT SPIRIT, habited like a shepherd,*” the Cambridge draft gives “*He hallos: the GUARDIAN DÆMON hallos again, and enters in the habit of a shepherd,*” and the Bridgewater MS. gives “*He hallos and is answered: the GUARDIAN DÆMON comes in, habited like a shepherd.*”—The phrase “*Soft music*” in the first sentence of the present stage-direction after line 658 does not occur in either the Cambridge draft or the Bridgewater MS.; and for the second sentence as it now stands the Cambridge draft has “*COMUS is discovered with his rabble, and THE LADY set in an enchanted chair: she offers to rise.*”—For the present stage-direction after line 813 the Cambridge draft has “*The BROTHERS rush in,*

strike his glass down: the Shapes make as though they would resist, but are all driven in. DÆMON enters with them." The Bridgewater MS. has the present stage-direction, save that the words "*of liquor*" follow the word "*glass*," and that the last sentence runs thus: "*The DÆMON is to come in with the BROTHERS.*"—After line 866 (*i.e.* between the words "Listen, and save!" and the words "Listen, and appear to us"), where there is no stage-direction now, the Cambridge draft has the direction "*To be said*," showing that Milton meant the singing to cease at this point, and the sequel, as far as to line 889, to be recited only; but in the Bridgewater MS. the direction is changed into "*The verse to sing or not*," as if, before the actual performance at Ludlow, it had occurred to Lawes that the twenty-three lines from 867 to 889 might be sung, as well as the preceding eight from 859 to 866. On this supposition, the Bridgewater MS., or stage-copy, goes on to indicate, by marginal notes, how the twenty-three lines might be distributed in the singing. Lawes himself, as the Attendant Spirit, was to continue singing in solo as far as to line 870; but prefixed to line 871 is the direction "*El. B.*," showing that here the Elder Brother was to supersede Lawes. Then, prefixed to line 873, comes the direction "*2 Bro.*," calling on the Younger Brother to be the singer of the next two lines; after which "*El. B.*" comes in again for lines 875, 876, "*2 Bro.*" for lines 877, 878, and "*El. B.*" again for the four lines 879—882: at which point "*Dem.*" *i.e.* Lawes, resumes in solo and brings the song on to its second close, "Listen, and save!" Whether this arrangement was carried out in the performance at Ludlow, or the twenty-three lines were given in mere recitative by Lawes, as Milton had originally intended, must be left to conjecture.—After line 937 both the MSS. have the direction "*Song ends*"; and, whereas in the present text the following twenty lines (938—957) are all spoken by the Attendant Spirit, the Bridgewater MS. directs the first six of them to be spoken by the Elder Brother (the word "*Sister*" taking the place of the present word *Lady* in line 938), the next twelve by the Attendant Spirit, and the last two by the Elder Brother again.—For the present stage-direction after line 957 the Cambridge draft gives "*Exeunt. The Scene changes, and then is presented Ludlow town, and the President's Castle; then enter Country Dances and such like gambols, etc. At these sports the DÆMON, with the Two BROTHERS and the LADY, enter. The Dæmon sings.*" The Bridgewater MS. gives "*The Scene changes; then is presented Ludlow town, and the President's Castle; then come in Country Dances and the like, etc. Towards the end of these sports the Dæmon with the two Brothers and the Lady come in. The SPIRIT sings.*"—After line 965 the Cambridge MS. has no stage-direction beyond the words "*2 Song*"; but the Bridgewater MS. gives it nearly as now: "*2 Song*

presents them to their Father and Mother."—After line 975 the stage-direction in the Cambridge draft is "*The DÆMON sings or says*"; in the Bridgewater MS. it is "*They dance: the dances all ended, the DÆMON sings or says.*"¹ What he does sing or say in this MS., however, is not the whole of the present Epilogue, from line 976 to line 1023, but only the two concluding stanzas of it (1012—1023). Twenty of the omitted lines had already been used in the MS. as part of the Prologue to the Masque. In what manner and for what purpose they were used has been explained in the Introduction.

II. CANCELLED PASSAGES AND LINES OF THE ORIGINAL DRAFT:—These are of two classes—(1) Passages and Lines rejected and scored through by Milton, either during the process of the composition, or on first revision, but which may be still deciphered in the Cambridge draft; and (2) Passages and Lines which he left standing in that draft, but afterwards rejected. We shall give the passages of both sets indiscriminately, as Todd has noted them, in the order of their occurrence, but with our present spelling.

After the present line 4, the Cambridge draft exhibits these fourteen lines, rejected by Milton in the act of composing, and crossed out by his pen:—

"Amidst the Hesperian gardens, on whose banks,
Bedewed with nectar and celestial songs,
Eternal roses grow, and hyacinths,
And fruits of golden rind, on whose fair tree
The scaly-harnessed dragon ever keeps
His unenchanted eye, around the verge
And sacred limits of this blissful Isle
The jealous Ocean, that old river, winds
His far-extended arms, till with steep fall
Half his waste flood the wild Atlantic fills,
And half the slow unfathomed Stygian pool.
But soft! I was not sent to court your wonder
With distant worlds and strange removed climes.
Yet thence I come, and oft from thence behold"

Then what is now line 5 ran on thus: "The smoke and stir of this dim narrow spot." When Milton had rejected the lines he adapted line 5 to the omission by prefixing the word "Above," and erasing "narrow." It is worth observing that, though his taste rejected so many lines here, he afterwards used some of the ideas and expressions,—"Hesperian," "dragon," "unenchanted eye,"—at lines 393—395.

After line 7 the Cambridge draft shows this line, erased by Milton's pen:—

"Beyond the written date of mortal change."

He reserves the phrase "mortal change," however, for line 10.

Lines 134—137 ran thus in the Cambridge draft:—

"Stay thy polished ebon chair
Wherein thou rid'st with Hecate,
And favour our close jocondry,
Till all thy dues," etc.

The third of these lines was rejected, and the passage otherwise improved.

Instead of the present line 216, "*I see ye visibly and now believe*," the Cambridge draft had three lines, thus :—

"I see ye visibly ; and, while I see ye,
This dusky hollow is a Paradise,
And Heaven gates o'er my head ; now I believe."

For the present lines 355—366 the Cambridge draft had

"She leans her thoughtful head, musing at our unkindness ;
Or, lost in wild amazement and affright,
So fares as did forsaken Proserpine,
When the big rolling flakes of pitchy clouds
And darkness wound her in.

I *Br.* Peace, brother, peace !

I do not think my sister," etc.

The passage remains so in the Bridgewater MS., with but the substitution of "*else*" for "*lost*" in the second line. Milton's subsequent improvements, it will be seen, consisted partly in the *addition* of seven new lines at the beginning of the Elder Brother's speech ; but he also *rejected* nearly three whole lines of the above, substituting for them the two present lines 357, 358.

For lines 384, 385, the Cambridge draft had

"Walks in black vapours, though the noon-tide brand
Blaze in the summer solstice."

This is retained in the Bridgewater MS. The substitution of the present lines was caused, probably, by a wish to *reject* these.

For the present two lines 409, 410 the Cambridge draft and the Bridgewater MS. both give us these seven :—

"Secure without all doubt or question. No :
I could be willing, though now i' the dark, to try
A tough encounter with the shaggiest ruffian
That lurks by hedge or lane of this dead circuit,
To have her by my side, though I were sure
She might be free from peril where she is ;
But, where an equal poise," etc.

For the present two lines 422, 423 the Cambridge draft had these three :—

"And may, on every needful accident,
Be it not done in pride or wilful tempting,
Walk through huge forests," etc.

Here the improvement consisted partly in *addition*, but chiefly in *rejection*.

After line 429 the Cambridge draft has this line, scored for erasure :—

“And yawning dens, where glaring monsters house.”

As the line occurs in the Bridgewater MS., the erasure must have been an afterthought.

The present line 490 is a substitute for the following in the Cambridge draft :—

“Had best look to his forehead : here be brambles.”

Lines 607—609 stood thus in the Cambridge draft :—

“And force him to release his new-got prey,
Or drag him by the curls, and cleave his scalp
Down to the hips” ;

and the Bridgewater MS. keeps the two last lines so. Lawes's printed text, while altering the passage nearly to its present form, retains “Or cleave his scalp down to the hips.”

Line 658 stood thus in the Cambridge draft :—

“And good Heaven cast his best regard upon us.”

Between line 678 and line 679 the Cambridge draft had

“Poor Lady, thou hast need of some refreshing.”

This is retained in the Bridgewater MS. ; where, however, the passage is otherwise contracted considerably.

Between line 713 and line 714 the Cambridge draft had

“The fields with cattle, and the air with fowl”

Between line 846 and line 847 the Cambridge draft has

“And often takes our cattle with strange pinches.”

For the present line 895—“*That in the channel stays,*”—the Cambridge draft had

“That my rich wheels inlays.”

For the present line 983—“*That sing about the golden tree,*”—the Cambridge draft shows an intention to substitute

“Where grows the high-borne gold upon his native tree” ;

but the line is scored out.

Between line 995 and line 996 the Cambridge draft has this, crossed for erasure :—

“Yellow, watchet, green, and blue.”

III. PASSAGES OF THE PRESENT TEXT WANTING IN THE ORIGINAL CAMBRIDGE DRAFT:—One of these has been already mentioned: viz. the nine lines 357—365, in place of which the original draft gave three lines, afterwards rejected. Besides this, however, the twenty-six lines from “Shall I go on?” in line 779 to “And try her yet more strongly” in line 806 are mentioned by Todd as wanting in the original draft; also the four lines 984—987; also the beautiful passage about Adonis and Psyche, lines 999—1011. It may be here noted also that the thirty-four lines now numbered 672—705, containing Comus’s recommendation of the “cordial julep” and the Lady’s rejection of the same, do not come in at quite so early a point in the original draft, but about fifty lines later,—i.e. at what is now line 755. That line originally stood thus: “Think what, and look upon this cordial julep”; and the further recommendation of the julep by Comus, with the Lady’s rejection of it, followed. The throwing back of this incident fifty lines in the Masque was a rather important change.

IV. PASSAGES OF THE PRESENT TEXT WANTING IN THE BRIDGE-WATER STAGE-COPY:—The three beautiful lines 188—190; the thirty lines and a half beginning “Else, O thievish Night,” line 195, and ending “this tufted grove,” line 225; the nine lines 357—365, mentioned above as wanting also in the Cambridge draft; the six lines 632—637; the four lines 697—700; the words “the forehead of the deep, and so bestud” in lines 733, 734; the twenty lines beginning “List, Lady,” line 737, and ending “you are but young yet,” line 756; the twenty-seven lines beginning “Shall I go on?” in line 779 and ending “And try her yet more strongly” in line 806,—this passage wanting also in the Cambridge draft; the single line 847; also the four lines 984—987, and the twelve, 1000—1011, in the Guardian Spirit’s Epilogue (wanting also in the Cambridge draft), the rest of that Epilogue, as has been mentioned, having been turned into a Prologue to the Masque in the actual performance.—What reasons can be assigned for these defects in the stage-copy? In several cases the reason is obvious. Some of the passages wanting in the stage-copy are wanting also in the Cambridge draft, and were therefore not extant at the time of the Ludlow performance, but were added afterwards. It is interesting to note that each of these added passages is a fine one, and that one of them (779—806) contains that exposition of the “power of chastity,” or that “sage and serious doctrine of Virginitv,” which is the main moral of the Masque. But why were the other passages of the present text, which were also in the original draft, and therefore available for the Ludlow performance, omitted in that performance? Some of them may have been omitted from mere inadvertence (e.g. 733, 734 and 847), or merely to lighten the speaking here and there, especially

for the young Lady Alice Egerton (*e.g.* 195—225); but in one or two cases I think a deeper reason may be perceived. If the reader will look at the omitted passages 195—225, and 697—700, he will see that they are such as the Earl and Countess of Bridgewater would hardly have liked to hear their young daughter, on the stage in Ludlow Castle, speaking aloud or having audibly addressed to her. *That* may have been the reason of the omission of these passages from the stage-copy, though they were in Milton's original draft. The moral of the Masque would be sufficiently clear to the spectators without them, expressed as it was by the mere succession of the incidents and situations, and by the dialogue of the Boy Brothers in lines 350—475, though several lines in that dialogue were less emphatic in the original draft and the stage-copy than they are now in the printed text. We can see that Milton took care, in that text, to make the expression of the moral more definite. Not only did he restore the passages of the original draft that had been omitted in the stage-copy; but he added the long passage 779—806, which had not been in the original draft.

V. MORE MINUTE VARIATIONS:—These are very numerous, especially if we include not only the improvements made in the printed text upon the text as it finally stood in the Cambridge draft, but also (what we have hardly a right to do, though Todd does it) the original readings in the draft itself visible under the subsequent amendments. The following are perhaps the most important, C standing for the Cambridge draft and B for the Bridgewater MS. —For line 21 C had first "The rule and title of each sea-girt isle." For "the main" in line 28 C had "his empire." For line 58 C had "Which therefore she brought up and named him Comus," and B "Which therefore she brought up and Comus named." For line 90 C had "Nearest and likeliest to give present aid." For "Atlantic" in line 97 C had "Tartarian." For "dusky" in line 99 B gives "northern," and C had the same at first, though "dusky" is given in the margin. For "Advice with" in line 108 C had "quick Law with her." For "hath" in line 123 both C and B have "has," and the grammatical change is worth noting. For line 133 C has first "And makes a blot of nature," next "And throws a blot o'er all the air." For line 144 C had "With a light and frolic round." For "charms" in line 150 C gives "trains," and for "my wily trains" in the next line "my mother's charms." For "dazzling" in line 154 C gives "powdered." For "snares" in line 164 C gives "nets." For "mine" in line 170 both C and B give "my," and the change is worth noting. For "granges" in line 175 C had "garners." For "mazes" in line 181 C had "alleys" and for "tangled" in the same line "arched." For "wain" in line 190 C had "chair." For line 194 C gives "To the soon-

parting light, and envious Darkness"; and for "stole" in the next line both C and B give "stolne,"—which reading was retained in Lawes's printed edition. For the fine phrase, "that syllable men's names," in line 208, C had the much feebl̄er one, "that hure night-wanderers." For "hovering" in line 214 C had "flittering," retained in Lawes's printed text; and for "unblemished" in the following line C had "unspotted." For "guardian" in line 219 C had "cherub." For "shell" in line 231 C had "cell." For "give resounding grace" in line 243 C had originally "hold a counterpoint": this reading is carefully erased there, and the present substituted; but "hold a counterpoint" is the reading in the Bridgewater MS. For "it" in line 252 both C and B have "she," and Lawes's printed text retains "she": the change is worth noting. For "wept" in line 257 C had "would weep," and for "And chid" in the following line "Chiding." For "prosperous" in line 270 C and B give "prospering." For "near-ushering guides" in line 279 C had "their ushering hands." For "the sure guess" in line 310 C had "sure steerage." For "Or shroud within these limits" in line 316 C gives "Within these shroudy limits." For "And yet is most pretended" in line 326 C gives "And is pretended yet." For "amongst rude burs and thistles" in line 352 C had "in this dead solitude." For "sweet retired solitude" in line 376 C had "solitary sweet retire." For "weeds" in line 390 C gives "beads," and for "His few books, or his beads" in the following line "His books, or his hair gown." For "wild surrounding waste" in line 403 C had first "wide surrounding waste"; and this is retained in B, but was altered in C into "vast and hideous wild." For "rays" in line 425 C had "awe." For "Some say" in line 432 C and B give "Nay more." For "meagre" in line 434 C had "wrinkled." For "lewd and lavish" in line 465 C had "the lascivious" and B "lewd lascivious." For "sepulchres" in line 471 C gives "monuments," and for "Lingering" in the next line C, B, and Lawes's printed text all give "Hovering." For "roving robber" in line 485 C had originally "curled man of the sword"; then "hedger." For "iron" in line 491 C had "pointed." For "dale" in line 496 C had "valley." For "swain" in line 497 C and B give "shepherd," and for "Slipped from the fold" in the next line C had "Leapt o'er the pen." For "ye" in line 513 C, B, and Lawes's printed text all give "you." For "hilly crofts" in line 531 C had "pastured lawns." In C the two lines 555, 556 were originally "At last a soft and solemn-breathing sound Rose like the soft steam of distilled perfumes"; the first "soft" was changed to "still" and then to "sweet," and with this last change the lines appear in B: afterwards, however, "soft" was readmitted in C in the first line, the "soft" in the second giving place first to "slow" and then to "rich." For "monstrous

forms" in line 605 both C and B give "monstrous bugs," and the change is notable. For "unthread" in line 614 C gives "unquilt." For "names" in line 627 C gives "hues." For "That Hermes once" in line 636 C had "Which Mercury." For "dauntless hardihood" in line 650 C had "sudden violence." For "or as Daphne" in line 661 C had "fixed as Daphne." For "fur" in line 707 C had "gown," and for "Thronging" in line 713 "Cramming." Lines 732—734 stood, as five lines, thus in C:—

"The sea oerfraught would heave her waters up
Above the stars, and the unsought diamonds
Would so bestud the centre with their star-light
And so emblaze the forehead of the deep,
Were they not taken thence, that they below" etc.

For "with languished head" in line 744 C gives "and fades away." For "complexions" in line 749 C had "beetle brows." For "Come, no more" in line 806 C had "Come, y' are too moral"; and instead of the next three lines these two:—

"This is mere moral stuff, the very lees
And settlings," etc.

For "rod" in line 816 C had "art." For "Some other means I have which" in line 821 C had "There is another way that." For "pearled" in line 834 C had "white," and for "took" in the same line "received." Line 851 in C ran thus, "Of pansies and of bonnie daffodils," and line 853 thus, "Each clasping charm and secret holding spell." For "art sitting" in line 860 C had originally "sit'st." For "Brightest" in line 910 C had "Virtuous." Line 921 in C ran thus "To wait on Amphitrite in her bower." For "sits" in line 957 C had "reigns." Lines 962, 963 ran thus in C:—

"Of nimbler toes, and courtly guise
Such as Hermes did devise" etc.

For "broad" in line 979 C gives "plain." Lines 990, 991 stood thus in C:—

"About the myrtle alleys fling
Balm and cassia's fragrant smells."

For "Elysian" in line 996 C had "Sabæan," besides an earlier reading, cancelled; and for "young Adonis oft" in line 999 "many a cherub soft." For "task is smoothly" in line 1012 C gives "message well is"; for "green Earth's end" in line 1014 "Earth's green end," besides a previous reading cancelled; for "slow" in line 1015 "low" or "cleaf"; and for "stoop" in line 1023 "bow." B retains "Earth's green end."

LYCIDAS.

ARGUMENT.—The last word of the Argument is spelt “*height*,” as now, in both Milton’s own editions, and not “*highth*,” as usual with him.

1. “*Yet once more, O ye laurels, and once more.*” Some such formula was frequent with poets in beginning a new exercise of their art. “*Yet once again, my Muse,*” is an example quoted by Warton from an anonymous elegy on the death of the Countess of Pembroke, Sidney’s sister. In the present case, the formula has additional significance from the fact that three years had elapsed since Milton had written *Comus*, and in that interval, so far as we know, he had done nothing in English verse. A new occasion, he seems to say, compels him, amid his harder studies, to resume his pen in that style.—This first line of the poem, it is worth observing, stands without any following rhyme.

3—5. “*I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude . . . before the mellowing year.*” The critics have detected in this a “beautiful allusion to the unripe age of his friend.” But have they not missed the real meaning? The “laurels,” the “myrtles,” and the “ivy never sere” (never dry, ever green), are the plants that supply poets with their wreaths; to “pluck their berries” or abstract their “leaves” is to solicit such a wreath,—i.e. to write a poem; and to pluck the berries when they are “harsh and crude,” or “shatter the leaves” by hastily fingering them before the due season (“the mellowing year”), is to yield to the temptation of writing a poem on some sudden occasion, instead of reserving oneself for a fuller and riper work. The sequel shows that this is Milton’s meaning.

7. “*Compels.*” Notice the singular verb after the two nominatives.

8, 9. “*Lycidas is dead . . . young Lycidas.*” A form of repetition not uncommon: thus in the lines in Spenser’s *Astrophel* (Elegy on Sir Philip Sidney) quoted by Mr. Browne:—

“Young Astrophel, the pride of shepherd’s praise,
Young Astrophel, the rustick lasses’ love.”

Again in the same poet’s Eleventh Eclogue:—

“For dead is Dido, dead, alas! and drent;
Dido, the great shepherd his daughter sheene.”

The name *Lycidas*, chosen by Milton for Edward King, is taken, as was customary in such elegies, from the classic pastorals. It occurs in Theocritus; and Virgil has the name for one of the speakers in

his Ninth Eclogue. The only real Lycidas whose existence is registered in our Biographical Dictionaries was an Athenian of that name (Λυκίδης) who was stoned to death by his fellow-citizens, B.C. 479.

10. "*Who would not sing for Lycidas?*" This is after Virgil in his Tenth Eclogue:—

"Pauca meo Gallo, sed quæ legat ipsa Lycoris,
Carmina sunt dicenda: neget quis carmina Gallo?"

10, 11.

"he knew

Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme."

To "*build the lofty rhyme*" (so spelt here, and not *rime*) has its original, as Newton pointed out, either in Horace's "*seu condis amabile carmen*" (Epist. I. iii. 24), or, as Hurd pointed out, in the still bolder phrase of Euripides, ἀοιδὰς ἐπύργωσε (*Supplices*, 998). For the nature and amount of King's claims to the poetical character, see Introd. I. pp. 188—190.

13. "*Unwept, and welter to the parching wind.*" The second non-rhyming line in the poem.

14. "*melodious tear.*" This use of "*tear*" for "*lamentation*" or "*elegy*" was not uncommon, even in titles to poems: thus Spenser's "*Tears of the Muses.*" In Milton's *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester* (line 55) we have "*tears of perfect moan.*" Curiously enough, Milton's college-fellow Cleveland, afterwards known as a sativist, says, in that very poem of his on King's death which was bound up in the same volume with *Lycidas* (see Introd. I. p. 192), "*I like not tears in tune.*" Had he read Milton's monody in MS. or in proof; and was this a sneer at one of its phrases?—Observe that in the opening paragraph of the poem, which the word *tear* ends, the sound of that word is the dominant rhyme. It possesses six lines out of the fourteen.

15. "*Begin, then, Sisters of the sacred well.*" The third non-rhyming line in the poem.

15, 16. "*the sacred well that from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring*": i.e. the Pierian Spring at the foot of Mount Olympus in Thessaly, the great Homeric seat of the Gods. This was the original birthplace and abode of the Muses, daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne; though afterwards their worship was transferred to Mount Helicon in Boeotia, with its fountains Aganippe and Hippocrene.

19—22. "*So may some gentle Muse*

With lucky words favour my destined urn," etc.

I have ventured to italicise the word *my* in this passage, to bring out fully the meaning. It "Let me, with whatever reluctance, write this memorial poem now, if I would hope that, when *I* am dead, some one may write with kindly interest of *me*." The word "*Muse*" stands for "poet"; hence the "he" following.

22. "*And bid fair peace be to my sable shroud!*" The fourth unrhyming line in the poem. I agree with Todd and some other editors in making this line end the second paragraph of the poem, although in Milton's own editions the paragraph includes the two subsequent lines, ending at "*rill*." The reason may have been a wish to end the paragraph with a rhyme; but this appears insufficient, in face of the logical objection.

23—36. "*For we were nursed upon the self-same hill,
Fed the same flock,*" etc.

Here the language of the pastoral is used, as was the rule in all such poems, to veil and at the same time express real facts. Milton and King had been fellow-students at Christ's College, Cambridge, visiting each other's rooms, taking walks together, performing academic exercises in common, exchanging literary confidences; all which, translated into the language of the pastoral, makes them fellow-shepherds, who had driven their flock a-field together in the morning, and fed it all day by the same shades and rills, not without mutual *ditties* on their oaten flutes, when sometimes other shepherds, or even Fauns and Satyrs, would be listening.

26. "*Under the opening eyelids of the Morn.*" This noble phrase, found also in other poets (Sylvester and Middleton, for example), was possible, one would think, as a flash of derivative invention from the more general expression, "the eye of day" (*Pens.* 141, and *Com.* 978). Todd, however, found an original for it in a marginal reading in the Authorised Version of the Bible. In Job iii. 9, where the afflicted patriarch is cursing the day of his birth, saying "Let the stars of the twilight thereof be dark; let it look for light, but have none; neither let it see the dawning of the day," the alternative reading for "dawning of the day," offered in the margin as more true to the Hebrew, is "*the eyelids of the morning*." The "high lawns" appearing "under the opening eyelids of the morn," is, however, a picture apart, and it is Milton's own.

28. "*What time the grey-fly.*" The grey-fly is called also "the trumpet-fly."

29. "*Battening*": i.e. feeding (Icelandic *batna*, to grow better, Mr. Skeat notes, tracing the word to the root *bat*, good, the lost positive of *better*). The verb, like *feed* itself, is both active and neuter.

- 34-36. "*Rough Satyrs dance, and Fauns with cloven heel
From the glad sound would not be absent long;
And old Dametas loved to hear our song.*"

The "*Satyrs*" and "*Fauns*" may be the miscellaneous Cambridge undergraduates; and "*old Dametas*" may be some fellow or tutor of Christ's College, if not Dr. Bainbrigg, the master. William Chappell, who had been both King's and Milton's tutor there, was now Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; but Joseph Meade, the Apocalyptic Commentator, who must have been well known to them both, was still a fellow of the college, and one of the noted characters of Cambridge. The pastoral name *Dametas*, taken from the Sixth Idyll of Theocritus and the Third Eclogue of Virgil, has a sound of "Meade" in it. Such minute personal identification is, of course, now as futile as it is unnecessary; but, while Milton wrote, a vision of some particular person at Cambridge did certainly pass across his mind.

39. "*Thee, Shepherd, thee the woods and desert caves.*" The fifth non-rhyming line in the poem.

40. "*gadding*": straggling, restless.

45. "*As killing as the canker to the rose.*" Warton and Todd have noted Shakespeare's fondness for this simile.

46. "*taint-worm to the weanling herds.*" According to Sir Thomas Browne in his *Vulgar Errors* (Book III. c. 27), the name "*taint*" or "*tinct*" was given, in certain parts of England, not to a worm, but to a very minute kind of red spider, which appeared in summer, and which was supposed to be deadly to cattle when they licked it. Browne himself had experimented on dogs, calves, and horses with this "*tinct*," and found it perfectly innocent.—"*weanling*" is "newly-weaned."

47. "*wardrobe*"; spelt "*wardrop*" in the First and Second Editions, and "*wardrope*" in the Cambridge MS. This last is the spelling of the word in the only other case of its occurrence in Milton's poetry: *At a Vac. Ex.* 18. See note there. In the present passage the word is used not for the closet or cabinet containing the apparel, which is the etymological sense (*wardrobe*), but for the apparel itself.

49. "*Such, Lycidas, thy loss to shepherd's ear.*" Todd quotes *Mids. N. Dream*, I. 1:—

"More tunable than lark to shepherd's ear,"

and ought to have quoted the next line to complete the parallelism:—

"When wheat is green, when hawthorn buds appear."

50—55. "*Where were ye Nymphs,*" etc. This passage is an express imitation of Theocritus, *Idyll* I. 66—69 :—

"Πᾶ ποτ' ἄρ' ἦσθ' ὅκα Δάφνης ἐτάκετο ; πᾶ ποκα, νύμφαι ;
 "Ἡ κατὰ Πηνειῷ καλὰ τέμπεα, ἥ κατὰ Πάιδῳ ;
 Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ποταμοῖο μέγαν ῥόον εἶχετ' Ἀρῆπω,
 Οὐδ' Ἀίτνας σκοπιάν, οὐδ' Ἀκιδὸς ἱερὸν ὄδωρ."

Virgil's imitation of the same (*Ecl.* x. 9—12) was, of course, also in Milton's mind :—

"Quæ nemora, aut qui vos saltus habuere, puellæ
 Naides, indigno quum Gallus amore periret ?
 Nam neque Parnassi vobis juga, nam neque Pindi
 Ulla moram fecere, neque Aonie Aganippe."

But Milton's imitation of Theocritus, as Mr. Keightley remarks, excels Virgil's, inasmuch as, in thinking of the places where the Muses might have been lingering when Lycidas was drowned, he selects those that were near the scene of the disaster. "*The steep where your old bards, the famous Druids, lie,*" may be any of the Welsh mountains : Mr. Keightley suggests Penmaenmawr, in Carnarvonshire, opposite Anglesey ; but Warton rather thinks Milton remembered Camden's mention of the sepultures of the Druids at Kerigy-Druidion among the mountains of South Denbighshire.—"*the shaggy top of Mona*" is the high interior of Anglesey, the island fastness of the Druids, once thick with woods. "*Deva*" is the Dee, the ancient boundary between England and Wales : many Arthurian legends and other superstitions belonged to it (see *Faery Queene*, I. ix. 4, 5), and hence it was called often "the holy Dêc," or, as here, the "*wizard stream.*" Chester, from which King sailed on his fatal voyage to Ireland, is on the Dee, at some distance from its mouth, and was the chief port in that part of the West of England before the rise of Liverpool.

51. "*Closed o'er the head of your loved Lycidas.*" The sixth non-rhyming line in the poem.

58—63. "*What could the Muse herself that Orpheus bore . . . for her enchanting son . . . when . . . his gory visage,*" etc. The reference is to the fate of Orpheus (see note, *L'Allegro*, 145). This great poet and musician was the son of the Muse Calliope ; and yet, according to the legends, his was a tragic death. His continued grief for his wife Eurydice, after he had failed to recover her from the underworld, so offended the Thracian women that they fell upon him in one of their Bacchanalian orgies, and tore him to pieces. The fragments of his body were collected by the Muses and buried with all honour at the foot of Mount Olympus ; but his head, having been thrown into the Thracian river Hebrus, was rolled

down to the sea, and so carried to the island of Lesbos, where it was separately interred. The legend recurs strikingly in *Par. Lost*, VII. 32—39.—In the First Edition the word was spelt *Letbian*; it is corrected in the Second.

64. "*incessant*." I have restored this reading from Milton's own text in the First and Second Editions. Modern editions have *incessant*.

65. "*To tend the homely, slighted, shepherd's trade*": i.e., according to the established metaphor of pastoralists, "to practise poetry." Todd quotes from Spenser (*Sh. Cal. June*), "And holden scorn of homely shepheard's quill."

66. "*meditate the Muse*." From Virgil, *Ecl.* I. 2.

67—69. "*Were it not better done, as others use, to sport with Amaryllis . . . or with the tangles of Neæra's hair?*": i.e. "Would it not be better to do like others, and lead a life of luxurious leisure, amusement, and frivolous love-making?" Amaryllis and Neæra are names of imaginary shepherdesses in the Greek and Latin pastorals. Warton, in a note appended to Milton's Latin Elegies, has a curious reference to this passage. He traces in it an "oblique censure" on Buchanan, who has Latin poems addressed both to an Amaryllis and to a Neæra, and makes much of the latter lady's beautiful ringlets. Milton, Warton thinks, meant to say "Instead of cultivating serious and high poetry, would it not be better to do as others have done,—Buchanan, for example,—and write mere Anacreontic verses?" This is too ingenious, and, in fact, absurd. Milton respected Buchanan, and had no thought of censuring him; and, besides, it so happens that the "Amaryllis" of one of Buchanan's poems is a personification of the city of Paris. See Buchanan's *Desiderium Lutetiae*.

70. "*clear*": here in the sense of the Latin *clarus*.

71. "*(That last infirmity of noble mind)*." The sentiment of this celebrated, but generally misquoted, line is found, frequently enough, in writers before Milton; but perhaps the nearest approach in expression is a sentence which Todd quotes from Milton's good friend and adviser, Sir Henry Wotton. "I will not deny his appetite for glory, which generous minds do ever latest part from," Sir Henry had said of James I. in a *Panegyrick* addressed to Charles.

75. "*the blind Fury with the abhorred shears*." In strict Mythology the Furies or Erinyes were distinct beings from the Fates, and Atropos was one of the Fates. While her sister Clotho turned the spindle, and her sister Lachesis pointed to the horoscope

of the person whose life-thread was being spun, Atropos stood with her shears, ready to cut the thread at the destined instant.

76, 77.

“‘*But not the praise,*
Phæbus replied, and touched my trembling ears.”

Commentators, after Peck, refer here to Virgil's expression (*Ecl.* VI. 3—5):—

“Cum canerem reges et prælia, Cynthius aurem
Vellit, et admonuit: Pastorem, Tityre, pingues
Pascere oportet oves, deductum dicere carmen.”

There is certainly the resemblance that in both passages Apollo speaks to the shepherd, and “ears” are mentioned; and therefore Milton may have had the passage in mind. But Milton's “*touched my trembling ears*” is utterly different from Virgil's “*aurem vellit*,” and involves a subtle meaning, the very opposite in effect to that in Virgil's lines. To this day it is a popular humour that the tingling of a person's ears is a sign that somewhere people are talking of him and saying good or ill of him in his absence. The superstition was an old one in Milton's time. “When our cheek burneth or ear tingleth,” says Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Vulgar Errors* (V. 23), “we usually say that somebody is talking of us; which is an ancient conceit, and ranked among superstitious opinions by Pliny: “*Absentes tinnitu aurium præsentire sermones de se receptum est.*” I have no doubt that the significance of the phrase “*my trembling ears*” rests on this allusion. What Milton had been saying about poetic fame was evidently applicable to himself personally, and would, he saw, be so understood by his readers. He had therefore the sensation described; he felt, at the moment, as if absent people were weighing his words, and appraising, coolly, or perhaps ill-naturedly, the chances he had of ever obtaining the “fair guerdon.”

78—84. “‘*Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,*” etc. In this powerful passage, the supposed words of Apollo to Milton, we have the answer Milton would give to the critics imagined in the preceding note. True Fame, he says, is not a plant of earthly growth, and does not consist in any expanse of glittering reputation a man may have among his contemporaries; it depends on the clear vision and unerring judgment of God above; and, as much of fame as any one has deserved at this tribunal, so much, and no more, will infallibly come to him in the end!—“*glistening foil*” is any sheet of shining metallic leaf, such as might be used to “set off” costly articles of purchase.

82. “*And perfect witness of all-judging Jove.*” The seventh non-rhyming line in the poem.—“*perfect*” is spelt “*perfet*” in the original editions, as generally in Milton, though not always.

- 85, 86. "*O fountain Arethuse, and thou honoured flood,
Smooth-sliding Mincius, crowned with vocal reeds.*"

He invokes the fountain Arethusa, in the island of Ortygia on the Sicilian coast (see note, *Arc.* 31), because the nymph of that Sicilian fountain was the Muse of Pastoral Poetry as it had been practised by Theocritus and other Greek poets; and he invokes the river Mincius, one of the tributaries to the Po in northern Italy, because Virgil had been born and had lived near it, and it might therefore be taken as the representative of the Latin Pastoral. The epithet describing the Mincius is from Virgil (*Ecl.* VII. 12, 13):—

"Hic virides tenerâ prætexit arundine ripas
Mincius."

- 87, 88. "*That strain I heard was of a higher mood.
But now my oat proceeds*":

i.e. the words which Apollo has just spoken were in a strain above that of the simple pastoral, but now the poet resumes his own oaten pipe.

89, 90. "*the Herald of the Sea, that came in Neptune's plea*": *i.e.* Triton, the Trumpeter of the Waves, who now came, in the name of Neptune, to conduct a judicial inquiry into the cause of the death of Lycidas. *Herald* is so spelt here in the First and Second Editions, and not "*harald*," as in *Par. Lost*.

- 91, 92. "*He asked the waves, and asked the felon winds,
What hard mishap hath doomed this gentle swain?*"

These two lines, coming consecutively, are the eighth and ninth non-rhyming lines in the poem.

96. "*sage Hippotades their answer brings.*" The waves and winds, that had been questioned by Triton as to the cause of the shipwreck in which King perished, disowned all concern in the disaster, or even knowledge of it; and their answer to this effect was brought by Hippotades, *i.e.* by Æolus, the God of Winds, the son of Hippotes.

97. "*his dungeon*": *his* may refer to "Hippotades," in which case "*his dungeon*" means the cave of Æolus where the winds were imprisoned; or it may refer to "*blast*," in which case the meaning is that the winds sent answer that not a blast of them had strayed from its (*his* for *its*, as habitually with Milton) particular place of imprisonment in the cave of Æolus. I prefer the second interpretation; and it obviates the objection that the answer is given twice.

99. "*Panope*": *i.e.* one of the Nereids, or sea-nymphs. The

meaning is that the sea was calm as glass when the ship went down.

101. "*Built in the eclipse.*" Warton reminds us of one of the hideous ingredients in the witches' caldron in *Macbeth* (IV. 1):—

"slips of yew
Slivered in the moon's eclipse";

and the following passage from Sir Thomas Browne (*Vulgar Errors*, I. 11) may be worth quoting. "Than eclipses of sun or moon nothing is more natural; yet with what superstition they have been beheld since the tragedy of Nicias and his army [B.C. 414] many examples declare. True it is, and we will not deny it, that, although, there being natural productions from second and settled causes, we need not alway look upon them as the immediate hand of God, or of his ministering spirits, yet do they sometimes admit a respect therein; and, even in their naturals, the indifferency of their existences contemporised unto our actions admits a further consideration."

103—107. "*Next, Camus,*" etc. Camus, the tutelary genius of the Cam, and of Cambridge University, appeared as one of the mourning figures; for had not King been one of the young hopes of the University? The garb given to Camus must doubtless be characteristic, and is perhaps most succinctly explained by a Latin note which appeared in a Greek translation of *Lycidas* by Mr. John Plumptre in 1797. "The *mantle*," said Mr. Plumptre in this note, "is as if made of the plant 'river-sponge' which floats copiously in the Cam; the *bonnet* of the river-sedge, distinguished by vague marks traced somehow over the middle of the leaves, and serrated at the edge of the leaves, after the fashion of the *ai ai* of the hyacinth." It is said that the flags of the Cam still exhibit, when dried, these dusky streaks in the middle, and apparent scrawlings on the edge; and Milton (in whose MS. "*scrawled o'er*" was first written for "*inwrought*") is supposed to have carried away from the "*arundifer Camus*" (Eleg. I. 11) this exact recollection. He identifies the edge-markings with the *ai ai* (Alas! Alas!) which the Greeks fancied they saw on the leaves of the hyacinth, commemorating the sad fate of the Spartan youth from whose blood that flower had sprung. See *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, lines 23—28.

108—112. "*Last came, and last did go,
The Pilot of the Galilean Lake,*" etc.

i.e. St. Peter, here called by a name suggesting his original occupation as a fisherman on the sea of Galilee (Matt. iv. 18—20), and with occult reference to the fact that Lycidas had perished at sea.

As appears from the sequel, however, he is introduced mainly in his subsequent character as the Apostle to whom Christ had entrusted so high a charge in his Church, with the power of the keys (Matt. xvi. 17—19), and whom he had constituted so expressly the Shepherd of his Flock (John xxi. 15—17). As the Power of the Church, St. Peter recognises the loss of one who had been destined for the ministry of the Church of England; and, as pre-eminently the "Shepherd," he may fitly, in expressing this recognition, be supposed to conform to the language of the Pastoral in the highest strain it can assume. He bears his two keys, the golden one which opens the gates, and the iron which shuts them "*amain*" (*i.e.* with force). The number of the keys given to St. Peter is not mentioned in Scripture; but ecclesiastical and poetical tradition had made them two, and otherwise distinguished them.

112. "*He shook his mitred locks, and stern bespake.*" Milton does not refuse here to the Apostle Peter the "*mitre*" which he afterwards ridiculed in English Bishops.

113—131. "*How well could I have spared,*" etc. These nineteen lines of the poem are, in some respects, the most memorable passage in it. They are an outburst in 1637, when Milton was twenty-nine years of age, of that feeling about the state of the English Church under Laud's rule which, four years afterwards (1641—42), found more direct and as vehement expression in his prose-pamphlets. In his heading of the poem, when he republished it in 1645, he calls particular attention to the passage on this account, and especially to the prophecy with which it closes; and the wonder certainly is that the passage, at the time of its first publication, did not come under Laud's notice, and so bring the author into trouble. Note the studied contemptuousness of the phraseology throughout, — "*their bellies' sake,*" "*shove away,*" "*Blind mouths!*" (a singularly violent figure, as if the men were *mouths* and nothing else), — and the raspy roughness of the sound in line 124, where "*scrannel*" (for "screeching" "ear-torturing") may be a word of Milton's own making, unless it existed in Old English, as a form cognate with the Swedish *skrän*, which Skeat connects with *scream*. The "*rank mist*" and "*foul contagion*" are unsound and unwholesome doctrines. The "*grim wolf*," who is let sneak into the fold, and daily devour a sheep or two, while nothing is said about it by the careless shepherds, is evidently the Church of Rome, a secret sympathy with which, or at all events an indifference to its encroachments in England, was one of the charges made by the Puritans against Laud, while among the other English Bishops there were some suspected even of closer agreement with Romish doctrines, so that Lord Falkland could say in the House of

Commons in 1641 that they were "so absolutely, directly, and cordially Papists that it was all that £1500 a year could do to keep them from confessing it."—Milton, it is worth noting, had been preceded by Spenser, fifty-three years before, in this vehement denunciation of hireling shepherds in the Church, and must have had Spenser's verses in his mind. They occur in the May Eclogue in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, where, at the sight of "a shoal of shepherds" out in idle merry-making, there is this dialogue between Palinode and Piers:—

Pal. "Ah! Piers, bene not thy teeth on edge, to thinke
How great sport they gaynen with little swinck?
Piers. Perdie, so farre am I from envie
That their fondnesse inly I pitie:
Those faytours little regarden their charge,
While they, letting their sheepe runne at large,
Passen their time, that should be sparely spent,
In lustihede and wanton meryment.
Thilke same bene sheepehardes for the Devil's stedde,
That playen while their flockes be unfedde:
Well is it seene theyr sheepe bene not their owfe,
That letten them runne at randon alone:
But they bene hyred for little pay
Of other, that caren as little as they
What fallen the flocke, so they han the flecce,
And get all the gayne, paying but a peece.
I muse what account both these will make—
The one for the hire which he doth take,
And thother for leaving his Lords taske—
When great Pan account of shepeherdes shall aske."

The Eclogue continues in the same strain; and a passage from the sequel, in which the intruding "*wolves*" are spoken of, is quoted by Milton in his pamphlet against Bishop Hall entitled *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence* (1641). "Our admired Spenser," he there says, in introducing the quotation, had made such invectives "not without some presage of these reforming times." In the last book of *Paradise Lost* (507 *et seq.*), the Angel Michael, prophesying to Adam the degeneracy of the Church in its later days, informs him "*Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous wolves,*" and expands the phrase into a general invective against the Papacy and the Church of Rome.

130, 131. "*But that two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.*"

These lines have greatly exercised the critics. What was the "two-handed engine" thought of by Milton? "The axe that was to cut off Laud's head," say some. The conjecture is perfectly absurd. Laud was not beheaded till 1645; in 1637 that catastrophe could not be foreseen; and, if it had been, the future axe concerned in it

could not have been fancied in the function given to the engine in the present passage. "The axe spoken of by Christ in Matt. iii. 10 and Luke iii. 9," say others: "i.e. the axe laid at the root of the trees and which was to hew down every tree that did not bear good fruit." This supposition also is absurd: the engine in the present passage is at the door of an edifice, and not at the root of a tree. A third supposition is that the "two-handed engine" here is an anticipation of the Archangel Michael's mighty sword in *Par. Lost*, VI. 250—253, which he "brandished with huge two-handed sway" among the rebel-angels in Heaven, felling "squadrons at once." This also is futile; for that sword would not be in the least relevant here. On the whole, we must first seek Milton's *general* meaning. That is plain enough. He has been describing the Church of England in its Laudian era, and he winds up by prophesying a speedy Reformation of that Church. This Reformation presents itself in the image of a "two-handed engine at the door," standing ready to smite. One immediately fancies that this means to smite on the door, and the picture accordingly that rises to the mind is that of a strong man wielding a huge axe, like the Black Knight at the postern gate of Front-de-Bœuf's castle in *Ivanhoe*, and ready to batter down the opposing timbers, so as to let the besiegers in. Possibly Milton meant no more than this; and it is worth while to notice that, in one case out of the two in which the word "engine" occurs in the Authorised Version of the Bible, it is in this sense of a battering engine, Ezek xxvi. 9. "And he [Nebuchadnezzar] shall set engines of war against thy [Tyre's] walls, and with his axes shall he break down thy towers." It is not unlike Milton, however, to have had some subtler meaning in the name given to his battering engine here, and either to have construed it out of some Apocalyptic metaphor in Scripture, or else to have invented it to describe the particular agency by which he himself foresaw that the English Church Reformation would be effected. If the former, we are directed, I think, to the first three chapters of the Book of Revelation, where St. John sees the awful vision of "one like unto the Son of Man," and receives from him the messages that are to be sent to the Seven Churches of Asia. Part of the description of the divine figure is that "he had in his right hand seven stars" and that "out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword" (Rev. i. 16: *ῥομφαία διότομος ὀξεῖα* is the Greek phrase for the implement, implying a very large sword which might require two hands). Now this "two-edged sword" figures in the subsequent messages to at least one of the Churches. Thus, Rev. ii. 12—16, "To the angel of the Church in Pergamos write: These things saith he *which hath the sharp sword with two edges*; I know thy works, and where thou dwellest . . . Thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith . . . But

I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there ~~them~~ that hold the doctrine of Balaam . . . Repent ; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with *the sword of my mouth*." Connect this with the words spoken, at the end, as ^{part} of the message to the Church of Laodicea : "Behold I *stand at the door* and knock"; where, though the subsequent words are "If any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him and sup with him," yet we are to remember that he who stood at the door was the figure from whose mouth came the two-edged sword, the use of which had been threatened against the Church of Pergamos. Notwithstanding the difference of the conceptions suggested by the two images,—(1) "a sharp two-edged sword," described as proceeding from the mouth of a figure standing at a door, and (2) a "two-handed engine" described as at a door, and standing ready to smite,—it is not improbable that Milton's use of the second image is a poetic variation of the first. The Apocalyptic agency for the reform of a corrupt Church is certainly the "two-edged sword" of St. John's Vision, and Milton is not likely to have overlooked this. Moreover, the words in the text of *Lycidas* are supposed to be spoken by St. Peter ; and it is at least a coincidence that in the Second Epistle of St. Peter, where he is describing the future corruption of the Church of Christ by "false teachers" and the "damnable heresies" which they will bring in, he particularises as one of these heresies that very "following the way of Balaam" for which, among other errors, punishment by the "two-edged sword" is denounced against the Church of Pergamos in the Apocalypse (2 Peter ii. 15, 16). There remains, however, the hypothesis that Milton did not take his image from the Bible, but invented one to describe the agency by which, in his own historical speculations, he foresaw that the English Church would be reformed. In that case we have not far to seek. We know the agency by which, three or four years after *Lycidas* was written, the reformation in question ("deformation" or "destruction," some called it) was effected. It was that of *the English Parliament with its two Houses*. May not this have been the "two-handed engine" in Milton's mind? The conjecture may seem prosaic,* but it is worth entertaining. For eight years prior to 1637 Charles had not called a Parliament ; it was the "Reign of Thorough," when it was all but treason to use the word *Parliament* ; and yet this word was in the hearts of all, and it was to a coming Parliament with its two Houses that all looked forward for the rectification of the accumulated abuses in Church and State. Such a Parliament did not come till 1640 ; and, if Milton in 1637 anticipated its coming, he dared name it only in an occult metaphor. A "two-handed engine" at the door of the English Church, standing ready to smite, and smite decisively, when

the time came, was a very fit metaphor for the agency imagined. Nay, what if, after the fact, or when Milton republished *Lycidas* in 1645, the historical image was taken as the verification and equivalent of that of the *Apocalypse*?

132, 134. "*Return, Alpheus; . . . the dread voice is past . . . return, Sicilian Muse.*" St. Peter's speech, like Apollo's in lines 76—84, is here virtually acknowledged to be a deviation from the gentleness expected in the pastoral proper; and the poet calls upon the proper Muses of the Pastoral to return,—Alpheus, the lover of Arethusa, and made one with her in her fountain of Ortygia, and consequently Arethusa herself, already addressed in line 85. See note, *Arc.* 31.

138. "*the swart star*": i.e. the dog star, Sirius, whose appearance above the horizon was supposed by the Romans to be physically connected with the oppressive heats of summer: whence our phrase "the dog-days." It is called "swart" or "swarthy" from the effects of heat on the complexion.—The flowers that the poet wants to be brought to him are such as have grown in shady vales, not much penetrated by this hot star's influence.

140. "*turf*": spelt "*terf*" in First and Second Editions. See note to *Comus*, 280.

142—151. "*Bring the rathe [early] primrose, etc. . . . to strew the laureate hearse where Lycid lies.*" This exquisite flower-and-colour passage is unsurpassed in its kind in all the rest of Milton's poetry; for the description of Eve's nuptial bower in *Par. Lost*, IV. 692—703, hardly equals it, and is more like a blind man's description of flowers and their colours from fond, but dim, recollection. Let it be remembered, however, that the flowers here enumerated are not flowers growing, but flowers of selected hues, supposed to be plucked in different places and brought together for a purpose. In this respect the nearest parallel is perhaps a passage of Spenser in his *Shepherd's Calendar* (April):—

"Bring hither the pincke and purple cullambine,
With gelliflowres;
Bring coronations, and sops-in-wine,
Worn of paramoures:
Strowe me the ground with daffadownillies,
And cowslips, and kingcups, and loved lillies;
The pretie pawnee,
And the chevisaunce,
Shall match with the fayre flower-delice."

But compare also Perdita's catalogue of flowers in *Winter's Tale* (IV. 4), and her distribution of them according to their seasons and the ages they suit:—

"Reverend sirs,
 For *you* there's rosemary and rue ; these keep
 Seeming and savour all the winter long :
 the year growing ancient,
 Not yet on summer's death, nor on the birth
 Of trembling winter, the fairest flowers o' the season
 Are our carnations and streaked gillyvors.
 Here's flowers for *you*,
 Hot lavender, mints, savory, marjoram ;
 The marigold, that goes to bed wi' the sun
 And with him rises weeping : these are flowers
 Of middle summer, and I think they are given
 To men of middle age
 Now, my fair'st friend,
 I would I had some flowers o' the spring that might
 Become *your* time of day ; and *yours*, and *yours*.
 O Proserpina,
 For the flowers now, that frightened thou let'st fall
 From Dis's waggon ! daffodils,
 That come before the swallow dares, and take
 The winds of March with beauty ; violets dim,
 But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes
 Or Cytherea's breath ; pale primroses,
 That die unmarried, ere they can behold
 Bright Phoebus in his strength—a malady
 Most incident to maids ; bold oxlips and
 The crown-imperial ; lilies of all kinds,
 The flower-de-luce being one ! O, these I lack,
 To make you garlands of, and my sweet friend,
 To strew him o'er and o'er."

Take, as another flower-and-colour passage from an old poet, this from Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* (Song III.) :—

"The daisy, scattered on each mead and down,
 A golden tuft within a silver crown
 (Fair fall that dainty flower, and may there be
 No shepherd graced that doth not honour thee !)
 The primrose, when with six leaves gotten grace
 Maids as a true love in their bosom place ;
 The spotless lily, by whose pure leaves be
 Noted the chaste thoughts of virginity ;
 Carnations sweet, with colour like the fire,
 The fit impresas for enflamed desire ;
 The harebell, for the stainless azure blue,
 Claims to be worn of none but those are true ;
 The rose, like ready youth, enticing stands,
 And would be cropt if it might choose the hands ;
 The yellow kingcup (Flora them assigned
 To be the badges of a jealous mind) ;
 The orange-tawny marigold (the night
 Hides not her colours from a searching sight) ; . .
 The columbine in tawny often taken ; . . .
 The pansy ; thistle, all with prickles set ;
 The cowslip, honeysuckle, violet ;

And many hundreds more that grace the meads,
Gardens and groves, where beauteous Flora treads ;—
Were by the shepherds' daughters (as yet are
Used in our cots) brought home with special care.

As in the rainbow's many-coloured hue
Here see we watchet deepened with a blue ;
Here a dark tawny with a purple mixed ;
Yellow and flame with streaks of green betwixt ;
A bloody stream into a blushing run
And end still with the colour which begun,
Drawing the deeper to a lighter stain,
Bringing the lightest to the deep'st again ;
With such rare art each mingleth with his fellow,
The blue with watchet, green and red with yellow,
Like to the changes which we daily see
About the dove's neck with variety,
Where none can say, though he it strict attends,
Here one begins, and there the other ends :
So did the maidens with their various flowers
Deck up their windows, and make neat their bowers,
Using such cunning as they did dispose
• The ruddy peony with the lighter rose,
The monk's-hood with the bugloss, and entwine
The white, the blue, the flesh-like columbine,
With pinks, sweetwilliams, that far off the eye
Could not the manner of their mixtures spy."

From among modern poets, Keats might furnish us with several companion passages. Here is one,—his description in *Endymion* of the flowers and vegetation round a sleeping youth :—

• " Above his head
Four lily stalks did their white honours wed
To make a coronal ; and round him grew
All tendrils green, of every bloom and hue,
Together intertwined and tramelled fresh :
The vine of glossy sprout ; the ivy mesh,
Shading its Ethiop berries ; and woodbine,
Of velvet leaves and bugle-blooms divine ;
Convolvulus in streaked vases flush ;
The creeper, mellowing for an autumn blush ;
• And virgin's bower, trailing airily ;
With others of the sisterhood."

Milton's flower-and-colour passage in his *Lycidas* may certainly more than compete with any of these for poetical beauty, aptness for its purpose, and skilled exquisiteness of phrase and musical effect. And yet,—one is ashamed to report the fact,—this passage too has been a subject for that kind of insect-criticism, as one may call it, from which nothing is too classic in literature to be safe, and which seems to have fastened of late on Milton more particularly, as if from a disposition to avenge openly on his poetry, wherever possible, some secret dislike or awe felt for him as a man. Is the passage botani-

cally correct? it is asked. Is "glowing" a correct epithet for the violet, or "wan" for the cowslip; or, should these be conceded, is the particular assemblage of diverse flowers which the passage demands,—eleven or twelve of them in all,—such as could possibly have been gathered together, from field or garden, at one and the same time? Are they not, or some of them, flowers of different seasons? To this criticism, so far as the epithets for the violet and the cowslip are concerned, the reply can afford to be patient. To this day they may be ratified as very good epithets indeed,—“glowing” admirable for some violets, in that extended range of the name “violet” which is still popular in many parts of the country. It is with the more general portion of the criticism that one can hardly be patient. Breathes there a man with soul so dead as, after having read all of *Lycidas* that precedes, and come to that point where Milton invokes a fit collection of funereal flowers to be strewn on the hearse of the dead shepherd, can think that Milton was bound to invoke only such flowers as bloomed contemporaneously and could therefore be fetched at his bidding? •The poem was written in November 1637: was Milton to confine himself to the flowers he could obtain in England then; or, if he were allowed to go back to the preceding August, which was the month of Edward King’s death, was he to be restricted, at all events, to the English flowers obtainable in that month? “We mean nothing of the kind!” the critics will answer, uneasy in the strait to which they perceive themselves thus brought; “we do not mean that he had to tie himself to any one month; but what we mean is that, whatever month he imagined, or whether he imagined any one month or not, he was bound to respect botanical possibility!” Was he? Most certainly, not *here*, wherever else that might have been the right rule. He is engaged in a wish or invocation,—a prayer to the Pastoral Muse to bid all the meads and all the valleys, all the shadiest banks of brooks and streamlets, in whatsoever landscape of the earth, real or ideal, near or far, contribute their choicest flowers of melancholy tinge or hue to the required memorial. What cared he whence they came, or from what season or sequence of seasons, or whether they could come at all; and what do his sympathetic readers care either?

144. “jet”: spelt “jeat” in First and Second Editions.

149. “*amaranthus*.” So spelt in First Edition; “*amarantus*” in Second. Etymologically, the latter form is the more correct, as the word is simply the Greek *amarantos*, “unfading”; but the form *amaranth* has come to be English. ••

151. “*laureate hearse*.” *Hearse* not in our modern sense of the

wheeled carriage which conveys a coffin to the grave, but in the older sense of bier (see note to *Epitaph on Marchioness of Winchester*, 58). "*Laureate hearse*" is "laurelled hearse," i.e. having the poet's laurel on it.

152—154. "*For sq, to interpose a little ease,
Let our frail thoughts dally with false surmise,
Ay me! whilst thee,*" etc.

The First and Second Editions have a full stop after "*surmise*"; which rather impairs the effect of the meaning. Milton has been speaking of the "*hearse*" of Lycidas, and the flowers fit to be strewn upon it in mourning, when he suddenly reminds himself that all this is but a fond fancy, inasmuch as Lycidas had perished at sea, and his body had never been recovered. "We let ourselves think of thy hearse," he says, "and it is a kind of pleasure to do so, for it interposes a little ease; but alas! all the while, thy body is in no hearse, but is washed hither and thither in the sounding seas."

156—162. "*Whether beyond the stormy Hebrides . . . or whether thou . . . sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old, where the great Vision of the guarded mount looks toward Namancos and Bayona's hold.*" To understand this passage, the reader should look at a map representing the west coast of Europe. King had been shipwrecked in the Irish Sea, not far from the British coast, and the poet wonders whither his body may have been drifted by the tides and currents. Had it been drifted northwards, along the West-Scottish coast as far as the *Hebrides*, where perhaps it was sunk to the bottom of the "*monstrous*" (monster-containing) deep; or had it been washed southwards along the English West Coast as far as to the famous *Land's End*, or extreme point of Cornwall? Famous! for was not this extreme south-west promontory of Britain the *Bellerium* of the Roman geographers; and did it not contain that sea-fortress, called St. Michael's Mount, of which all Englishmen had heard, and which was one of the wonders of Cornwall?—Instead of "*sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old*," Milton, as the Cambridge MS. of the poem shows, had originally written "*sleepst by the fable of Corineus old*." His first intention, therefore, had been to identify the promontory of Land's End with the mythical Corineus of the British Legends, the companion of the Trojan Brutus, and the founder and namefather of the Kingdom of Cornwall, just as Brutus was the founder and namefather of the British Realm generally (see note to *Comus*, 824—857); but, for some reason of euphony or of poetic glamour, he had erased *Corineus* and substituted *Bellerus*. Perhaps this *Bellerus* figures as a subordinate personage somewhere in old Cornish or British tradition; but it has been supposed that Milton, desiring a legendary namefather for the special bit of Cornwall

called *Bellerium* by the Romans, took the liberty of adding such an imaginary personage to the retinue or the posterity of the great giant-killing Corineus. At all events, "*sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old*" simply means "floatest near Land's End."—But, if near Land's End, then near St. Michael's Mount! Of this fact Milton makes much. And no wonder. To this day, tourists in Cornwall, if they go as far as the Land's End, never fail to visit St. Michael's Mount. It is a steep rock, about 200 feet high, in Mount's Bay, round which the sea washes completely at high tide, but which is connected at low tide with the mainland and the town of Marazion. I have walked to it from Marazion over the connecting bit of sandy and pebbly beach; but, the tide having risen during the hour or so I was on it, I had to return in a boat. And what do you see on the rock? You see a castle, still well appointed as a residence, and occasionally inhabited by the family in possession (the old Cornish family of the St. Aubyns); and in or round this castle you can trace the remains of an older Norman stronghold or fortress, and of a monastery of Benedictines which preceded the fortress and reached back into the Anglo-Saxon times. You are told that the rock was once called "The Hoar Rock in the Wood," and that even in the fifth century it was regarded with religious reverence; and you are shown the origin of all this feeling about it in a semi-accessible craggy seat, overhanging the sea, and called "St. Michael's chair," because there some hermits once saw an apparition of the Archangel Michael. With all this there mingles in the minds of modern tourists, as one reason for the celebrity of the Mount, the recollection of the present passage in *Lycidas*. But, as the passage itself implies, the Mount was celebrated before Milton made this mention of it, and he made this mention of it because of its previous celebrity.

"St. Michael's Mount who does not know
That wards the western coast?"

Spenser had said, in his *Shepherd's Calendar* (July), fifty-seven years before *Lycidas* was written; and in Drayton's *Polyolbion* (Song I.) not only had the Mount been described, but it had been made to speak its memories of the forgotten ages with which it had been familiar:—

"Then from his rugged top the tears down trickling fell;
And, in his passion stirred, began again to tell
Strange things that in his days Time's course had brought to pass:
That forty miles, now sea, some time firm foreland was,
And that a forest then which now with him is flood,
Whereof he first was called the Hoar Rock in the Wood."

The legend of the apparition of St. Michael is that incident in the history of the Mount on which Milton's imagination had fastened. Possibly he had never seen Land's End; but, in his readings about

it, what had struck him most was this great Vision of the Archangel on the top of the neighbouring "guarded Mount," or rock-fortress, in the extreme bay of Cornwall. And so, as he fancies the dead body of his friend whirled in the tide round the Land's End, there flashes in, by inevitable association, this vision of the great Archangel, seated in his craggy chair on the top of the Mount, and gazing over the waters! But gazing whither? Here also Milton's imagination was swayed by his reading. It was a kind of boast of the Cornish people that from the Land's End there was a direct line of sea-view southwards, passing France altogether, and hitting no European land till it terminated in Spain. This boast had found literary expression. Thus, Drayton (*Polyolb.* XXIII.) :—

"Then Cornwall creepeth out into the western main,
As, lying in her eye, she pointed still at Spain."

Nay, it appears, Spain, on her side, was aware of the same fact, and returned the compliment; for in a passage from Orosius, the geographer of the fifth century, quoted by Warton, it is said of Brigantia, a town in the north-west of Spain, that it had "a most lofty watch-tower, of admirable construction, in full view of Britain." If the reader will look at the map, he will see that the statement is perfectly accurate, in the sense that, if the eye could travel 500 miles, there might be a direct interchange of view, without any interrupting land, between Cornwall and the north-west Spanish province of Galicia. This explains the rest of Milton's phraseology. Land's End, in his imagination, is the part of Britain "where the great Vision of the guarded mount"—i.e. St. Michael in his rocky chair—"looks to *Namancos* and *Bayona's* hold." In the old maps of Spain *Namancos* is marked as a town in the province of Galicia, near to Cape Finisterre; and *Bayona* is a city on the west coast of the same province, some way to the south of the Cape. The notion, once entertained, that by "*Bayona's* hold" Milton meant *Bayonne* in southern France, and that by the fancy-name of *Namancos* he meant to designate the site of the famous ancient *Numantia* of eastern Spain, is nonsensical in itself, and misses that exact tradition of the geographical relationship between Spain and Cornwall which he took pains to commemorate.

159. "moist": i.e. tearful.

161. "Where the great Vision of the guarded mount." The tenth and last non-rhyming line in the poem.

163, 164. "Look homeward, Angel, now, and melt with ruth:
And, O ye dolphins, waft the hapless youth."

In the first of these lines (which to me seem the worst in the poem,

and the most like a "conceit") it is no longer Lycidas, that is addressed, but the Archangel Michael. Instead of continuing his gaze over the sea to distant Spain, let him turn homeward to the nearer seas, and melt with pity for the youth there drowned! In the second line the allusion is to the legend of the lyrist Arion, who had charmed the dolphins by his singing, and was carried ashore by them when the sailors had thrown him overboard.

165—181. "*Weep no more*," etc. In this closing strain of the Monody, changing the grief for the loss of Lycidas into joy over the thought of his elevation into the society of Heaven, there is a close resemblance, even to identity of expressions, to the closing part (lines 198—219) of the *Epitaphium Damonis*, written two years later. Compare also the last four stanzas of Spenser's pastoral lament for the Shepherdess Dido in the November part of his *Shepherd's Calendar*. Such merging of a funereal elegy into the religious thought of the translation of the dead to the higher happiness of another world was especially natural to Milton. See *On the Death of a Fair Infant* and *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*. But Virgil, after a more Pagan fashion, and in more Pagan phraseology, has something of the same kind. See *Ecl.* V.

173. "*Through the dear night of Him that walked the waves*." Matt. xiv. 22—33. Note the appositeness to the whole subject of the poem in this reference to Christ's power over the waters.

176. "*unexpressive*": i.e. inexpressibly sweet.

181. "*And wipe the tears*," etc. Rev. vii. 17.

183, 184. "*Henceforth thou art the Genius of the shore*," etc. Here, after a contemplation of the state of the dead Lycidas which is purely Christian and Biblical, there is a relapse into the classic manner, and Lycidas is converted into a *numen*. Thus, as Thyer notes, Virgil's deification of the dead Daphnis (*Ecl.* V. 64, 65):—

"Deus, deus ille, Menalca!
Sis bonus, O felixque tuis";

and Mr. Browne quotes a still closer parallelism from a Latin eclogue of the Italian pastoralist Sannazaro, in which a drowned friend is told—

"Numen aquarum
Semper eris, semper lætum piscantibus omen."

There is a hint of the same kind respecting the dead Diodati in *Epitaph. Dam.* 207—211.

186—193. "*Thus sang the uncouth swain*," etc. Note the separateness of this closing stanza from the rest of the poem. It is

a stanza of Epilogue, added, as it were, in Milton's own name, and distinguishing him from the imaginary shepherd, or "uncouth (*i.e.* unknown) swain," who has been singing the previous lament for Lycidas. * That imaginary shepherd was, of course, Milton too; but in this stanza Milton looks back upon what he had written in that character, and criticises it, or at least characterises it. It had been a "*Doric lay*," *i.e.* a poem written after the fashion of the bucolic poets, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, whose dialect was the Doric variety of the Greek. Nay, in this lay "*the tender stops of various quills*" had been touched; *i.e.* there had been changes of mood and minute changes of metre in it.

192, 193. "*At last he rose, and twitched his mantle blue :
To-morrow to fresh woods, and pastures new.*"

A peculiarly picturesque ending, in which Milton announces that he is passing on to other occupations. The last line seems to be an improvement upon one in Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island*, published in 1633 (VI. 78):—

"Home, then, my lambs; the falling drops eschew :
To-morrow shall ye feast in pastures new."

No line of Milton's is more frequently quoted; but it is generally spoilt in the quotation by the substitution of the word "*fields*" for "*woods*." The misquotation has been pointed out again and again; but without effect. Even Mr. Mark Pattison is chargeable with it.

ADDITIONAL NOTE •

In only two passages does Todd (Edit. of 1852, vol. iii. pp. 375-6) report any considerable variation of the present text of the poem from the original draft in Milton's own hand among the Cambridge MSS.:—

(1) Lines 58—63 ran originally in the draft thus:—

"What could the golden-haired Calliope
For her enchanting son,
When she beheld (the gods far-sighted be)
His gory scalp roll down the Thracian sea?"

Then, in the margin, after the words "enchanting son," was inserted this substitute for the two following lines:—

"Whom universal Nature might lament,
And Heaven and Hell deplore,
When his divine head down the stream was sent,
Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore."

Of the whole passage as so altered in the draft the present six lines are an improved expansion.

(2) For the beautiful flower-and-colour passage, lines 142—151, the draft had the following :—

“Bring the rathe primrose that unweilded dies,
 Colouring the pale cheek of unenjoyed love,
 And that sad flower that strove
 To write his own woes on the vermeil grain :
 Next add Narcissus that still weeps in vain,
 The woodbine, and the pansy freakt with jet,
 The glowing violet,
 The cowslip wan that hangt his pensive head,
 And every bud that Sorrow's livery wears ;
 Let daffadillies fill their cups with tears ;
 Bid amaranthus all his beauty shed,
 To strew,” etc.

“Sorrow's livery” is changed into “sad escutcheon,” and that into the present reading, “sad embroidery,” and other verbal changes are made ; but the passage still remains in the draft short of its present perfection.

Smaller Variations noted by Todd are the following :—In line 10 for “he knew” the draft has “he well knew” ; in line 22 for “And bid” it had originally “To bid” ; in line 26 for “opening” it had first “glimmering” ; in line 30 for “star that rose at evening bright” it had first “even-star bright” merely, with “burnished” for “westering” in the following line ; in line 47 for “wardrobe” it had originally “buttons” ; in line 69 for “Or with” it had “Hid in” ; in line 85 for “honoured” it had “smooth,” with “soft-sliding” for “smooth-sliding” in the following line ; in line 105 “Scrawled o'er” appeared first for “Inwrought,” though “Inwrought” is substituted in the margin ; in line 129 for “nothing” the draft has “little” ; in line 138 “stintly” appears for “sparely,” though “sparely” had been first written ; in line 139 for “Throw” the draft has “Bring” ; in line 153 for “frail” it has “sad” ; in line 154 for “shores” it has “floods” ; in line 160 for “Bellerus” it had originally “Corineus,” though “Bellerus” appears as an afterthought ; and in line 176 for “And hears” it has “Listening.”

THE SONNETS.

SONNET I.—See Introd. to this Sonnet (I. p. 206), and note to *II Penserose*, 61—64. No farther annotation is needed here, unless I may remark that “warblest” (line 2) is printed “warbl'st”

in the First and Second Editions, and is to be pronounced accordingly.

SONNET II.—Observe the rhymes “*shew’th*” and “*endu’th*” to “*youth*” and “*truth*,” both rather quaint to our ears now, and the former indicating the old pronunciation of the word “to *shew*.” For the rest, the Sonnet is sufficiently annotated in the Introd. to it (I. p. 207).

FIVE ITALIAN SONNETS AND CANZONE.—For the subject of these pieces, and the probable date and circumstances of their composition, see Introd. to them (I. pp. 208—212).—As the word “*Reno*” in line 2 of Sonnet III. was printed “*Rheno*” in Milton’s editions, a misconception seems to have prevailed among early editors that the German *Rhine* was meant; whereas it is the Italian river *Reno*, north of Bologna.

Further annotation of the pieces resolves itself chiefly into a criticism of their Italian style, and a detection of the minute errors or irregularities of idiom which they may contain. This duty having already been performed by two eminent Italian scholars, it is sufficient here to present the results:—(1) In the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for Nov. 1836, a contributor, signing himself “J. M.” and acknowledging an Italian scholar as his authority, gave these Italian poems of Milton “for the first time printed with corrections”: i.e. not as they had been printed by previous English editors, whose slight knowledge of Italian obliged them to follow the copies in Milton’s editions of 1645 and 1673; but as they would be printed by an Italian editor, punctiliously keeping to the original words, but giving them that tidiness of modern spelling, &c., which is given in reprints of Dante, Tasso, and other old Italian poets. The “J. M.” of this communication was the Rev. John Mitford, and the Italian friend to whom he was indebted was, as he afterwards announced (*Addenda* to Mitford’s Memoir of Milton, prefixed to the Pickering edition of Milton’s Works), Mr. Panizzi of the British Museum, afterwards Sir Antonio Panizzi. Subjoined to the text were several notes by Mr. Panizzi, pointing out solecisms or obscurities in Milton’s Italian. To the word “*possa*” in line 10 of the first Italian Sonnet (Sonnet III.) this note was appended: “This *possa* is an Anglicism: ‘*mover possa*’ here seems to be used as ‘can move,’ and ‘*possa*’ is ‘may.’” On the phrase “*io, a l’ altrui peso*” in line 11 of the second Italian Sonnet (Sonnet IV.), Mr. Panizzi wrote, “I do not recollect any such Italian phrase: this seems unintelligible, although I guess the meaning.” To the word “*Altri*” in line 8 of the Canzone the comment subjoined was “This and the following three lines are not very clear”; and to the phrase “*il gran mondo*” in line 7 of the last Italian Sonnet the same was appended

simply the note "*Quare*," as if the phrase seemed exceptionable. Only in three or four places, therefore, did Mr. Panizzi find Milton's Italian noticeably at fault. (2) The late Mr. G. Rossetti, the commentator on Dante, read these Italian pieces at Mr. Keightley's request, and furnished some observations on the Italian, which Mr. Keightley has printed, with added remarks of his own, in his edition of Milton's Poems. Mr. Rossetti was more severe than Mr. Panizzi had been. He objected to "*Qual*" in line 4 of the first Italian Sonnet (Sonnet III.), saying *Cui* would be better; he objected to "*meco*" for *a me* in line 6, and to "*mai*" for *non mai* in line 12, of the second Sonnet (Sonnet IV.); in the Canzone he noted the phrases "*M' accostandosi*" (line 2) and "*Dinne, se*" (line 5), and the construction "*Perchè*" etc. in line 12, as not quite idiomatic, and proposed substitutes; in the third Sonnet (Sonnet V.) he found line 10 beginning "*Parole*" inharmonious, the word "*faticosa*" in line 12 a little strange, and "*degli*" for *dagli* in line 13 perhaps an error of the press; in the fourth Sonnet (Sonnet VI.) he thought "*n' uscendo poco*" in line 10 used for mere metrical reasons instead of "*uscendone poco*," and he saw no difference between "*s' agghiaccia*" and "*s' ingiela*" in line 11; and in the last Sonnet (Sonnet VII.) he said "*Poichè fuggir me stesso*," etc., ought to have been "*Poichè di fuggir me stesso*," etc.¹ Some of these criticisms seem to have been on grounds of personal taste rather than of mere grammar and idiom; and, indeed, Mr. Keightley, in quoting them, defended Milton against some of them, and produced examples in his justification from the old Italian poets, especially Dante.—On the whole, the conclusion is that, though Milton was an accomplished reader and student of Italian, he was not so perfect in the literary use of it but that the foreigner might be detected in some of his phrases and constructions. At first sight this might seem to favour the idea hinted at in the Introduction (I. p. 209), that these Italian pieces might have been written by Milton in England before he had visited Italy. But, on the other hand, it has to be remembered that a year in Italy would not make even the ablest English scholar perfect in the Tuscan idiom, and also that, as Milton certainly *published* the pieces as they now stand after he had had all the benefit of his residence in Italy, they do gauge his knowledge of Italian at its best.

¹ SONNET VIII.—For the date and circumstances of the Sonnet see Intro. (I. pp. 212, 213).—"Colonel" (line 1) has to be pronounced as a trisyllable: the old English word was *coronel*; which, says Wedgwood, meant "the captain, coronal of a regiment, the chief captain, from *corona*, a crown."—For "*charms*" (line 5) see note, P. L. IV. 642.—"The great Emathian conqueror" (line

10) is Alexander the Great, so called from Emathia, a part of Macedonia, and used poetically for the whole; of whom it is told that, when he sacked the Boeotian city Thebes and razed it to the ground (B.C. 335), he ordered the house of the Theban poet Pindar, who had died more than a century before, to be left untouched.—“*Sad Electra's poet*” (line 13) is Milton's favourite Euripides, one of whose tragedies is “*Electra*.” The story is that, when the Spartan Lysander had taken Athens, and it was proposed to destroy it utterly (B.C. 404), the victors were so moved by the casual recitation of some verses from a chorus in the play of Euripides at one of their banquets, that they resolved to spare the city and only raze the fortifications. Euripides was then recently dead (B.C. 406).

We have printed line 3 as it stands in the edition of 1673, and also in the Cambridge MS.; but in the edition of 1645 it ran thus: “*If ever deed of honour did thee please.*”

SONNET IX.—See Introd. (I. p. 213). Observe the rhyme of “*Ruth*,” the proper name (line 5), with “*ruth*,” the abstract noun, meaning “pity” (line 8). Such rhymes of words identical in sound and spelling, though differing in meaning, are now accounted illegitimate in English verse; but formerly they were allowed. Chaucer has them (a familiar instance is in lines 17 and 18 of the Prologue to his *Canterbury Tales*), and Spenser has them frequently. In Italian and Spanish poetry they are still allowed. They seem to have been vanishing from English poetry in Milton's time; and this is the only example in Milton's original poetry, as distinct from his translations.—Biblical passages in Milton's mind in the Sonnet are Matt. vii. 13, Luke x. 42, Ruth i. 14—17, Matt. xxv. 1²—13, and Rom. v. 5.

In the Cambridge MS. we find that Milton had originally written “*blooming virtue*” for “*growing virtues*” in line 7, and that line 13 ran originally thus: “*Opens the door of bliss that hour of night.*” Both passages are corrected into their present form on the margin.

SONNET X.—See Introd. (I. pp. 213, 214). “*That old man eloquent*” is the Athenian orator Isocrates, who died B.C. 338 at the age of ninety-eight years, just after the great battle of Chæroneia, in which Philip of Macedon defeated the conjoined Athenians and Boeotians and crushed the liberties of Greece.—“*Though later born,*” etc. As the Earl of Marlborough died in March 1628-9, when Milton was full twenty years of age and already a writer of poetry, the expression in the text is not strictly correct, unless we suppose that by “*the days wherein your father flourished*” he referred to the earlier portion of the lawyer-statesman's career.

SONNET XL.—Though the title prefixed to this and the following Sonnet in the Cambridge MS. is "*On the Detraction which followed upon my writing certain Treatises*," it is but one of those treatises that is especially referred to in the present Sonnet, and the subject is treated humorously in the main (see Intro. I. pp. 215, 216). The treatise in question was the third in order of Milton's four Divorce Tracts. It appeared in March 1644-5, or eighteen months after the first edition of the original Tract on "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," the principles of which it was intended to confirm. It consisted of about a hundred small quarto pages, and had a very full title-page. "TETRACHORDON: *Exposition upon the foure chief places in Scripture which treat of Marriage or nullities in Marriage*": such was the upper part of the title-page; after which followed a citation, chapter and verse, of the four places in question, a farther description of the purpose of the book, a Greek motto from the "Medea" of Euripides, and the imprint "*London: Printed in the yeare 1645.*" Only the author's initials appeared on the title-page,—thus "*By the former author, J. M.*"; but the name "*John Milton*" in full was affixed to a pre-fatory dedication of the Treatise "To the Parliament." Altogether, in form, as well as in substance, it was a portentous treatise, amusing and puzzling ordinary people who saw it in shop-windows, as much as it shocked the theologians. The word "*Tetrachordon*," in particular, was a puzzle for all less literate folks about Aldersgate Street and Cheapside. "Have you seen this *Tet—Tetra—Tetra—what's its name?*" they said to each other, giving it up. Hence Milton's Sonnet, written perhaps a year after the publication of the book, and when, his wife having returned to him, he had removed from Aldersgate Street to the adjacent street called Barbican.—He comes to the defence of the book, title and all. The book was a careful and serious one, and had interested good intellects in London for some time after its appearance, though now, it seemed, its day was past, and there remained only stray copies in stalls, and the wonder of commonplace street-passengers, gaping at its extraordinary title-page! Yes! there they were,—Milton himself had seen them!—three or four at a time, in front of a book-stall, staring at a copy, and spell-spelling at the name till one might have walked to Mile-End Green! (Mile-End is in Whitechapel, and was so called from its distance, roughly measured, from the central parts of London: it was a common in Milton's time, and the favourite terminus of a citizen's walk.) But surely Londoners had not been so fastidious of late in the matter of the pronounciability of the names they adopted! Scottish names, for example! Was *Tetrachordon* harder than *Gordon*, *Colkitto*, *Macdonnel*, *Galasp*, or others that had recently been

imported from Scotland and were in all men's mouths?—The particular Scottish names here selected by Milton for his purpose have been identified with only partial accuracy by the commentators, and even by Sir Walter Scott in his reference to the Sonnet in a note to his *Legend of Montrose*. Bishop Newton, by way of explanation of the names, having written "We may suppose that these were persons of note among the Scotch ministers who were for pressing and enforcing the Covenant" (how little an English bishop was then able to know of the history of his country at any point where it had lapsed into such an incredible off-track as Puritanism or Presbyterianism!), Scott corrected him thus: "Milton only intends to ridicule the barbarism of Scottish names in general, and quotes, indiscriminately, that of *Gillespie*, one of the apostles of the Covenant, and those of *Colkitto* and *Macdonnel*, both belonging to the same person, one of its bitterest enemies." This correction of Scott's (substantially anticipated by Warton) has sufficed for all the recent commentators; but it is imperfect.—One of the leaders of the Scottish Covenant certainly was George Gillespie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh; and, as he was also one of the Scottish Presbyterian ministers deputed to attend the Westminster Assembly in 1643, and had been since then residing in London, partaking in the Assembly's debates, and doing his best to bring round the English to strict Presbyterianism, his name must have been familiar to Milton. It is not impossible, therefore, that in the word *Galasp* Milton has a side-hit at this reverend person, whose memory is still dear to Scottish Presbyterians, but whose anti-toleration opinions, held also by all his Scottish colleagues in the Assembly, and by most of the English, made him one of Milton's certain enemies in the Divorce speculation and in various others. But the likelihood is that the direct reference in *Galasp* is not to this Gillespie, but to another person who rejoiced in that name as one of several that belonged to him, and who was in fact the same as the "*Colkitto* or *Macdonnel*" pointed to by Scott. If so, this *Galasp* was a very different being from his namesake of the Westminster Assembly, and that reverend divine would have been glad to see him hanged.—The year 1645, in or shortly after which Milton's Sonnet was written, was the year of that extraordinary Scottish episode of the great Civil War on which Scott founded his *Legend of Montrose*. The daring young Marquis of Montrose, who had gone in disguise into the Scottish Highlands in the previous year with a commission from King Charles, had succeeded in rousing the clans in his Majesty's behalf; and, by a series of the most astonishing marches and battles, he had shattered and paralysed the Argyle or Presbyterian Government, and re-conquered all Scotland, as it seemed, into allegiance to Charles. This had been most perplexing news for the English Parliamentarians; for, though

the Army of Fairfax and Cromwell had been carrying all before it in England, such a Scottish diversion in favour of Charles was of serious consequence, and threatened to protract the war indefinitely by encouraging Charles to continued resistance. Never had there been more anxiety in England as to the state of affairs in Scotland; never had the names of Scottish persons and Scottish things been more frequent on English lips; and, even after there had come the relief of Montrose's sudden defeat and ruin by General David Leslie in the battle of Philiphaugh (Sept. 1645), people still talked in London of the audacious Scottish Marquis, his enterprise, his wild Highlanders, and his other associates. * Now, among these associates the chief was Montrose's Lieutenant-general, the immediate commander of that horde of mixed Irish and West-Scottish Celts that had first flocked to Montrose's standard and begun the rising. He was a gigantic Highlander from the Island of Colonsay, but with family connexions with the Irish Macdonnells, Earls of Antrim, and recently in the service of the Earl of Antrim in Ireland; and his name in its full Gaelic form was "Alastair Macdonnell, Mac-Cholla-Chiotach, Mhic-Guillesbuig, Mhic-Alastair, Mhic-Eoin Chatanic": i.e. "Alexander Macdonald, son of Colkittoch (the left-handed), son of Gillespie, son of Alexander, son of John Cathanach." By more convenient Lowland-Scottish abbreviation he was "Alexander Macdonald the younger," or "Young Colkitto" (i.e. left-handed, like his father "Old Colkitto," who was still alive); but his additional designation of "Macgillespic" was also in occasional use. What a name to reach London! It had struck Milton; and so, when he wanted a set of words as hard as *Tetrachordon*, here they were ready for him in the name of one Highland barbarian, well enough known to the Londoners, who was "*Macdonnell or Colkitto or Galasp*" all in his own single person. I am confirmed in this belief as to the *Galasp* by the opinion of Mr. David Laing, the greatest recent authority in Scottish literary antiquities (see his edition of *Baillie's Letters*, II. 499), and also by the fact that the other Scottish name immortalised in the Sonnet is taken from Montrose's following. Among Montrose's most influential adherents in his enterprise there were several *Gordons*, of whom the most prominent were George, Lord Gordon, the eldest son of the Marquis of Huntly, and his next brother Charles Gordon, Viscount Aboyne. Lord Gordon was killed in one of Montrose's battles, and the subsequent behaviour of Lord Aboyne and the Gordons generally had much to do with the final issue of the enterprise. Hence the word *Gordon* also had been borne on the wings of the wind to London. It is rather curious to note, if only as a point in the history of phonetics, that the four names selected by Milton, two of which are now rather musical than otherwise to English ears, should then have seemed so rugged.—

They "would have made Quintilian stare and gasp," says Milton; and he could not have named a better referee in such a matter than this most famous teacher of Rhetoric among the Romans (A.D. 42—118), in whose master-work on Education so much is said about elegance and attention to melody in the choice of words.—In the last three lines of the Sonnet, however, Milton changes his key, and, instead of continuing his comic defence of the word *Tetrachordon*, breaks out angrily against the illiteracy of an age that could object to a treatise bearing such a name. It had not been always so, he says.—"Thy age, like ours," etc. The construction of this passage is important, and is generally missed. It is "Thy age, O soul of Sir John Cheek, did not, like ours, hate learning worse than toad or asp, when thou first taughtest Greek to Cambridge and to King Edward"; and the meaning is "Once there was a time when a bit of Greek, like the word *Tetrachordon*, would have been welcome rather than not: viz. when the famous Sir John Cheke (1514—1557), the first Professor of Greek at Cambridge, introduced the effective study of that language in the University, fixed the English pronunciation of it, and also taught it privately to King Edward VI. That age did not, as ours does, hate learning worse than toad or asp." Where Milton wrote "like ours" we should now say "unlike ours."

From the Cambridge draft of this Sonnet in Milton's own hand it appears that "*A book was writ*" in line 1 is an amendment for "*I writ a book*" originally penned; "*woven*" in line 2 for "*wove it*"; "*The subject new: it walked*" in line 3 for "*It went off well about*"; "*good intellects; now seldom*" in line 4 for "*good wits, but now is seldom*"; and "*rugged*" in line 10 for "*rough-hewn*," and that again for "*barbarous*." The last correction is in Milton's own hand; the others had been dictated by him, and are in a different penmanship.—In the edition of 1673 the word "*it*" after "*is*" in line 8 was accidentally omitted, and the name "*Colkitto*" in line 9 was misprinted "*Colikitto*." Both misprints are noted among the Errata. In some modern editions the sentence "*Why, is it harder?*" etc., is converted into "*Why, it is harder,*" etc., the sign of interrogation being omitted; which spoils the sense.

SONNET XII.—In this Sonnet the subject of the last is continued, but Milton comments more fiercely on the reception that had been given to the *doctrine* of his Divorce Pamphlets. They had brought him little else than infamy and abuse; they had brought round him all the "owls and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs" of the time, hooting, braying, gibbering, and barking at him. Among the miscellany so designated certain Presbyterian clergymen must have been prominently in his mind. Not the less did he retain his

opinion that the doctrine he had promulgated was an important and beneficial one, a highly necessary contribution to the true theory of individual and social liberty. He compares the reception given it to the treatment of the goddess Latona and her newly-born twins by the Lycian rustics. These twins afterwards "held the sun and moon in fee" (*i.e.* in full possession), for they were Apollo and Diana; and yet, when the goddess, carrying them in her arms, and fleeing from the wrath of Juno, stooped in her fatigue to drink of the water of a small lake, the rustics railed at her and puddled the lake with their hands and feet,—for which, on the instant, at the goddess's prayer, they were turned into frogs, to live for ever in the mud of their own making (Ovid, *Met.* VI. 337—381).—The sentiment of lines 11, 12 was repeated, as Hurd observed, in Milton's *Eikonoclastes*, published in 1649: "None can love Freedom heartily but good men: the rest love not Freedom, but Licence."—"Rove" in line 13 means *shoot astray*; and "For" in the last line means *Notwithstanding*.

From the Cambridge draft it appears that Milton had first written "*buzzards*" for "*cuckoos*" in line 4, and that line 10 ran originally "*And hate the truth whereby they should be free.*"

ON THE NEW FORCERS OF CONSCIENCE.—In this "Tailed Sonnet," as we have ventured to call it, on account of its form (*Sonetto Codato* was the Italian phrase), Milton perseveres in the strain of the two foregoing Sonnets, but less in mere defence of his Divorce Doctrine, and more in denunciation of the intolerance of the Presbyterians generally. It may have been written in 1646, or possibly not till 1647.—"*thrown off your Prelate Lord, and . . . renounced his Liturgy.*" Episcopacy was formally abolished in England by ordinance of the Long Parliament in Sept. 1646; but it had been virtually abolished, and the Church of England Presbyterianised, some years before,—the Liturgy, after being practically in disuse for some time; having been prohibited under penalties in 1644. No one had written more resolutely in favour of these changes than Milton himself in 1641–2, when as yet he and the Presbyterians were at one.—"*To seize the widowed whore Plurality,*" *i.e.* to be yourselves the successors of the Prelates in one of their worst practices, that of conjoining parochial livings, University posts, etc., so as to enrich themselves and each other by the aggregate incomes of charges that ought to have been kept separate. Since 1644 this had been an accusation against some of the Divines of the Westminster Assembly, and Milton could have named instances.—"*Dare ye for this [i.e. for the sake of your incomes and pluralities] adjure the civil sword?*" It was the uniform demand of the Presbyterian clergy that not only should Presbytery be established as the national system of worship and church-government, but all deviations from it, all meetings for

worship elsewhere than in the Presbyterian churches, and also all heresies and blasphemies, should be punished by the state. For some of the graver heresies, capable of being characterised as blasphemies, they demanded death.—“*ride us with a Classic Hierarchy*”: i.e. with an organisation of your so-called Classes or Presbyterial Church-courts, composed of the ministers and selected lay-elders of defined districts, instead of, as before, under Prelacy, with Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, etc. In the Scottish Presbyterian Kirk the next authority above that of the mere Kirk-session of each individual congregation, was the Presbytery proper, or council of the ministers and elders of a whole town, or a country-district; the more favourite English word for such a Presbytery was *classis*; when London was formally Presbyterianised in the end of 1645, it was divided into twelve such *classes*; and the same organisation was extended to Lancashire, with a view to its general adoption over all England. Hence the significance of the phrase “*Classic Hierarchy*.”—“*Taught ye by mere A. S. and Rutherford.*” Among the most conspicuous defenders of strict Presbytery against the Independents and the advocates of a Toleration was a certain Adam Steuart, a Scotsman, then living in London, where four or five pamphlets of his, published in 1644, but with his initials only, A. S., excited a good deal of controversy. With him Milton associates Samuel Rutherford, one of the four Scottish divines of the Westminster Assembly, and author of “*A Peaceable and Temperate Plea for Paul’s Presbytery in Scotland*,” and other tracts in the same strain, expounding the principles of Presbytery for the English. He was a man of eminence among the Scottish divines of his time, and Professor of Divinity in St. Andrews, where he died in 1661, leaving many works, and a name still remembered with affection in Scotland. While he and A. S. are mentioned by Milton, the general sneer is that the Presbyterian system which the English clergy were so largely adopting had been taught them by a few insignificant Scotchmen.—“*named and printed heretics by shallow Edwards and Scotch What-d’ye-call!*” “Shallow Edwards” is the Rev. Thomas Edwards, M.A., an Englishman by birth, then a preacher in London, and well known as the author of several popular treatises in behalf of strict Presbytery and against Independency and Toleration; of which by far the most famous was his “*Gangræna: or a Catalogue of many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this Time*,” published in three parts in 1645-6. It is an extraordinary collection of personalities and scurrilities, fluently written; and among the scores of “heretics” denounced in it Milton is included, on account of his Divorce Pamphlets. Milton’s reference to Edwards is, therefore, a *quid pro quo*. The “Scotch What-d’ye-call” has hitherto eluded commentators,—some guessing at

Gillespie of the Westminster Assembly from the previous supposed mention of him in Sonnet XI. (see note there), others at Alexander Henderson, also one of the Scottish Commissioners in the Assembly, and, by universal consent, then the ablest man in the Scottish Church. I think I can vouch that he is neither of these, but another of their Scottish colleagues in the Assembly,—viz. the Rev. Robert Baillie, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, and afterwards Principal there, whose *Letters and Journals* are still of standard value, as the richest, most graphic, and, with all their Presbyterian prejudice, most trustworthy account of many of the English and Scottish transactions of that time. For, among Baillie's publications during his residence in London, one, issued in the end of 1645, was "*A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time: wherein the Tenets of the principal Sects, especially of the Independents, are drawn together into one Map, for the most part in the words of their own authors*"; and in this book, as well as in a sequel to it published in the end of the following year, Milton is stigmatised for his Divorce heresy very much in the same way as in Edwards's *Gangraena*. For greater contempt, Milton, while coupling Baillie with Edwards, leaves him anonymous. And, by a singular fate, Milton's assumed forgetfulness of the very names of those troublesome Scottish critics of his in London has become a reality since among his countrymen. Read, for example, Warton's references to them in his notes on this very Sonnet. After having told who the Rutherford of line 8 was, he says, honestly enough I have no doubt, "Rutherford's *Letters*, called *Joshua Redivivus*, are the most genuine specimen I remember to have seen of the enthusiastick cant of the old Scotch divines"; and then, to illustrate the "Scotch What-d'ye-call" of line 12, he adds:—"Perhaps [he was] Henderson, or George Galaspie, another Scotch minister with a harder name, and one of the ecclesiastical commissioners at Westminster. John Henderson appears as a *loving friend* in Rutherford's *Joshua Redivivus*, B. III. Epist. 50, p. 482. And Hugh Henderson, B. I. Epist. 127, p. 186. See also, *Ibid.* p. 152. And Alexander Henderson, B. I. Epist. 16, p. 33. But I wish not to bewilder myself or my readers any further in the library of fanaticism. Happily, the books, as well as the names, of the enthusiasts on both sides of the question are almost consigned to oblivion." A most candid and instructive confession by an English scholar of the eighteenth century! Yet the Henderson over whose Christian name Warton bungles was the second founder of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and one of the most massive figures in the British History of his time; and the business in which he and his colleagues, Baillie, Rutherford, and Gillespie, were so strenuously engaged in London from 1643 onwards, in conjunction with a selected number of representative English clergymen, and

under the orders of the English Parliament, was one which vitally interested all England then, modified English society remarkably for the next half-generation, and handed on influences and sentiments that are powerful in the English mind to this day. Surely, English scholarship might, with propriety and profit, be as inquisitive about the details of an important, however eccentric, portion of English History as it has always been allowed to be about the genealogy of Greek gods, the names of Horace's mistresses, or the constitution of the court of Areopagus!—One may say all this, and yet be in full sympathy with Milton's feelings when he wrote the Sonnet. To him and to many others the proceedings of those Scottish divines in London, and of the Assembly to which they belonged, had become a real annoyance, and the prospect of the strict Presbyterian ascendancy which they were establishing was unendurable. Hence, in continuing his invective, he addresses the Westminster Assembly almost by name. "*We do hope to find out all your tricks,*" he says, "*your plots and packing, worse than those of Trent*": the meaning of which is that not even in the famous Council of Trent itself, which had settled and redefined the creed of the Roman Catholic Church after the Reformation (1545—1563), had there been so much intriguing and sharp practice as there had been in the Westminster Assembly since its meeting in July 1643. The word "*packing*" implies an assertion that the Assembly from the first had been unfairly constituted,—that it was not a fair representation of English religious opinion, but a body composed almost entirely of Presbyterians, and in the interest of foregone conclusions. Facts gave some colour to this charge; for the few moderately Episcopal clergymen that had been at first nominated to the Assembly had dropped off or been excluded, and there were only five avowed Independents in it to contest the decisions of the compact Presbyterian majority. —"*That so the Parliament may,*" etc. The only hope of the Independents, and other claimants of religious freedom, lay in the two Houses of Parliament, and especially in the Commons; where, though Presbyterian opinions were also in the ascendant and a trial of the Presbyterian system had been resolved on, the Independents had great influence. More than once the Parliament had rebuked the over-officiousness of the Westminster Assembly, and reminded it that it was not an authority in the realm, but only a body called together by Parliament for special business, and entirely under the supervision of Parliament while it performed that business. Especially in April 1646 there had been a case of this kind, when the Commons voted certain proceedings of the Assembly to be a breach of privilege, and intimated to the Divines that a repetition of such proceedings might subject them individually to heavy punishment. It is this that Milton has in view; and he anticipates a time when

the Parliament may see fit to come to a severe reckoning with this body of its own making, and teach it which was the master and which the servant—"Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears," i.e. punish you to the extent of reducing those badges of sanctity which you wear about your heads, ostentatiously broader than other people's, like the phylacteries of the Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 5): though passing over your ears, and so treating you more mercifully than you would treat your so-called "heretics" if you had the power.—"New PRESBYTER is but old PRIEST writ large." This aphorism, which was to stand in the Parliamentary "charge" or indictment against the Presbyterians, turns on a play of words. The word "Priest" being simply a contraction of the Greek word "*Presbyteros*," "an Elder," Milton's insinuation is that the change from Prelacy, or even from Roman Catholicism, to the new Presbyterianism devised for England would be but giving up a slighter for a more extended form of the same article.

Two corrections discernible in the Cambridge MS. of this remarkable piece are worth noting. Instead of "*Shallow Edwards*," which is the name by which this London fanatic of 1646 will be remembered to the end of time, Milton had first written "*haire-brain'd Edwards*," which was probably as true. "*Haire-brained*" is erased and "*shallow*" substituted in the margin. Again the line "*Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears*" had been originally written "*Crop ye as close as marginal P——'s eares*," the allusion being to the celebrated William Prynne, the Lincoln's Inn lawyer, who had been twice pilloried and had his nose slit and his ears cut off for anti-Prelatic pamphlets, by sentence of the Star-Chamber during Laud's ecclesiastical rule. Since his release from prison at the opening of the Long Parliament in 1640, Prynne had been a conspicuous Presbyterian, enforcing his views in tract after tract of a dry and learned kind, always with references to his authorities running down the margins of the pages. Prynne's want of ears and the laboured margins of his pamphlets were subjects of popular jest; but Milton had a special grudge against him on account of a reference to himself in one of the "marginal" oddities. It was clearly in good taste, however, to erase the allusion in the Sonnet, referring as it did to a cruelty unjustly endured, under a tyrannical Government, by a brave, though thick-headed, man.—Besides these two corrections, the only others exhibited by the MS. draft are "*widowed*" for "*vacant*" in line 3, and "*our*" for "*the*" before the word "*consciences*" in line 6.

SONNET XIII.—"*not to scan with Midas' ears, committing short and long*": i.e. not to mis-match short syllables with long syllables (from the Latin sense of *committere* in such a phrase as *committere*

pugiles, to match gladiators in the circus); which was the kind of scanning of which Midas may be supposed to have been guilty when he decided in favour of Pan in the musical contest between that god and Apollo, and had his faulty ears changed into those of an ass in consequence. The reference seems to be to the common fault of musical composers in paying no attention to the words they are setting, and so laying the musical stress often on insignificant and non-emphatic syllables; from which fault Lawes is declared to be free.—“*exempts*,” after a double nominative, is the reading both in the printed edition of 1673 and in the Cambridge MS.—“*send her wing*.” So in the edition of 1673, but *lend* in the Cambridge MS. and in most recent editions.—“*the priest of Phœbus’ quire*”: i.e. the priest, or sacred official, of the band of contemporary poets.—“*or story*.” This is explained by a marginal note to the Sonnet as it was prefixed to Lawes’s *Choice Psalms*, etc., published by Moseley in 1648 (see Intro. I. p. 217). “The story of Ariadne set by him to musick,” says the note; the words of the said story being by the poet Cartwright.—“*Dante . . . his Casella . . . Purgatory*.” The reference is to the passage in Dante’s *Purgatorio*, Cant. II., where he represents himself as meeting, in a crowd of other souls, the musician Casella, who had been his dear friend in life, and asking him to sing, even there, if it were permissible, one of those love-songs in which he excelled on earth. Casella complies, and sings a song of Dante’s own. The shades of Purgatory are called “*milder*,” in comparison with those of the *Inferno*, from which the poet had just emerged when he met Casella.

The drafts of this Sonnet among the Cambridge MSS. (see Intro. I. p. 217) show that it reached its present state after several corrections. Thus, line 3 had originally been written “*words with just notes, which till then used to scan*,” and this again had been changed into “*words with just notes when most were wont to scan*,” before the present reading was adopted. Again “*committing*” in line 4 had been changed into “*misjoining*,” though afterwards taken back; and lines 6, 7, 8, had run thus:—

“*And gives thee praise above the pipe of Pan :
In after age thou shalt be writ a man
That didst reform thy art, the chief among.*”

Finally, lines 12 and 13 had at first run thus:—

“*Fame, by the Tuscan’s leave, shall set thee higher
Than old Casell, whom Dante wooed to sing.*”

Here it may be noted how surely every correction of Milton’s was an improvement.

SONNET XIV.—“*earthy*.” So in edition of 1673, and clearly a superior reading to “*earthly*,” which has slipped into modern

editions.—“*speak*,” line 12, is the reading in the edition of 1673, and is perhaps preferable to “*spake*,” which has been substituted.—Scripture texts in Milton’s mind in the Sonnet are Rom. vii. 24, Rev. xiv. 13, Acts x. 4, Ps. xxxvi. 8, 9.

From the first Cambridge draft of this Sonnet we find that “*load*” in line 3 was originally “*clod*”; that line 4 originally ran “*Of flesh and sin which man from heaven doth sever*”; and that lines 6—10 ran thus:—

“*Straight followed thee the path that saints have trod;
Still as they journeyed from this dark abode
Up to the realms of peace and joy for ever,
Faith showed the way, and she, who saw them best
Thy handmaids,*” etc.

An intermediate form of line 9 was “*Faith, who led on the way,
and knew them best.*”

SONNET XV.—“*though new rebellions raise their Hydra heads, and the false North,*” etc. See historical particulars in Intro. to the Sonnet (I. pp. 220-222).—“*Her broken league*”: i.e., the “Solemn League and Covenant,” for mutual defence and the prosecution of Religious Reform, which the Scots had proposed to the English in 1643, and which since then had been the great documentary band between the two kingdoms, sworn to, voluntarily or compulsorily, by almost the entire populations of both. The Scots charged the English with having broken this League, both by being harsher to Charles and less loyal to monarchy than the Covenant required, and also by allowing too great licence of religious opinion and practice and not being zealous enough for Presbytery; and this was the chief pretext for Hamilton’s expedition into England in 1648 in aid of Charles against the English Parliament. Some of the English, on the other hand, said the Scots had broken the League.—“*To imp their serpent wings,*” i.e. to add strength to the Royalist insurrections in England that were raising their Hydra heads. *To imp* was *to engraft*, and hence to mend a hawk’s wing by inserting new feathers for broken ones. Thus Shakespeare (*Rich. II.* II. 1):—

“If then we shall slake off our slavish yoke,
Imp out our drooping country’s broken wing.”

—“*public fraud*” (line 13). By the year 1648 it had become a charge of the Independents and Army-chiefs against the less resolute Parliamentarians that they had mismanaged and misappropriated the public revenues, and that their half-hearted policy against Charles arose from a dread of being called to account.

This is one of the four Sonnets not published in Milton’s lifetime, but first in 1694 by Milton’s nephew Phillips as an Appendix to his Memoir of Milton prefixed to an English translation of

Milton's *Letters of State*. These Sonnets were not incorporated in any edition of Milton's Poems till 1713, and were then printed mainly from Phillips's copies. Newton, in 1752, went back to the text of the Sonnets presented in the drafts preserved among the Cambridge MSS.; and he has been followed by most subsequent editors. For the reasons explained in General Introduction to the Minor Poems (I. p. 108), there can be no doubt that this course is the right one, and that Phillips's copies of 1694 had been vitiated by misrecollection or mistranscription. In the present Sonnet, his copy, besides two glaring errors in pointing, presents the following differences from the Cambridge MS. copy in Milton's own hand:—"And fills" for "*filling*" in line 2; "*which*" for "*that*" in line 4; "*valour*" for "*virtue*" in line 5; "*while*" for "*though*" in line 6; "*her*" for "*their*" in line 8; "*acts of war*" for "*endless war*" in line 10; "*injured truth*" for "*truth and right*" in line 11; "*be rescued from the brand*" for "*cleared from the shameful brand*" in line 12; "*shares*" for "*share*" in line 14.

SONNET XVI.—"*a cloud*," etc. A recollection, as Newton noted, of Virgil's *nubem belli* (*Æn.* X. 809).—"crowned Fortune," i.e. the crowned King Charles, and his family.—"*Darwen stream, with blood of Scots imbrued*," i.e. not the Derwent in Derbyshire, as some commentators have imagined, but the Darwen in Lancashire, which falls into the Ribble near Preston. It was in that neighbourhood, and over the ground traversed by the Ribble and its tributaries, that Cromwell fought his famous three days' battle of Preston, Aug. 17-19, 1648, in which he utterly routed the Scottish invading Army under the Duke of Hamilton. The stream, and a bridge over it where there was hard fighting, are mentioned in Cromwell's own letter of Aug. 20, 1648, to Speaker Lenthall, describing the battle; and Mr. Carlyle, in a note to that letter, has given a list of the various tributaries to the Ribble, the Darwen included, in illustration of the range of the battle (*Cromwell's Letters*: ed. 1857, I. p. 289). As the Darwen is not marked in ordinary maps of Lancashire, commentators have denied the existence of such a Lancashire stream, and supposed that Milton meant the Ribble, but forgot its name and put that of the Derbyshire Derwent instead. Here again one sees that it is unsafe to doubt Milton's accuracy.—"*Dunbar field*": the famous Battle of Dunbar, fought by Cromwell, Sept. 3, 1650, when he beat the Scottish Army under General David Leslie, and substantially annexed Scotland to the English Commonwealth. Mr. Carlyle's description of the battle in his *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (II. 178—187) is one of the most memorable passages of that work.—"*resounds*": the verb in the singular, to distribute it between the three nominatives, one of which is still to come.—

"*Worcester's laureate wreath*": Cromwell's crowning victory of Sept. 3, 1651, "his twice victorious 3rd of September," when he defeated, at Worcester, the army which Charles II., then just crowned King in Scotland, had brought into England to feinstate him there also. After the battle Charles had to skulk about in disguise till he could escape again to the Continent.—Milton had judiciously selected for mention three of Cromwell's latest and greatest military victories; and the victories of another kind to which he points him in lines 9—14 are victories over the Presbyterian clergy, their intolerance, and their greed. Here, though with especial reference to certain incidents of May 1652 (see *Introd.* to the Sonnet, I. pp. 223—229), Milton recurs to the strain of his lines *On the New Forcers of Conscience*.—It is noticeable that the present is the only one of Milton's Sonnets that ends in a rhyming couplet (see *Gen. Introd.* to the Sonnets, I. pp. 201—206).

This is another of the four Sonnets that were misprinted by the early editors of Milton because they were taken from Phillips's copies of 1694, and not from the genuine copies in the Cambridge MSS. (see note to last Sonnet).—In Phillips's copy of the present Sonnet it was mangled by the total omission of one line (line 5), and by inaccuracies in the other lines, as follows:—

"Cromwell, our chief of men, that through a crowd
Not of war only, but distractions rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast ploughed,
And fought God's battles, and his work pursued,
While Darwent streams, with blood of Scots imbrued,
And Dunbarfield resound thy praises loud
And Worcester's laureate wreath : yet much remains
To conquer still ; Peace hath her victories
No less than those of War : new foes arise,
Threatening to bind our souls in secular chains.
Help us," etc.

Obviously, this copy is a sheer vitiation of the original as we have it in the Cambridge draft. That draft itself, however, presents one interesting correction. Line 9 there stood at first thus:—

"And twenty battles more : yet much remains."

The insertion of "*Worcester's laureate wreath*" for "*twenty battles more*" was an afterthought.

• SONNET XVII.—"*when gowns, not arms, repelled,*" etc. : i.e. in that period of Roman History when it was on statesmen, rather than on warriors, that the defence of the Commonwealth rested.—"*The fierce Epirot and the African bold*" : to wit, Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, a formidable enemy of the Romans from B.C. 280 to B.C. 272; and the Carthaginian Hannibal, their great enemy from B.C. 220 to B.C.

182.—*the drift of hollow states.*" Commentators have supposed here an allusion to the United Dutch Provinces, the relations of which to the English Commonwealth were not very explicit.—"*to know both spiritual power and civil,*" etc. See Intro. to the Sonnet, I. pp. 229, 230.

This is one of the Sonnets printed in a vitiated form by Phillips in 1694 (see note to Sonnet XV.) Save that in line 1 Phillips's copy substitutes "*sage counsels*" for "*sage counsel,*" that copy corresponds with the Cambridge draft as far as to the end of line 6; after which it proceeds thus:—

"Then to advise how war may best be upheld,
Mann'd by her two main nerves, iron and gold,
In all her equipage: besides, to know,
Both spiritual and civil, what each means,
What serves each, thou hast learn'd, what few have done.
The bounds of either sword to thee we owe;
Therefore on thy right hand Religion leans,
And reckons thee in chief her eldest son."

But the Cambridge copy itself, as dictated by Milton, reached its present state after several corrections. For "*then to advise*" in line 7 there had been first dictated "*And to advise*"; for "*Move by*" in line 8 "*Move on*"; instead of the present lines 10, 11, the following:—

"What power the Church and what the Civil means
Thou teachest best, which few have ever done,"

with a subsequent alteration to

"Both spiritual power and civil, what each means
Thou has learned well, a praise which few have won";

and for "*firm hand*" in line 13 "*right hand.*"

SONNET XVIII.—"*the bloody Piemontese, that rolled mother with infant down the rocks.*" In explanation of this Warton refers to the contemporary account of the massacre by Sir W. Morland, where there is a print of this particular piece of cruelty, and a story of an infant found alive at the foot of a rock after three days in its dead mother's arms.—"*Their martyred blood and ashes sow*": an adaptation of the aphorism of Tertullian, "The blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church."—"The triple Tyrant": i.e. the Pope, with his three-tiered crown, called "*Tricoronifer*" in Milton's Latin poem *In Quintum Novembris*, line 55.—"*A hundredfold*" printed "*A hunderd fold*" in edition of 1673.—"*the Babylonian woe.*" The Church of Rome was regarded by the Puritans as the mystical Babylon of the Apocalypse, the doom of which was foretold (Rev. xvii. and xviii.); and Milton in his *In Quintum Novembris* (line 156) had called the Pope "*Antistes Babylonius.*"

SONNET XIX.—“*Ere half my days.*” For the date of Milton’s blindness see Introduction to this Sonnet, I. pp. 231, 232.—“*that one talent,*” etc., Matt. xxv. 14—30. Milton speaks of his eyesight as the “one talent” he had received.—“*thousands*”: viz. of Angelic beings.

SONNET XX.—“*Favonius*”: a poetical synonym for Zephyr, the West-wind.—“*that neither sowed nor spun,*” Matt. vi. 26—29.—“*spare to interpose them oft*”: interpreted by Mr. Keightley to mean “spare time to interpose them oft”; but surely rather the opposite—“refrain from interposing them oft.” *Parcere* in Latin with a verb following had this sense of “refraining from,” and “spare” in English was used in the same way.

SONNET XXI.—“*Let Euclid rest, and Archimedes pause*”: i.e., lay aside your mathematical and physical studies (see Intro. to the Sonnet, I. pp. 235-238.—“*what the Swede intend, and what the French*”: see Intro. I. p. 235. Most editors print “*intends*” here; but it is distinctly “*intend*” in the edition of 1673. There is a recollection here, as Newton pointed out, of Horace, *Od.* II. 11.

“Quid bellicosus Cantaber, et Scythes,
Hirpine Quinti, cogitet, Adria
Diſvis objecto, remittas
Quærere”;

perhaps also of *Od.* I. ix. 13, and *Eccles.* iii. 1.

SONNET XXII.—“*this three years’ day.*” See Intro. I. p. 240. “This day three years” is the prosaic form, and some have unwarrantably proposed that reading here.—“*though clear to outward view,*” etc. Milton is equally explicit on this point in a passage in his *Def. Sec.*, where he discusses his blindness. His eyes, he says, had totally lost their power of seeing: “*ita tamen extrinsecus illæsi, ita sine nube clari ac lucidi, ut eorum qui acutissimum cernunt: in hac solum parte, memet invito, simulator sum.*”—“Or sun, or moon, or star,” etc. Compare *Par. Lost*, III. 40 *et seq.*, and *Sams. Ag.* 80 *et seq.*—“*conscience,*” i.e. “consciousness.”—“*to have lost them over-plied in Liberty’s defence*”: i.e. in writing his great pamphlet *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, published in 1650, in reply to Salmasius, whose *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I.* had appeared in 1649. In that pamphlet itself Milton had said that, being in ill-health while he wrote it, he had been “forced to write by piecemeal, and break off almost every hour”; and in its sequel, the *Defensio Secunda*, published in 1654, or perhaps a year before the present Sonnet was written, he had inserted a more express passage, to the effect that when he had undertaken the reply to Salmasius the sight of one eye was already nearly gone, and he had persevered in his task, from a sense of

paramount duty, against the positive warnings of physicians that it would accelerate total blindness.—“*my noble task, of which all Europe rings.*” Only in this case have I adopted a reading from Phillips’s printed copy of 1694. In the Cambridge draft of the Sonnet, as dictated by Milton, the word is “*talks*” and not “*rings*,” and I have no doubt “*talks*” is what Milton himself would have printed. But the word “*rings*,” substituted by Phillips, probably because the first line of the Sonnet to Fairfax was still echoing in his ear, has so recommended itself by its energy, and has become so identified with the passage by frequent quotation, that no editor since Newton has had the heart to return to “*talks*.” I believe I ought to have had the boldness to do so.—“*the world’s vain mask.*” Ps. xxxix. 6, “Surely every man walketh in a vain shew.”

With the exception of “*rings*” in line 12 (see above), Phillips’s deviations from the Cambridge MS. draft of this Sonnet are all for the worse. For “*light*” in line 3 he substituted “*sight*”; for “*sight*” in line 4 “*day*”; for “*of*” at the beginning of line 5 “*or*”; for “*a jot*” in line 7 “*one jot*”; for “*the world’s*” in line 13 “*this world’s*”; and for “*better*” in line 14 “*other*.”—In the Cambridge draft itself, however, there are some corrections. For “*Heaven’s hand*” in line 7 Milton had originally dictated “*God’s hand*”; for “*beaz up and*” in line 8 “*attend to*”; and for “*Right onward*” in line 9 “*Uphillward*.”

SONNET XXIII.—See Introd. to the Sonnet, I. p. 239.—“*like Alkestis from the grave, whom Jove’s great son,*” etc. The reference is to the beautiful drama of *Alkestis* by Euripides, where it is told how the brave god Herakles, Jove’s great son, brought back the dead Alkestis from her grave, and restored her to her husband Admetus. The story is accessible now to English readers in the fine transcript of it, with poetic comments, in Mr. Browning’s *Balaustion*. —“*Purification in the Old Law*”: a reference to the regulations of the Mosaic Law in Levit. xii.—“*Her face was veiled.*” See, for the significance of this, Introd. I. pp. 239, 240; but perhaps there is a recollection also of Alkestis as she was brought back to Admetus by Hercules.

“ There is no telling how the hero twitched
The veil off,”

says Mr. Browning, re-imagining that scene.

TRANSLATIONS.

THE FIFTH ODE OF HORACE, LIB. I.—^d *Plain in thy neatness?* Warton objected to this translation, on the ground that Horace's words "*simplex munditiis*" mean "plain in her dress, or, more periphrastically, in the manner of adorning herself." But Milton, in the Latin copy of Horace's ode printed parallel with his translation in the edition of 1673, adopts the reading "*simplex munditie*"; and to this his translation is exact.

PSALMS LXXX.—LXXXVIII.—See Introd. I. pp. 241—245. Milton's statement, in his note prefixed to his version of these Nine Psalms, being that he had translated punctiliously from the original Hebrew, and that all save the Italic phrases in his version were exact renderings of that original, I submitted the proof for this edition, with Milton's marginal Hebrew notes and comments copied in it from the edition of 1673, to the Rev. Dr. A. B. Davidson, Professor of Hebrew in the New College, Edinburgh, with a request that he would report on the accuracy of the marginal notes, and on the amount of knowledge of Hebrew indicated by them. Dr. Davidson has favoured me with the following remarks:—

"P. 8. marg. 1: for *Be Sether* read *Besether* (one word) as in p. 9; marg. 2 [*Be* is a preposition, but is always attached to its word].

"P. 9. marg. 3: *Tishphetu* would be more accurately pronounced *tishpetu* (*p* for *ph*); but probably the author wrote *ph*.

"P. 10. marg. 7: *Shifta* is read in the Hebrew Bible *Shofa* ("o, not i). Probably *Shifta* is a mere misspelling. [Some verbs give *i* for *o* in this part; and, if an unpointed Bible had been used, the reading *shifta* might indicate not very accurate knowledge of the language. But the accuracy of the other words seems against this supposition.]

"The printing of the words is extremely accurate. The author must have had, I should say, a familiar acquaintance with the vocalised text; and some of his remarks—such as that on p. 11 marg. 7: "*neoth elohim* bears both"—indicate also familiarity with Hebrew idiom.

"Of course, in the transcription of Hebrew words *gn* represents the *Ayin*, and *j* is to be pronounced *y* as in Hallelujah."

While these remarks by a Hebrew scholar will suffice for the main professed feature of the Version of the Nine Psalms, the English reader may judge for himself of the poetical merits. (See

Introduction, and remember also Landon's remark that "Milton was never so much a regicide as when he lifted up his hand and smote King David.") One or two verbal notes may be added:—Ps. LXXX. 35, *haut*, for *haughty*, an old form, found in Spenser and Shakespeare, but nowhere else in Milton's poetry.—*Ibid.* lines 14, 30, 78, the identical rhyme of *vouchsafe* and *safe*; and line 60 *vine* rhyming with *divine*. In the edition of 1673 *vouchsafe* is so spelt in lines 14 and 30; but *voutsafe* in line 78, as generally in *Par. Lost.*—Ps. LXXXVI. lines 26—28, the word "*works*" rhyming to itself.

PSALMS I.—VIII.—As has been pointed out in the Introduction (I. p. 246), the peculiarity in this version of the first Eight Psalms is that in each Psalm there is an experiment of a special metre. Psalm I. is in heroic couplets; Psalm II. in Italian tercets, or rhymes interlinked in threes, as in Dante's *Divina Commedia*; Psalm III. in a peculiar six-lined stanza; Psalm IV. in a different six-lined stanza; Psalm V. in a peculiar four-lined stanza; Psalm VI. in another kind of four-lined stanza; Psalm VII. in a six-lined stanza different from either of the previous six-lined stanzas; and Psalm VIII. in an eight-lined stanza. But in each metre there are irregularities and laxities. Observe the double rhymes "*nations*" "*congregations*" in Ps. II. 1—3, "*glory*" "*story*," and "*millions*" "*pavilions*" in Ps. III. 7, 8, and 15—18, "*unstable*" "*miserable*" in Ps. V. 25—27, "*reprehend me*" "*amend me*," and "*weeping*" "*keeping*" in Ps. VI. 1—4 and 17—20, "*under*," "*wonder*," "*asunder*," "*nation*," "*habitation*," "*foundation*," and "*offended*," "*bended*," "*intended*," in Ps. VII. 2—5, 25—30, and 44—47.—Note also, as peculiar verbal forms, "*sustain*" used substantively in Ps. III. 12, "*deject*" used adjectively Ps. VI. 3, and "*bearth*" for "*birth*" or "*production*," Ps. VII. 4 (compare *Par. Lost.* IX. 624, and note there).

SCRAPS FROM THE PROSE WRITINGS.—See Introduction, I. pp. 246, 247.

PART II.: THE LATIN POEMS.

"DE AUCTORE TESTIMONIA."—These five pieces of eulogium prefixed to the Latin Poems in the edition of 1645, and repeated in that of 1673, were a selection from complimentary testimonies which Milton had received from the Italian scholars and wits whose acquaintance he had made during his residence in Italy in 1638-9 (General Introd. I. p. 90). His reception among these scholars and wits, especially in Florence, Rome, and Naples, had been most cordial; they had entertained him privately, and admitted him to the meetings of their "Academies": viz. the Literary and Philosophical Debating Societies which then abounded in all the Italian cities; and the impression he had made on them, by his conversation, and by incidental specimens of his writing in Latin and Italian (for few, if any, of them knew English), had been quite extraordinary. This appears even through the extravagant Italian politeness of the written compliments they addressed to him before his departure back to England. Milton, while printing these compliments, notes their extravagance, but confesses to his pleasure in being able to produce to his countrymen such proofs of the estimation in which he had been held by honourable men abroad. There can be little doubt that one motive for printing them was a desire to counteract, as much as possible, that opinion of Milton which prevailed among his countrymen in 1645 in consequence of his numerous polemical writings of the four preceding years,—the opinion, namely, that he was merely a fierce prose-pamphleteer, of extreme and revolutionary ideas.—About the Neapolitan MANSO, the writer of the first of the five testimonies quoted, sufficient information has been given in the Introduction to the Latin Poem "*Mansus*" (I. pp. 309—315). About the Roman SALSILLI, the writer of the second, there is similar information in the Introduction to the Latin Verses addressed to him (I. pp. 308, 309). Of SELVAGGI, the writer of the third, nothing known, save that he was probably a Roman. ANTONIO FRANCINI and CARLO DATI, the writers of the fourth and fifth, were Florentines, and leading spirits in the Literary Academies of Florence at the time of Milton's visits. Of all the Florentine group they were the two who seem to have recollected Milton most fondly, and whom he recollected most fondly. There is special mention of both by name in his *Epitaphium Damonis*, written immediately after his return to England (lines 136—138); and Dati, who was a very young man when Milton first saw him in Florence, was one of his correspondents

afterwards. Three letters of the correspondence are extant,—one in Latin from Milton to Dati, dated “London, April 21, 1647,” and two in Italian from Dati to Milton, dated from Florence, “Nov. 1, 1647,” and “Dec. 4, 1648.”

ELEGIARUM LIBER.

ELEGIA PRIMA.

3. “*occidua Devæ Cestrensis ab orâ.*” See Introduction, I. p. 256; and compare *Lycidas* 55, and note there.

4. “*Vergivium . . . salum*”: the Irish Sea. Camden’s *Britannia*, Warton says, had familiarised the name in Milton’s time. Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, several times uses *Vergivian* as the name of the sea.

8. “*Debet, at unde brevi reddere jussa velit.*” A recollection, as Richardson noted, of Horace, *Od.* I. iii. 5—8.

9. “*reflua . . . undâ*”: i.e. its tidal wave.

10. “*patria*,” in the sense of “my native city.”

11—20. “*Jam nec arundiferum*,” etc. These ten lines are supposed to convey the story of Milton’s temporary rustication from Christ’s College, Cambridge, in 1626 (see Introd. I. pp. 257, 258); and it seems impossible to evade that interpretation. The phrases most significant are “*dudum vetiti laris*,” “*duri minas Magistri*,” “*Cætera ingenio non subeunda meo*,” “*exilium*,” “*profugi nomen*,” and “*exilii conditione*.” One might propose, indeed, to construe the first of these phrases in a way different from that which has been usual with those who have read it with the story of the rustication in their minds. They (e.g. Cowper in his translation of the Elegy, and Warton, Todd, and Mr. Keightley) have taken “*lar*” to mean “college,” or “college-chamber,” and so have read the whole line thus: “Nor does any love of [longing for] my lately forbidden college-room vex me.” But why, one may ask, not take “*lar*” in its more direct sense of “home,” “fireside,” and so read the line thus: “Nor does longing for my lately forbidden home in London now vex me, as it used to do at Cambridge,”—i.e. “Nor, now that I am back in London, have I any longer the feeling of home-sickness”? Plausible as this is, and more consistent than the other reading with the ordinary usage of *lar*, I am still not sure but the other reading is the right one. It seems to fit in better with the context; and that “*lar*” might have been used by Milton in the sense of college-room seems the likelier from his subsequent use of “*patrios penates*” for

his father's house in London. Either way, the interpretation of this particular line leaves the other phrases untouched, and they contain sufficient allusion to some incident in Milton's college-life equivalent to rustication. "*Si sit hoc exilium*," etc., can hardly be understood otherwise.—In Buchanan's curious Elegy, entitled *Quam misera sit conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiae*, there is a distich not unlike lines 15, 16 :—

"Quid memorem interea fastidia mille laborum,
Quæ non ingenuâ mente ferenda putes?"

21—24. "*O utinam vates . . . ille*," etc. Milton's fondness for Ovid finds here very exaggerated expression.

29—36. "*Seu catus*," etc. On these eight lines Warton remarks that the comedies hinted at are rather the Terentian than those of the contemporary English stage. "It is the view of a scholar, and he does not recollect that he set out with describing a London theatre."

35, 36. "*Sæpe novos*," etc. Richardson compared two lines in Claudian's *De Nuptiis Honorii et Mariae*, 3, 4 :—

"Nec novus unde calor nec quid suspiria vellent
Noverat incipiens, et adhuc ignarus amandi ;"

and also Ovid's lines, *Met.* IV. 329, 330 :—

"pueri rubor ora notavit
Nescia quid sit amor ; sed et erubuisse decebat."

37, 38. "*Sive cruentatum furiosa Tragædia*," etc. See note, *Penseroso*, 97—102.

40. "*lacrymis dulcis amaror*." So Catullus (*Ad Manlium*) :—

"Quæ dulcem curis miscet amaritiem."

41, 42. "*Seu puer infelix*," etc. Shakespeare's *Romeo* ?

43, 44. "*Seu ferus e tenebris*," etc. In Shakespeare's *Hamlet* or his *Richard III.* ?

45, 46. "*Seu mæret Pelopeia*," etc. He reverts now to Greek Tragedy.

49, 50. "*Nos quoque lucus habet*," etc. The allusion does not seem to be, as Warton fancied, to any country-house of Milton's father nearer town than the house at Horton he afterwards occupied ; for, as Mr. Keightley asks, what could have brought thither the *Virgineos choras* of line 52 ? Some suburban place of public resort, such as Gray's Inn Garden, or one of the Parks, seems to be intended. Kensington Gardens would be about the present equivalent.

54. "*possit*." So in Second Edition, changed from "*posset*" in First.

58. "*via*." The more rigid construction would have been "*viam*"; but there are classic precedents for Milton's form.

65. "*Achæmenia furritâ fronte puella*." According to Warton, Sandys in his *Travels*, first published in 1615, described the high head-dresses of the women of the part of Persia anciently called Achæmenia.

66. "*Memnoniamque Ninon*." Mr. Keightley observes that it was Susa, and not Ninos or Nineveh, that was called "the Memnonian city" by Herodotus.

69, 70. "*Nec Pompeianas Tarpæia Musa*," etc. The "*Tarpæia Musa*" is here used for the Roman poets generally, or more expressly for Ovid, whose house was near the Tarpeian Rock, and who, in his *Art. Amat. Lib. I.*, recommended Roman gentlemen in pursuit of beauty to walk slowly up and down in the shade of Pompey's Portico, if they did not object to the *sera et sapientior ætas* of the ladies they were likely to see there, but above all never to miss the theatres.

73. "*Tuquæ urbs Dardaniis, Londinum*," etc. London, in the British legends, was founded by the Trojan settlers who came in with Brutus, and was first called Trinovantum or New Troy.

• 77—80. "*Non tibi tot cælo*," etc. An expansion of Ovid's *Art. Amat. I. 59* :—

"Quot cælum stellas, tot habet tua Roma puellas."

84. "*et roseam posthabitura Cypron*." The phrase is from the *Æneid*, I. 15 :—

"Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
Posthabitâ coluisse Samo."

87, 88. "*Circes atria . . . Molyos*," etc. See notes, *Comus*, 46—50, 636, 637.

89, 90. "*Stat quoque*," etc. See note *ante*, lines 11—20. Whatever was the nature of Milton's absence from Cambridge for a while in the second year of his undergraduateship, it is certain that it did not involve the loss of even one term in his undergraduate course. The "*stat*," therefore, may imply "It has been satisfactorily arranged that I return," etc.

92. "*alternos . . . modos*": i.e. the alternate Hexameters and Pentameters of the Elegy.

ELEGIA SECUNDA.

1, 2. "*baculo fulgente . . . ciere gregem.*" See Introduction to the Elegy, I. p. 259.

5, 6. "*plumis sub quibus accipimus delituisse Jovem*": i.e. the swan-plumage of Jupiter when he wooed Leda. Warton quotes Ovid's line (*Heroides*, VIII. 68):—

"Nec querar in plumis delituisse Jovem."

7, 8. "*Hæmonio juvenescere succo . . . in Æsonios . . . dies.*" A recollection of Medea's occupation in Ovid's *Met.* VII. 264, 265:—

"Illic Hæmoniâ radices valle resectas,
Seminæque, floresque, et succos incoquit acres,"

and of the subsequent description of the result of the process, when Æson, the old father of Jason, had the magical decoction poured into his veins by Medea, and was straightway made young again. See also *Com.* 638, and note there; and compare *Mansus*, 75.

9, 10. "*Dignus quem . . . Coronides.*" Another Ovidian reference; more especially, as Mr. Keightley has noted, to *Fast.* VI. 745 *et seq.* Æsculapius, the god of medicine, son of Apollo, but here, after Ovid, called Coronides because his mother was Coronis, restored to life Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, whose death had greatly vexed Diana. "*Multum indignante Diana*," Ovid's phrase for the goddess's anger at the death, suggests to Milton the "*sæpe rogante deâ*" in the matter of the resuscitation.

12. "*Phæbo*": the Vice-Chancellor of the University?

13—16. "*Talis in Iliacâ*," etc. In the allusions in these lines Warton discerns proofs of Milton's early familiarity with Homer. The Eurybates of lines 15, 16, is one of the heralds of Agamemnon in the *Iliad*, sent to the court of Achilles to demand Briseis (I. 320 *et seq.*); but Mr. Keightley questions the accuracy of the Homeric reference in the two preceding lines to the god Hermes (called *Cyllenius* from his temple in mount Cyllene in Arcadia). "We are unable," he says, "to find any instance of Hermes being sent to the palace of Priam; for in the only two instances (*Il.* II. 786; XXIV. 160) it is Iris that is sent." In this second instance, however, after Iris had delivered Jove's message to the afflicted Priam in his palace, and encouraged him to go forth for the recovery of the dead body of Hector, slain by Achilles, it is Hermes that is specially despatched to complete the mercy by guiding Priam to the tent of Achilles (*Il.* XXIV. 334 *et seq.*). When Hermes encounters the old king he is certainly no longer in his palace, but in the

plain outside Ilium, driving through the darkness in his chariot towards the Greek entrenchment and ships. In the phrase "*in Iliacâ stabat Cyllenius aulâ*," therefore, Milton does take a liberty with the Homeric text.

19. "*pondus inutile terræ*." A literal translation of Homer's phrase ἐρώσιον ἄχθος ῥοπήρης (*Il.* XVIII. 104).

21. "*Academia*." Here, as well as in the only other instance of the use of the word in Milton's Latin poems (Epilogue to *Eleg.* VII.), the penult is made short, against the usual practice.

ELEGIA TERTIA.

3—8. "*Protinus en subiit*," etc. The reference in these six lines is to the ravages of the Plague in England in 1625 and 1626, mentioned also in the poem *On the Death of a Fair Infant* (see line 68 of that poem, and *Introd.* to it, I. p. 117). Among the thousands who had died of the Plague (35,417 in London and its neighbourhood alone, according to Whitlocke) there were not a few persons of rank. The mortality by this cause had fallen greatly by the beginning of 1626; but in September or October in that year, when this *Elegy* was written, the horror was still of recent memory.

9—12. "*Tunc memini*," etc. The other recent calamities, which Milton here represents himself as remembering in September or October 1626, were the deaths of some of the conspicuous champions of Protestantism on the Continent in that early stage of the great Thirty Years' War the object of which was the recovery of the Palatinate for its hereditary Prince-Elector, nominally "King of Bohemia," husband of the English Elizabeth, daughter of James I. The "*clarus dux*" and his "*frater verendus*" of lines 9, 10, may be, as Lord Hailes suggested to Warton, the young Duke Christian of Brunswick and Count Mansfeldt, chivalrous supporters of the Palatinate cause (called "brothers," as having been "brothers-in-arms"), both of whom died in 1626, the former by poison; the "*heroes rapti*" and "*amissi duces*" of lines 11, 12, lamented by all *Belgia*, may, on the same suggestion, include Henry Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford, who died at the siege of Breda in 1625. He was a relative of the more celebrated Sir Horace Vere, on whom, and his English troops, much of the hard work in the Palatinate had rested from 1620 to 1624, but who had returned to England in this latter year (to be created Baron of Tilbury in 1625), and may therefore count also among the "*amissi duces*" of the Low Countries at that epoch.

13. "*dignissime Præsul*." See *Introduction*, I. p. 260.

21. "*fluvio contermina quercus*." *Conterminus*, as Warton pointed out, is a favourite word with Ovid; and in one passage (*Met.* VIII. 620) he has the phrase "*tilia contermina quercus*."

22. "*prætereuntis aquæ*." The exact phrase occurs, as Todd noted, in the second of Buchanan's Latin Elegies.

30. "*Semideamque animam*," etc. Compare *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, line 21.

32. "*Roscidus occiduis Hesperus exit aquis*." Ovid has "*Hesperus roscidus*" in *Fasti*, II. 314; and "*Eois Lucifer exit aquis*," in "*Epist. ex Ponto*," II. v. 50. The observation is Warton's. Mr. Keightley adds that the second passage may have led Milton into an astronomical error here. As Lucifer rises in Ovid out of the Eastern waters, why should not Hesperus rise out of the Western? "This," says Mr. Keightley, "is an impossibility, for the Evening Star is always to the east of the Sun."

33. "*Tartessiaci . . . æquore*": i.e. in the Atlantic, beyond Tartessus, the southern district of Spain, to the west of the Pillars of Hercules. *Tartessus* is Ovid's adjective (*Met.* XIV. 416): "*Presserat occiduis Tartessia littora Phœbus*"; but Warton finds *Tartessiacus* in Martial, and in Buchanan's Latin Poems.

41. "*Thaumantia proles*": i.e. Iris, the Rainbow-goddess, the daughter of Thaumas, who was the son of Pontus and Ge.

43, 44. "*Non dea . . . hortos Alcinoi Zephyro Chloris amata*," The Greek goddess *Chloris* is the Roman *Flora*; and how she became the wife of *Zephyrus* is told by Ovid, *Fasti*, V. 195 *et seq.*—

"Chloris eram, quæ Flora vocor. Corrupta Latino
Nominis est nostri littera Græca sono.
Chloris eram, Nymphe campi felicitis, ubi audis
Rem fortunatam ante fuisse viris. . . .
Ver erat : errabam : Zephyrus conspexit ; abibam ;
Insequitur ; fugio. Fortior ille fuit. . . .
Vim tamen emendat dando mihi nomina nuptæ."

The particular gardens over which Milton here fancies Chloris or Flora lavishing her colours are those of Alcinous, the happy king of the Phæacians in the *Odyssey*. Compare *Par. Lost*, V. 340, 341, and IX. 439—441; and see also *Eleg.* IV. 34—36.

46. "*Ditior Hesperio flavet arena Tago*." The Tagus in Spain was celebrated for its golden sands. Ovid, describing the effects of Phaethon's fiery course in heaven on the various rivers, particularises that on the Tagus thus (*Met.* II. 251):—

"Quodque suo Tagus amne vehit fluit ignibus aurum."

47. "Favoni": i.e. of Zephyrus. See Sonnet XX.

49, 50. "*Talis in extremis terra Gangetidis oris Luciferi regis*," etc. Warton, imagining the *Lucifer rex* to be the Lucifer of *Paradise Lost*, i.e. Satan, whose palace is described there as being on the northern bounds of Heaven (V. 757 *et seq.*), could reconcile this passage with that only by a strained interpretation of "*in extremis terra Gangetidis oris*" as implying a northern direction; and, besides, he confessed that he could not find any fiction, such as Milton hints at, of a palace of Lucifer in those parts. But "*Lucifer rex*," as Steevens pointed out, is here not a name for Satan, but simply for the Sun or Light-bringer, whose home is placed by all poets in the far East. Ovid's description of the palace of Sol, at the beginning of *Met.* II., may have been in Milton's mind.

59. "*gemmatis . . . pennis*." Warton quotes from Ovid (*Remed. Am.* 39), "*movit Amor gemmatis aureus alas*."

63, 64. "*Nate, veni*," etc. Rev. xiv. 13. But compare the whole of this dream of Heaven in the Elegy, and vision of Bishop Andrewes glorified there, with the close of *Lycidas*, and also with the close of the *Epitaphium Damonis*.

ELEGIA QUARTA.

• 1. "*Curre per immensum subitò, mea littera, pontum*." Warton compares the beginning of Ovid's *Trist.*, III. 7:—

"Vade salutatum subitò perarata Perillam,
Littera, sermonis fida ministra mei."

2. "*Teutonicos . . . agros*": i.e. Germany, where Young was.

3. "*Segnes rumpe moras*." Quoted *verbatim*, as Mr. Keightley notes, from Virgil, *Georg.* III. 42, 43.

5, 6. "*Sicano frænantem carcere ventos Æolon*." Copied, as Warton noted, from Ovid, *Met.* XIV. 224:—

"Æolon Hippotaden frænantem carcere ventos;"

where, however, *cohibentem* appears for *frænantem* in some editions. See also Virgil, *Æn.* I. 52-54.—"*Sicano*," because the Island of Lipara (Lipari), where, in most accounts, Æolus had his residence and cave, was off the Sicilian coast. So Virgil, *Æn.* VIII. 416,

417:—

"Insula Sicanium juxta latus Æoliamque
Erigitur Liparen."

6. "*virides . . . Deos*": the ocean-gods, represented as green-haired.

7. "*Ceruleamque . . . Dorida*": i.e. Doris, the wife of Nereus, and mother of the Nereids, or sea-nymphs: hence, as here, the sea-queen.—All this mythological circumstance about the conveyance of a ship-letter suggests the hazards of the sea-post in those days, and the anxiety with which the sender of such a letter imagined it on its way.

10—12. "*Vecta quibus Colchis . . . aut queis Triptolemus, . . . Eleusina missus ab urbe,*" etc. *Colchis* (the Colchian) is Medea, one of whose exploits was her flight from Corinth and her faithless husband Jason to Athens in a chariot drawn by winged dragons. *Triptolemus*, a native of Eleusis, and the inventor of agriculture, had such another dragon-drawn chariot, given to him by Demeter or Ceres, in which he rode from his native land over the earth, distributing the blessings of husbandry, even to the Scythian coasts. Warton cites Ovid, *Met.* V. 648, 649:—

"Jam super Europen sublimis et Asida terram
Vectus erat juvenis, Scythicasque advertitur oras";

and he refers to another passage (*Trist.* III. viii. 1—4) where Ovid conjoins the chariot of Triptolemus with that of Medea, wishing he had them both for his own use, that he might revisit his native land.—Milton certainly studs the beginning of his letter thickly enough with mythological allusions. He was but nineteen years of age, and he was writing to his old preceptor in the classics.

14. "*Hamburgæ*." See Introduction, I. pp. 260—263.

15, 16. "*ab Hamâ*," etc. According to Warton, "Krantzius, a Gothic geographer, says that the city of Hamburg in Saxony took its name from Hama, a puissant Saxon champion, who was killed on the spot where that city stands by Starchater, a Danish giant." Hence the *Cimbrica clava* of line 16.

18. "*Præsul*": the same title as had been given to Bishop Andrewes in the last Elegy, and a very honourable title to give to Young, who was only chaplain to the English merchants at Hamburg. Was there any early Presbyterian feeling in this selection of the same designation for the Chaplain as for the Bishop?

19, 20. "*Ille quidem*," etc. A recollection of Horace's well-known words about Virgil, "*animæ dimidium meæ*" (*Od.* I. iii. 8).

23—28. "*Charior ille mihi quàm*," etc. Here is another bunch of historical and mythological allusions to please his old preceptor:—First Young is dearer to Milton than Socrates, the wisest of the

Greeks; was to his pupil, Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, and descended from the famous Ajax, the son of Telamon; then he is dearer than Aristotle was to *his* pupil, Alexander the Great, whose mother was Olympias (called *Chaonis* from Chaonia, a district of her native country Epirus), and his reputed father Philip, but his real father Jupiter Ammon or Libyan Jove; and, finally, Milton's regard for Young is such as Achilles, King of the Myrmidones, had for *his* two instructors—viz. (1) Phoenix, King of the Dolopes, and son of Amyntor, and (2) Cheiron, the best of the Centaurs, and the son of Cronos and the nymph Philyra.—Did Milton carry all the names and synonyms in his memory, or did he help himself with a Dictionary as he wrote? For lines 27, 28, at all events, he helped himself, as Warton noted, with recollections from Ovid,—*Art. Amat.* I. 11 and 337, *Met.* II. 676 (where Cheiron is expressly called "*Philyreius heros*"), and *Fasti*, V. 379 *et seq.* (where "*Philyreius heros*" occurs again). Here, as all through the Elegies, Milton's special acquaintance with Ovid appears.

29—32. "*Primus ego Aonios*," etc. Of this interesting acknowledgment by Milton of his obligations to Young's teaching it has been remarked by Mr. Keightley that the use of the word "*primus*" is rather awkward. In strict idiom it would imply that Milton was the first or chief of Young's pupils, not that he was first a pupil of Young's. May not Milton, however, have had something of the first sense in his mind?

• 33—38. "*Flammeus at signum ter*," etc. The dating in this passage has to be noted. Thrice, says Milton, had the flaming Æthon (one of the four horses of the Sun, according to the enumeration in Ovid's *Met.* II. 153, 154) seen the sign of the Ram, and clothed its woolly back with new gold; and twice had Chloris or Flora (see note, *Eleg.* III. 43, 44) overspread the old earth with new herbage; and twice had Auster, the South-wind, removed Flora's wealth; nor yet in this interval had it been permitted him to see Young's face, or hear him speak. Literally translated, this means that three vernal equinoxes, or 21sts of March, two summers, and two falls of the year, had passed since Milton and Young last met. Now, the present Elegy is headed by Milton himself "*Anno ætatis* 18"; and, by the analogy of his similar datings of other pieces (see Introductions to *Elegia* II. and III., and to *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, and to *In obit. Procane. Med.* among the *Sylvæ*), this has to be translated "At eighteen years of age," so as to fix 1627 as the year of the composition of the Elegy. That, accordingly, is the date assumed in the Introduction to it (I. pp. 260—265). If, then, the dating as above, by the three equinoxes, etc., has to be back from that point, we are referred to about February

or early March 1624-5 as the time when Milton had last seen Young, and the present Elegy must have been composed about April 1627. Here, however, a puzzle arises. The first of Milton's Latin *Familiar Epistles* is one to Young, and is dated "London, March 26, 1625" (see Introd. I. p. 262); and in that Epistle Milton apologises to Young for not having written to him for more than three years (*quod autem hoc plusquam triennio nunquam ad te scripserim, quæso*, etc.) He also speaks of his regret at Young's absence, and accounts for his neglect of correspondence by the very pain caused by the thought that one so dear and so often in his imagination should be actually separated from him by so long a tract of intervening earth ("*quam longinquo a me distes terrarum intervallo*"). This corroborates the idea, otherwise consistent with facts, that Young had ceased his preceptorship to Milton, and gone abroad as a preacher, if not to assume his chaplaincy in Hamburg, early in 1622. But how, then, are we to reconcile the two datings: that of the *Familiar Epistle*, which sends Young abroad in 1622, and says that for more than three years after that Milton had never written to him; and that of this *Elegy*, which says that Milton had not seen Young for about two years and a month, *i.e.* according to the date of the composition of the *Elegy* itself, since March or February 1625? Two suppositions present themselves:—(1) Milton may have misdated his *Elegy* from hazy recollection; and it may actually have been written and sent to Young at Hamburg about the same time as the Latin *Familiar Epistle*, *i.e.* in March 1625. What lends plausibility to this supposition is the fact that in the *Familiar Epistle* Milton does speak of a metrical composition which he meant to accompany it. "Although I had resolved with myself, most excellent Preceptor," so the letter opens, "to send you an Epistle composed in metrical numbers, yet I did not think I had done enough unless I also wrote something else in prose; for truly the boundless and singular gratitude of my mind, which your deserts justly claim from me, was not to be expressed in that cramped mode of speech, straitened by fixed feet and syllables, but by a free oration, nay rather, were it possible, by an Asiatic exuberance of words." This distinctly implies that Milton had then a metrical Epistle to Young on hand, and it rather implies that Young was to receive it with the Prose Letter. Unless, then, there was some other metrical Epistle to Young, now lost, may not this *Elegia Quarta* be the very Epistle announced in the Prose Letter? But, if so, is it likely that it would have been delayed for two years and more? Or, even if "*anno ætatis 18*" is interpreted "in his eighteenth year," in violence to the analogy of other pieces, so as to date the *Elegy* 1626, would not the delay of a year and more, which would still be involved between the *Elegy* and the Epistle announcing it, be rather

inconceivable? On the whole, then, may we not suppose that this Elegy was composed in March 1625-6, and sent to Hamburg with the Epistle, but afterwards accidentally misdated by Milton when he published it in 1645? (2) It may be maintained that the dating of the Elegy, 1627, is correct, and that the discrepancy of three years between the time it seems to assign to Young's departure from England and the time which the *Familiar Epistle* seems to assign to the same event can be reconciled. It would be reconciled by the supposition of a temporary visit by Young to England precisely before March 1625, when the Prose Epistle was written. There is nothing inconsistent between this supposition and the language of the Prose Epistle. On the contrary, that Epistle may be read as if it had been evoked, not by a letter from Young at Hamburg complaining that, for more than three years, *i.e.* since the beginning of 1622, when Young had gone abroad, Milton had never written to him, but by a mild personal remonstrance to the same effect when the preceptor and the pupil met again in London. It may be supposed that Milton, affected by this remonstrance, did not let much time pass after Young's return to Hamburg without making up for the long previous silence by an Epistle to be sent after him, and to be accompanied by a Poem. Then, however, two years and a month or so did pass, during which Milton relapsed into neglect of correspondence with his old teacher; and not till about April 1627 is he again so smitten with a sense of this neglect as to write again. Then, however, he is so smitten; and, to make amends, he sends the Elegy, now numbered *Elegia Quarta* and dated 1627. The calculation in that Elegy, that three spring equinoxes, two summers, and two autumns, had passed since he had seen Young, would then be literally exact, although Young had first gone abroad in 1622. But what of the Poem promised to Young in the Letter of March 1625? Either that Poem had then been duly sent with the Letter,—in which case it is now lost, and the present *Elegia Quarta* is a totally new one; or Milton had not then sent the Poem, but only the Prose Letter, and this *Elegia Quarta* is that identical promised Poem, meditated and perhaps begun in 1625, but not finished till 1627, when, with the necessary modifications for lapse of time, it is made to do duty as a second missive to Young at Hamburg, with a repetition of apologies. The very apologies made in the Elegy (see lines 49—68) are capable of this latter construction. "When I wrote to you on March 26, 1625, shortly after my last sight of you in England," these apologies may be prosaically interpreted, "I mentioned to you a composition in verse which I intended should accompany the letter: to my shame be it said, I never sent it, and two years and a month have again elapsed since you have heard from me either in prose or in verse; but here at last is my Elegy, sincere though

delayed, begging forgiveness."—Having presented the two alternatives as fairly as I can, I will only add that, though by no means assured, I incline to the second, in the second of its two forms: viz. that there were not two Elegies to Young, but that the present *Elegia Quarta* is the redemption in 1627 of the promise of an Elegy made in the Prose Epistle of 1625. This gets rid of two difficulties at once. It gets rid of the supposition that Milton had lost one of his Latin Elegies; which is inconsistent with the known care with which he preserved his MSS. It gets rid also of the supposition that Milton misdated the *Elegia Quarta*, and misdated it by more than two years,—a supposition inconsistent with his accuracy in such matters, and not justified by the slighter case of proved error in the dating of the first piece of his *Sylva* (see Introd. to that piece). Also, I think the style of the *Elegia Quarta* stronger and more mature than we could suppose in a poem written by Milton in March 1625, when he was but sixteen years old complete, and had just gone to Cambridge, and which would therefore have to rank as actually the first of his preserved compositions, in Latin or in English, after his juvenile paraphrases of two of the Psalms, and as preceding any other piece by a whole year. On the other hand, adhesion to the date 1627 necessitates the supposition, for which there is no other authority at present, that Young had paid a visit to England in 1624-5, some three years after his first going abroad in 1622; for the statement in an Elegy of 1627, that two years and a month had elapsed since Milton had seen Young and heard the sound of his voice, is otherwise inexplicable.

41—46. "*Invenies dulci cum conjuge*," etc. An adaptation, as Warton observed, of Ovid's lines (*Trist.* III. vii. 3, 4):—

"Aut illam invenies dulci cum matre sedentem,
Aut inter libros Pieridasque suas."

The preceding lines of the same Elegy had already been in Milton's mind (see note to line 1).

49. "*Hæc quoque, paulum oculos in humum defixa modestos*." Also, as Warton observed, from Ovid (*Amor.* III. vi. 67):—

"Dixerat. Illa oculos in humum dejecta modestos," etc.

53—68. "*Accipe sinceram, quamvis sit sera*," etc. On the significance of this apology see preceding note, lines 33—38.

55, 56. "*quam casta recepit Icaris*," etc. The allusion is to Penelope (called *Icaris Penelopeia*, because she was the daughter of Icarius), as she is represented by Ovid (*Heroid.* I. 1), writing to her long-absent husband Ulysses:—

"Hanc tua Penelope lento tibi mittit, Ulixee.
Nil mihi rescribas ut tamen : ipse veni."

61. "*Tu modò da veniam fasso*": a frequent expression with Ovid. Thus, "*Da veniam fasso*" in *Epist. ex Pont.* IV. ii. 23, and in several other places cited by Warton.

65. "*sarissiferi . . . Thracis*": the pike-bearing Thracian. The *sarissa*, as Warton notes, was a Macedonian weapon, and is mentioned by Ovid (*Met.* XII. 466), "*Macedoniâque sarissâ*."

71—82. "*Nam vaga Fama refert*," etc. I cannot better annotate this passage, respecting the perilous condition of Hamburg, and of Young in it, at the date of the Elegy, than by quoting Carlyle's condensed account, in his *History of Frederick the Great* (ed. 1869, vol. i. p. 211), of what he calls the "Second Act" of the Thirty Years' War:—"Except in the '*Nether Saxon circle*' (distant "North-west region, with its Hanover, Mecklenburg, with its rich "Hamburgs, Lübecks, Magdeburgs, all Protestant, and abutting on "the Protestant North), trembling Germany lay ridden over as the "Kaiser willed. Foreign League got up by France, King James, "Christian IV. of Denmark (James's brother-in-law, with whom he "had such a 'drinking' in Somerset House, long ago, on Christian's "visit hither), went to water, or worse. Only the '*Nether-Saxon Circle*' showed some life; was levying an army; and had "appointed Christian of Brunswick its Captain, till he was poisoned "[see note, *Eleg.* III. 9—12];—upon which the drinking King of Denmark took the command. Act *Second* goes from 1624 to "1627 or even '29; and contains Drunken Christian's Exploits. "Which were unfortunate, almost to the ruin of Denmark itself, as "well as of the Nether-Saxon Circle;—till in the latter of these "years he slightly rallied, and got a supportable Peace granted him "(Peace of Lübeck, 1629); after which he sits quiet, contemplative, "with an evil eye upon Sweden now and then. The beatings he "got, in quite regular succession, from Tilly and Consorts, are "not worth mentioning."—Such, seen through the telescope of History, was the warlike turmoil in North Saxony the contemporary rumour of which alarmed Milton for Young's safety in Hamburg, and drew these twelve lines from his pen. The lines themselves do not seem to fix, in any absolute manner, the question of date discussed in a previous note (33—38). Any time between 1624 and 1627 the countries of the Lower Elbe were the scene of war between the Imperialists under Tilly and the Protestants of the Saxon union with Christian of Denmark as their ally; and all that time Hamburg was more or less in danger. The closer gathering round Hamburg, and the immediate chance of a siege of that city,

pointed at in lines 73—76, may belong either to 1626 or to 1627; in both which years the tremendous Wallenstein, with his horde from all nations, co-operated with Tilly in those parts.

75. "*Enyo*": the goddess of War in the Greek mythology, delighting in bloodshed and the sieges of towns.

77, 78. "*suum concessit Thracia Martem . . . Odrysios . . . equos.*" The warlike character of the Thracian tribes led to the belief that Thrace was the especial habitation of Ares or Mars; and the *Odryseæ* were a specially ferocious Thracian tribe, that might well supply the god with horses.

80. "*arisonam Diva perosa tubam*": the goddess Eirene, or Peace.

84. "*solus inopsque.*" From Ovid, *Met.* XIV. 217, as Warton remarked:—

"Solus, inops, exspes, leto pœnæque relictus."

87—104. "*Patria, dura parens,*" etc. This passage has been construed by Warton and all the commentators as an outbreak, in academic language, of Milton's early Puritanism, or disgust with that system of ecclesiastical rule in England which, before 1640, had driven so many scores of nonconforming ministers of the Gospel, with thousands of their adherents, into exile in Holland, or elsewhere on the Continent, and even to the New-England colonies in America. Now, as there had been a continued persecution of extreme Puritanism in England, with expatriation of its representatives, since the reign of Elizabeth, something of this feeling *may* have been in Milton's mind when he wrote the passage. It is to be remembered, however, that it was written in 1627, a year before Laud became Bishop of London, and six years before he became Archbishop of Canterbury, and that the main mass of the persecutions and expatriations of Puritans now remembered so keenly in the History of England lies within the period of Laud's rule in his Bishopric and Archbishopric,—i.e. from 1628 onwards. Hence the prevalent feeling in the passage is to be taken rather as "O hard Britain, that drivest some of thine own children, and even faithful and eminent ministers of the Gospel among them, abroad for a livelihood!" than as "O cruel Episcopal England, that banishest, under the name of Puritans, so many of thy worthiest and most conscientious sons!" For such an exclamation as this last Milton was prepared when the time came; but it had hardly yet come. Moreover, there is not the least reason to think that Young went abroad on account of persecution for his opinions or on other grounds of conscience. He was not a Separatist, like most of

those whom persecution had driven abroad between 1590 and 1628. He went simply from stress of livelihood; and he returned to England, to be a vicar in the Church of England, of Puritan opinions certainly, but not conspicuously troubled for them, during the whole time of that supremacy of Laud which filled Holland with Puritan exiles and colonised New England. Attention to dates will often prevent misconceptions.

97—100. "*vates terræ Thesbitidis*," etc.: i.e. Elijah the Tishbite. See 1 Kings xix.—"*Sidoni dira*" (voc.) is Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, King of Sidon (1 Kings xvi. 31).

101, 102. "*Talis et . . . Paulus*," etc. See Acts xvi. 9—40. On "*Æmathiā*" for Macedonian see note to Sonnet "Captain or Colonel." In the reference to the scourging of St. Paul by the Macedonian magistrates of Philippi there can hardly be, as commentators have taken for granted, an allusion to the horrible punishments of Puritans by the English Star-Chamber under Charles I. The most famous cases of this kind were those of Leighton, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick. Now the public torture and mutilation of Dr. Alexander Leighton for his *Zion's Plea against Prelacy* did not occur till 1630; the punishment of Prynne for his *Histriomastix* was not till 1634; and the second punishment of Prynne with his fellow-offenders, Burton and Bastwick, was not till 1637.

103, 104. "*Piscosæque . . . Gergessæ*," etc. See Matt. viii. 28—34. "*Gergessa piscosa*," fishy Gergessa, is a picturesque name for "the country of the Gergesenes." Ovid (*Met.* X. 531) has "*Piscosamque Cnidon*."

113, 114. "*Ille Sionæ*," etc. The reference is to the destruction in one night of Sennacherib's Assyrian host before Jerusalem: 2 Kings xix. 35, 36. Strangely enough, as Mr. Keightley remarks, Warton and Todd missed this obvious fact, translated *Sionæ arx* into Samaria, and confused the Biblical reference in these two lines with that in the next eight.

115—122. "*Inque fugam vertit quos in Samaritidas oras*," etc. A poetic rendering, in brief, of 2 Kings vii. 3—10, where it is told how, on the panic of a miraculous noise of chariots and horses, as if of a great host, heard at night, the Syrians, with their King Benhadad, who were besieging Samaria and had almost reduced it by famine, fled to a man, leaving their camp desert. *Damascus* was the Syrian capital.

119. "*Cornea pulvereum dum verberat ungula campum*." Obviously an adaptation of Virgil's famous "*Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit*

ungula campum," but with a very successful variation in the studied sound "*um—dum*."

123. "*Et tu*." Warton thought that for very obvious reasons the reading here ought to be "*At tu*"; and Mr. Keightley agreed with him. I see no reason for doing so. The connexion of meaning is "Just as those starving Samaritans were relieved in their despair by that miraculous panic among their Syrian besiegers, so do thou *also* keep up hope," etc.; and this connexion would be spoilt by the substitution of *At* for *Et*.

125, 126. "*Nec dubites*," etc. The prophecy in these concluding lines was very soon fulfilled. See note *ante*, lines 87—104, and sketch of Young's subsequent life, *Intro.* I. pp. 263—265.

ELEGIA QUINTA.

1. "*In se perpetuo Tempus revolubile gyro*": possibly a recollection, thinks Warton, of a line in Buchanan's *De Sphaera* :—

"*In se præcipiti semper revolubilis orbe.*"

But another poem of Buchanan's, which Milton may more readily have had in recollection in this composition, is his Elegy "*Maia Calenda*"; which is, in fact, just such another poem on the Approach of Spring as this of Milton's. There we have the line :—

"*Dum renovat Maius senium revolubilis ævi.*"

Touches of resemblance may be discerned or supposed between Milton's Elegy and Buchanan's, as is natural from the identity of subject; but Milton's is the more luxuriously poetical.

5—8. "*Fallor? an*," etc. See, on the peculiar use of the figure of repetition in these lines, note to *Comus*, lines 221—224; and compare *Eleg.* VII. 56, and the Epigram *In Prod. Bomb.* 3.

6—8. "*Ingeniumque mihi munere veris adest*," etc. Warton here observes "There is a notion that Milton could write verses only in the Spring or Summer, which perhaps is countenanced by these passages. But what poetical mind does not feel an expansion or invigoration at the return of the Spring?" Unfortunately, Milton's own information, in his later years, to his nephew Phillips, was the very reverse of this. It was "that his vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal": *i.e.* from Sept. 21st to March 21st (Phillips's *Memoir* in 1694). If this is true, the approach of Spring actually checked Milton's *ingenium*. But

that refers to about 1663, when Milton was between fifty and sixty years of age; and we are now at 1629, when he was but twenty.

9, 10. "*Castalis*," etc. *Castalia* is the ordinary form of the word; but Buchanan has *Castalis unda* (the Castalian fount) in his First Elegy. The "*bifidumque cecumen*" is, of course, Mount Parnassus; *Pirene* is, the famous fountain of Corinth. Mr. Keightley suggests that, as Pegasus came to drink at Pirene, the young poet probably confounded it with Hippocrene, produced by a stroke of the hoof of the same Pegasus on Mount Helicon. The suggestion seems unnecessary. Pirene itself had reputation as a fountain favoured by the Muses, and might be associated with the Castalian Fount and Mount Parnassus. Thus Persius, in the Prologue to his *Satires*; which Milton may have had in his mind:—

"Nec fonte labra prolui Caballino [Hippocrene],
Neque in bicipiti somniâsse Parnasso
Memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem;
• Heliconidasque pallidamque Pirenen
• Illis remitto quorum imagines lambunt
Hederæ sequaces."

13. "*Penëide lauro*": with laurel from the Thessalian stream, Peneius.

19, 20. "*Intuiturque animus*," etc. Todd very fitly compares the famous passage in Shakespeare (*Mids. N. Dr.* V. 1), "The poet's eye, in a fine phrenzy," etc.

25, 26. "*Philomela . . . foliis adoperta novellis . . . dum silet omne nemus*": almost exactly the first two lines of the Sonnet "*To the Nightingale*."

27. "*Urbe ego*": Milton is writing in London.

30. "*perennis*." So in the edition of 1673. In that of 1645 the word was "*quotannis*"; which was a blunder of quantity, the last syllable being long. The blunder had not escaped Salmasius and others interested in finding fault with Milton's Latinity.

31, 32. "*Jam sol, Æthiopas . . . Tithoniaque arva . . . ad Arctoas*," etc. As by "*Æthiopas*" Milton here meant the South, so by "*Tithonia arva*" Mr. Keightley supposes he meant the East. "After the vernal equinox," adds Mr. Keightley, "the sun rises to the north of east."—"aurea lora" is quoted by Warton from Ovid (*Art. Amat.* I. 550).

35. "*Lycaonius . . . Bootes*." Mr. Keightley remarks, "This is not a proper expression for Βόότες, which had nothing to do

with Lycaon, whose daughter was turned into the *plaustrum cæleste*. But Milton had strict mythological authority. Although the northern constellation Bóotes was represented by some as the stellified Icarus, by others he was represented as the stellified Arcas, the Eponymic hero of the Arcadians; and this Arcas, in some mythologies, was that very son of Lycaon whose flesh was served up by his father before Zeus, and whom the disgusted God restored to life, while he destroyed the rest of the house of Lycaon. In that case, he was a brother of Callisto *alias* Helice, daughter of Lycaon, who was stellified as the Greater Bear, or Northern Wain, or Arctos. Even if Arcas is not taken as the son of Lycaon, but as the son of Callisto or Helice by Zeus (which is one form of the myth), he was still *Lycaonian*, as being the grandson of Lycaon; and so anyway Milton hits right in the jumble. Both Bóotes (Arcas, son or grandson of Lycaon) and Arctos, the *plaustrum cæleste* or Northern Wain (Callisto or Helice, daughter of Lycaon and sister or mother of Arcas), were Lycaonian offshoots up in heaven; and the only question, in this passage, is whether Bóotes regarded the "*plaustrum cœleste*" which he was following as his sister or as his mother. See Ovid, *Met.* II. 466—507; also note to *L'Allegro*, line 80. Martial (IV. iii. 5, 6) conjoins the two constellations:—

"Sidus Hyperborei solitus lassare Bóotæ,
Et madidis Helicen dissimulare comis."

43. "*caruisti . . . puellâ*." Warton noted the expression as from Ovid, *Art. Amat.* II. 249.

49—52. "'*Desere, Phæbus ait*," etc. Warton compares this passage with Ovid, *Amor.* I. xiii. 35—40. The aged husband of Aurora or Eos is Tithonus; her lover, the *Æolides venator*, is Cephalus, son of Æolus, the "Attic boy" of *Penseroso*, 124. She saw him first hunting on Mount *Hymettus*. Ovid (*Met.* VI. 681) calls him "*Æolides Cephalus*."

58. "*Pandit ut omniferos luxuriosa sinus*": not unlike Buchanan's line in his *Elegy* on May above mentioned:—

"Omniferos pandens copia larga sinus."

61, 62. "*Ecce, coronatur . . . Idæam pinea turris Opim*": i.e. the lofty forehead of the Earth is crowned with wood, as that of Ops, or Cybele, the goddess of fertility, the great all-bearing mother, is crowned with a tower of pines. For the "towered Cybele" see note *Arcad.* 20—25. Tibullus, as Warton noted, has the phrase "*Idæa Opis*" (I. iv. 68); and this may have suggested the pines of Mount Ida for the crown of the goddess.

65, 66. "*Floribus . . . Tænario placuit diva Sicana Deo*." The "*Tænarius Deus*" is Pluto: so called from the black cavern,

in the promontory of Tænarus in Læconia, which was regarded as one of the mouths of Hell, and up through which Hercules dragged the hell-dog Cerberus. He carried off the *diva Sicana*, or Sicilian goddess, Proserpine, as she was gathering flowers.

74. "*hinc titulos adjuvat ipsa tyos*": because Phœbus was also the God of Medicine.

83. "*Tethy . . . Tartesside lymphâ*." *Tethys* is the ocean generally; the "*Tartessis lymphâ*" is the Tartessian sea, the sea west of the Spanish Tartessus, the Atlantic. See note, *Eleg.* III. 33.

91. "*Semelîa fata*": the fate of Semele, who was burnt up by the presence of Jove in his full godhead.

93. "*sapientius*": *i.e.* more wisely than when you entrusted your chariot to Phaethon: an ingenious linking, as Warton remarked, of this speech of Tellus to Phœbus in Milton's *Elegy* with the speech of the same goddess to the same god in Ovid (*Met.* II. 272 *et seq.*), where she complains of her horrible scorching by Phaethon's escapade.—"*Cum*" in the same line is simply "when"; and "tu" and "tuo" are slyly emphatic.

108. "*Punicum . . . crocum*." See *L'Allegro*, 124, and note there.

119. "*sera crepuscula*." Warton quotes Ovid, *Met.* I. 219:—

"Ingredior, traherent cum sera crepuscula noctem."

• 122. "*Semicaperque Deus, semideusque caper*." Warton, quoting from Ovid, has "*Semicaper Pan*" (*Met.* XIV. 515), and "*Semicaperve Deus*" (*Fast.* IV. 752); and Todd refers to Statius (*Theb.* VI. 112) for "*Semideûmque pecus*," and to Ovid (*Art. Amat.* II. 24) for the line

"Semibovemque virum, semivirumque bovem."

125. "*Mænalius Pan*." Mænalus was a mountain in Arcadia, the principal country of Pan; and hence he is called "Mænalius Deus" (Ovid, *Fast.* IV. 650). See *Arcad.* 102, and note there.

129. "*cupit male tecta videri*": from Virgil, *Ecl.* III. 66:—

"Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri."

135—140. "*Te referant . . . Jupiter*." As Mr. Keightley remarks, there seems to be a heightening of the strain in this close of the poem. O that the Golden Age might return to the Earth, and spring be perpetual there!

ELEGIA SEXTA.

10. "*Festaque cœlifugam quæ coluere Deum.*" Milton means simply "these December festivities of yours"; but he recollects that the Roman Saturnalia, or festivities in honour of Saturn, and of the golden days of primitive equality when this god resided on earth, were held in the middle of December.

17, 18. "*Sæpius Aoniis clamavit collibus Euxæ
Mista Thyoneo turba novena choro.*"

i.e. "More than once the nine Muses, in a crowd together, have shouted *Euxæ* on the Aonian (Bœotian) hills, mingled with the Bacchic dance-revel." *Thyoneus* was one of the names of Bacchus, after his mother Semele, or *Thyone*; and Bœotia or *Aonia* was the central seat of the Muses. They are represented as companions of Bacchus in the legends; but Milton's particular fancy in these lines seems to be an invention of his own for his purpose.

19, 20. "*Naso Corallæis,*" etc.: *i.e.* "The poet Ovid (*P. Ovidius Naso*) sent bad verses from the scene of his banishment, the country of the savage *Coralli*; and the reason was that there was no feasting there, and no vines planted." The poems written by Ovid during his exile at Tomi on the Euxine sea (A.D. 8—18) were his *Tristia*, his *Epistolæ ex Ponto*, and his *Ibis*, besides parts of his *Fasti*; and these, in the judgment of critics, were not so good, or at least not so graceful, as his previous poems, all written in Rome, or elsewhere in Italy, amid the luxuries of civilised society. Ovid himself acknowledges something of this change. Thus, *Epist. ex Ponto*, IV. ii. 15—22:

"Nec tamen ingenium nobis respundet ut ante;
Sed siccum sterili vomere littus aro.
Scilicet ut limus venas excæcat in undis,
Læsaque suppresso fopite resistit aqua,
Pectora sic mea sunt limo vitata malorum,
Et carmen venâ pauperiore fluit.
Si quis in hac ipsum terrâ posuisset Homerum,
Esset, crede mihi, factus et ille Getes."

He also speaks in other places of his hard fare in exile, the hardships of the climate, etc. Thus *Epist. ex Ponto*, I. iii. 49—52:

"Orbis in extremi jaceo desertus arenis,
Fert ubi perpetuas obruta terra nives.
Non ager hic pomum, non dulces educat uvas;
Non salices ripâ, robora monte virent."

The *Coralli*, mentioned by Ovid as the "*pelliti Coralli*" or "fur-clad *Coralli*" (*Epist. ex Ponto*, IV. viii. 83), were not actually the people among whom he was living at Tomi, but one of those tribes

of the Getæ or Scythians of the Danube with whom he was brought into contact, and to whose visits the shores at Tomi were too subject (*nimum subjecta*). In *Epist. ex Ponto*, IV. ii. 37, 38, he says:—

“Hic mea cui recitem nisi flavis scripta Corallis,
Quasque alias gentes barbarus Ister habet?”

He did learn the language of these Getæ, and compose verses in it, which were received with applauses at Tomi.

21, 22. “*Quid nisi vina . . . cantavit Tēia Musa*,” etc. From Ovid he passes to Anacreon, a native of the Greek city of Teos or Teios on the Ægean coast of Asia Minor, and hence called “*Tēia Musa*.” By “*brevibus modis*” the short structure of the so-called Anacreontics is designated. Even in the mention of Anacreon Milton, as Warton noted, is guided by Ovid. Thus (*Trist.* II. 363—365):

“Quid nisi cum multo Venerem confundere vino
Præcepit lyrici Tēia Musa senis?”

23—26. “*Pindaricosque inflat numeros*,” etc. *Teumesius Euan* is the Bœotian Bacchus, called *Euan*, from the cry to him by his priestesses in their revels, and *Teumesius*, from Teumesus, a mountain in Bœotia; and the connexion of the passage is “Pindar’s lyrics also, the Theban Pindar’s, are inspired by the Bacchus of his native Bœotia.”—“*Dum gravis*,” etc.: in allusion to the subjects of Pindar’s odes, especially the chariot-races at the Olympic games, near Elis in the Peloponnesus.

27, 28. “*Quadrismoque madens Lyricen Romanus*,” etc. Next in the list comes Horace, referred to by his Odes to Glycera and Chloe (I. 19 and 23), and called *Lyricen Romanus* by a whim of Milton’s, Mr. Keightley thinks, inasmuch as *Lyricen* is a hybrid word, and Horace’s name for himself (*Epist.* I. xix. 32, 33) is “*Latinus Fidicen*.” The “*quadrismo Iaccho*,” or “four-years-old Bacchus,” is suggested by Horace himself (*Od.* I. ix. 5—8):

“Dissolve frigus, ligna super foco
Large reponens; atque benignius
Deprome quadrimum Sabinā,
O Thaliarche, merum diotā.”

37. “*Thressa . . . ; barbitos*.” Thracian, because Orpheus was Thracian.

39—48. “*Auditūque chelys suspensa tapetia circum*,” etc. In the whole of this passage we have a charming picture of a room, as it might be on a winter evening, in some English country mansion in Milton’s time, well lit, elegantly furnished, and full of young people gracefully enjoying themselves. We see the tapestried hangings, we hear the music, we see the fingers that make it at the instrument, and the bright eyes of the fair dancers. The *psallit ebur*

almost modernises all, by making us think of whatever, two hundred and fifty years ago, was likeliest to a piano and had ivory keys. It may have been about thirty years earlier that Shakespeare (Sonnet 128) wrote—

"How oft, when thou, my music, music play'st
Upon that blessed wood whose motion sounds
With thy sweet fingers, when thou gently sway'st
The wiry concord that mine ear confounds,
Do I envy those jacks that nimble leap
To kiss the tender inward of thy hand!"

55—66. "*At qui bella refert, . . . augur iture Deos.*" I have already called attention (Intro. I. pp. 267, 268) to the peculiarly Miltonic significance of this passage, coming so powerfully after the quiet grace of the preceding context. I can only repeat that the passage is worth getting by heart.—The "*Samius magister*" is Pythagoras, born at Samos.

67—70. "*Hoc ritu vixisse ferunt,*" etc. The mythical persons named are these: Tiresias, the Theban prophet, struck blind in his old age; the singer and philosopher Linus, also a Theban (hence called *Ogygian*, from *Ogygia*, one of the names of Bœotia): the soothsayer and priest Calchas, who accompanied the Greeks to Troy; and Orpheus, the Thracian singer, in his old age. See Intro. to *Par. Lost*, II. pp. 104, 105.

71. "*Sic dapis exiguus, sic rivi potor Homerus.*" Here Milton flatly contradicts Horace, who insists on it as an axiom that no good poet was ever a water-drinker, and argues, on internal evidence, that Homer cannot have been such (*Epist.* I. xix. 1—6):

"Prisco si credis, Mæcenas docte, Cratino,
Nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt
Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus: ut male sanos
Adscriptis Liber Satyris Faunisque poetas,
Vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camœnæ.
Laudibus arguitur vinæ vinosus Homerus."

Milton's personal philosophy led him to this contradiction of Horace, respecting Homer at least, though he had yielded the axiom in the earlier part of the *Elegy* as it respected certain orders of poets, including Horace himself. He had, doubtless, in his mind the grand figure of the blind old Homer of the legends, going from city to city, and living on alms, and sometimes poorly on those, in exchange for his songs. Once, it is said in the pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer*, the blind poet, till then known only by his name of Melesigenes, was induced, by an unusually kind reception he had met from the people of Cumæ, to petition the authorities of that city for a state-maintenance for the rest of his life, that he might wander no more, but make them and their city celebrated. The proposal

seemed to be favourably entertained in the public assembly, till one speaker remarked that, if they undertook to feed *homers* on application (*homer* being a word in the Cumæan dialect for "blind man"), they would soon have too many such useless cattle on their hands. The vote, accordingly, was in the negative; and the blind man left the city in anger, prophesying that there should never to the end of time be a poet born in Cumæ. But the Cumæan nickname stuck to him, and *Melesigenes* became thenceforward *Homerus*.

72. "*Dulichium vexit per freta longa virum, et,*" etc. "It is worthy of remark," Warton says, "that Milton here illustrates Homer's poetical character by the *Odyssey*, and not by the *Iliad*." The Island of Dulichium was part of the kingdom of Ulysses; hence he is the "*Dulichius vir*"; and the allusions are to such adventures of Ulysses in the *Odyssey* as his visit to Circe (here called the *Perseian Phæbas*, or *Priestess of Phæbus*, because she was the daughter of Phœbus and Perseis), his escape from the Sirens, and his descent into the infernal regions.

79—90. "*At tu si quid agam scitabere,*" etc. See Introd. I. p. 268, and Introd. to *Hymn on the Nativity*, I. p. 124, where this passage fixes the date of that English poem.

90. "*Tu mihi, cui recitem, iudicis instar eris.*" See *Comus*, 619 *et seq.*, and note to that passage.

ELEGIA SEPTIMA.

1. "*Amathusia*": Venus, so called from the town of Amathus in Cyprus, one of the chief seats of her worship. So her son, Cupid, is called *Cyprius* in line 11.

21. "*Talis in æterno juvenis Sigeius Olympo.*" The line, as Warton noted, is from Tibullus, IV. ii. 13:—

"*Talis in æterno felix Vertumnus Olympo.*"

The "*juvenis Sigeius*" is Ganymede, son of Tros. He was generally called *Phrygius Ganymedes* (Ovid, *Met.* X. 155); but *Phrygia* was once a general word, and included the Troas, with its town of Sigeum.

24. "*Thiodamanteus Naiade raptus Hylas.*" Hylas, son of Thiodamas, King of Mysia, was the favourite of Hercules, and was carried away by water-nymphs, who were enamoured of his beauty.

31—34. "*strato Pythone superbum edomui Phæbum . . . et, quoties meminit Penëidos,*" etc. Phœbus, proud of his victory over the serpent Python, thought his darts superior to those of Cupid, until the little god made him fall in love with Daphne, the daughter of the river Peneus; and then he knew whose darts hurt most.

37, 38. "*Cydoniusque . . . venator, et ille*," etc. The name "*Cydonius venator*" (from *Cydonia*, a city in Crete, famous for its arrows) seems to be here indefinite, like the "*Parthus eques*" of the preceding line, and not to designate any particular person. Probably the "*Parthus eques*" suggested the "*Cydonius venator*"; for Virgil (*Ecl.* X. 59, 60) has—

"libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu
Spicula";

and again (*Æn.* XII. 856—858):—

"sagitta
Armata sævi Parthus quam felle veneni
Parthus, sive Cydon, telum immedicabile, torsit."

Against the usage in these, and in other passages, Milton, as Mr. Mitford noted, makes the first syllable in *Cydonius* long, and the second short.—The other person, "*ille*," is Cephalus, one of the legends about whom is that he shot his own wife Procris accidentally with an unerring arrow, the gift of Artemis.

39. "*ingens . . . Orion*": the famous giant and hunter of the Greek mythology, changed into the constellation of that name.

40. "*Herculeæque manus, Herculesque comes*." The "hands of Hercules" himself were subdued by love when he span for Omphale: for the "companion of Hercules," similarly conquered, Mr. Keightley suggests Telamon.

46. "*Nec tibi Phœbeus porriget anguis opem*." Æsculapius, the god of Medicine, son of Phœbus, came to Rome in the form of a snake, to stay a pestilence. Ovid tells the story, *Mét.* XV., and uses the phrase "*Phœbeius anguis*," as Warton noted.

51, 52. "*Et modò quà nostri spatiantur in urbe Quirites, et modò*," etc.: viz. now the favourite walks of the citizens within London itself (Charter House Garden, the Temple Gardens, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Gray's Inn Gardens, etc.), now the more suburban places of resort (Hyde Park, Hampstead, etc.)

56. "*Fallor? an*." See *Eleg.* V. 5—8, and note there.

81, 82. "*proles Junonia . . . inter Lemniacos*," etc. Vulcan, who, when flung out of heaven by Jupiter, fell on the island of Lemnos.

83, 84. "*Talis et abreptum solem respexit . . . Amphiaræus*." The story of the hero Amphiaræus, who went unwillingly to the war against Thebes, fought bravely in it, but was at last swallowed up in a chasm of the earth as he was careering in his chariot from the pursuing enemy, is hinted at by Ovid in a line the last half of which Milton has adopted (*Epist. ex Pont.* III. l. 51, 52):—

"Notior est factus Capaneus a fulminis ictu ;
Notus humo mersis Amphiarus equis."

But, as Warton suggests, Milton may have had in his mind the splendid description of the hero's descent in the Thebaid of Statius (VII. 818—823):—

"Illum ingens haurit specus, et transire parantes
Mergit equos : non arma manu, non frena remisit :
Sicut erat, rectos defert in Tartara currus,
Respexitque cadens cœlum, campumque coire
Ingemuit : donec levior distantia rursus
Miscuit arva tremor, lucemque exclusit Averno."

Warton justly remarks on the fine taste shown in the allusion to Amphiarus for Milton's purpose. In the preceding lines he had compared his desolation of heart, when the unknown London beauty vanished from his gaze and he knew he should never see her again, to the feelings with which Vulcan in Lemnos may have thought of the heaven from which he had been suddenly flung ; but now he mends the image by saying he is like Amphiarus, who, as he sank in his chariot through the dark chasm that was to close over him, took one last look upwards at the sky and the sun.

POSTSCRIPT TO ELEGIA SEPTIMA.—"*Hæc ego mente olim lævâ,*" etc. See *Intro.* I. pp. 269, 270.—The more the general tenor of the Postscript is considered in connexion with the circumstances of Milton's life, the more it will appear that by *Academia* in line 5 he does not mean the University of Cambridge, as all the commentators have supposed, but the Platonic Philosophy. True, it may have been at Cambridge that he first imbibed this Philosophy from Plato's writings ; but the writings themselves, and not the University, are the "shady Academy" that he thinks of as affording him the "Socratic streams." He is thinking, in fact, of the original *Academia* of Athens, the celebrated groves of *Academus*, where Plato taught in person ; and, by metaphor, he makes his study of Plato's works to have been his own walking in spirit in those illustrious groves. How, indeed, even in physical consistency, could Milton have thought of Cambridge, whose "*juncosæ paludes*" and "*nuda arva umbrasque negantia molles*" he had pictured so vividly in his first *Elegy*, as now "*umbrosa*" and flowing with streamlets ? Still, if there is any doubt, Cambridge ought to have the benefit. For, certainly, he has made the penult of *Academia* short here, just as he did when he used the word indubitably for Cambridge University (see *Eleg.* II. 21).—"Et *Diomedeam vim timet ipsa Venus.*" The Platonic Philosophy, howsoever imbibed, had, before 1645, taken such possession of Milton as to have driven out of his mind any juvenile love-folly like that which this *Elegy* commemorated ; and now, if *Venus* herself were to try him, she would find him no less

obdurate a combatant than the hero Diomede had been, when he pursued her, lady-god though she was, through the ranks of war, wounded her in the wrist, and sent her screaming to Mars for help back to Olympus (*Iliad*, V. 335 *et seq.*)!

[EPIGRAMMATA.]

IN PRODITIONEM BOMBARDICAM.—“*Fallor? an.*” See *Eleg. Quinta*, 5—8, and note there.—“*Qualiter ille . . . liquit Iordanios . . . agros.*” The prophet Elijah, 2 Kings ii. 11.

IN EANDEM:—“*Quæ septemgeminæ Bellua monte lates?*”: the Papacy, resting on the seven hills of Rome, and regarded by zealous Protestants as the Beast of the Apocalypse (Rev. xiii.)—“*Ille quidem sine te consortia serus adiuit astra.*” King James was dead several years before this Epigram was written. Would Milton in later manhood have made the same *post-mortem* disposition of this king?

IN EANDEM:—“*Purgatorem animæ derisit Iacobus ignem*”: i.e. King James, as a good Protestant, derided the doctrine of Purgatory. Note the unusual *Iacobus*, instead of *Iacōbus*, as in the preceding Epigram.—“*Nec inultus*,” etc. Compare *In Quintum Novembris*, 44.

IN EANDEM:—The jest is “How absurd that Rome, which had excommunicated James, and doomed him to Styx and the world below, should have changed her mind, and tried to hoist him by gunpowder quite the other way!”

IN INVENTOREM BOMBARDÆ.—“*Iapetionidem*”: Prometheus. He only snatched a little fire from the chariot of the sun, and brought it down on the tip of a stick; but the inventor of gunpowder had robbed Jove himself of the whole power of his thunder!

AD LEONORAM ROMÆ CANENTEM.—See *Introd. I.* pp. 271, 272.—“*Angelus unicuique suus*,” etc. A fancy in which I discern something characteristic of Milton.—“*mens tertia*,” some third mind, intermediate between God and Angel.—“*assuescere*.” Mr. Keightley notes the faulty structure of this line, the cæsura falling on the first syllable of a word.—“*Quodd, si cuncta Deus est*,” etc. Mr. Keightley refers to the Pantheistic exposition in Virgil, *Æn. VI.* 724 *et seq.*

AD EANDEM:—“*Altera . . . Leonora*”: the Princess Leonora of Este, sister of the Duke of Ferrara, Tasso's love for whom, dating from 1566, makes so much romance in biographies of the poet.—“*Dirceus Pentheo*.” Pentheus, King of Thebes (hence called “Dircean Pentheus,” because *Dirce* was also one of the celebrities of the Boeotian legends), was furiously opposed to the worship of Bacchus in his dominions, till the god, to punish him, inspired him

with a desire to behold the Bacchic orgies himself, when he was torn to pieces. Ovid, in telling the story (*Met.* III.), describes the phrenzy of his rage, and his eyes "*quos ira tremendos fecerat*,"—"desipuisse": misprinted in both Milton's own editions: "*desipuisse*" in First, and "*desipulisset*" in Second.

AD EANDEM:—"Sirena . . . claraque Parthenopes fana Achelœiados, Chalcidico . . . rogo?" etc. Naples, primitively called *Parthenope*, and poetically *urbs Parthenopæia*, derived that distinction from the legend that the body of Parthenope, one of the Sirens, was found and sacredly entombed on the sea-shore at that point of the Italian coast. The Sirens were *Acheloiads*, as being daughters of the river-god Achelœus. *Chalcidicus* was another word for "Neapolitan," inasmuch as Naples had been enlarged and re-edified by a colony from the island of Eubœa, the chief town of which was *Chalcis*.—"Illa quidem vivit," etc.: i.e. The true Siren is Leonora; for she is of Neapolitan birth, though now residing in Rome (*Introd.* I. p. 272).—"rauci murmura Pausilipi": meaning probably, Mr. Keightley thinks, the murmurs of the waves at the foot of Mount Posilipo, and without any such reference as Warton supposed to the famous grotto there.

APOLOGUS DE RUSTICO ET HERO.—See Introduction, I. p. 272.

DE MORO.—See *Introd.* I. pp. 272, 273. There, after giving an account of the purposes of this scrap, and of the circumstances in which it was used by Milton, first in his *Defensio Secunda* (1654), and next in his *Authoris ad Alexandri Mori Supplementum Responsio* (1655), I concluded by saying that, though always printed among Milton's Latin poems, it is, all but certainly, not his, but a concoction of some contemporary Dutch wit. I may now complete the proof by quoting Milton's own words respecting it, only referred to in the Introduction:—In his *Def. Sec.* he introduces it with the words "Unde aliquis, et lepidi sanè quisquis ingenii, hoc distichon"; and in the *Responsio* he reintroduces it with these: "Ego vero authorem Batavum et notissimum illud de te distichon, quo me facillè defendam, recito." It seems necessarily implied that Milton only used a convenient lampoon of foreign origin, which had reached England, and been already copied into the newspapers of the Commonwealth. He himself, however, was credited with it, or at least with the circulation of it. See Art. "Alexander Morus" in Bayle's Dict.

AD CHRISTINAM, SUECORUM REGINAM, NOMINE CROMWELLI.—See Introduction, I. pp. 273—281.

SYLVARUM LIBER.

IN OBITUM PROCANCELLARII MEDICI.

4. "*Iāpeti . . . nepotes*": Iapetus, son of Heaven and Earth, the father of Prometheus, etc., was regarded by the Greeks as the general ancestor of mankind.

5. "*Tanaro*." See note, *Eleg. Quinta*, 65, 66.

10—12. "*non ferus Hercules Nēssi venenatus cruore Æmathiā jacuisset Cēta*." The death of Hercules was caused by his having been induced by his wife Dejanira, in her jealousy, to put on the blood-stained shirt of the centaur Nessus, whom he had himself slain with a poisoned arrow; and the funeral-pyre of the hero, whence he ascended to the gods, was on the top of Mount Cēta, on the borders of Thessaly and Macedonia, and hence called Æmathian or Macedonian (see note, Sonnet "Captain or Colonel"). Warton cites from Horace (*Epod.* XVII. 31, 32) the phrase "*Atro delibutus Hercules Nēssi cruore*."

13, 14. "*fraude turpi Palladis . . . occisum . . . Hectora*." In the *Iliad* (XXII.) the encounter of Hector with Achilles is brought about by a deception of the goddess Pallas, which Hector does not discover till the combat is begun and he is about to receive his death-stroke.

15, 16. "*Quem larva Pelidis peremit ense Locro, Jove lacrymante*": i.e. Sarpedon, a son of Jupiter, fighting on the Trojan side, and killed by Patroclus, who wore the armour of Achilles, and is therefore called his *larva* or phantom (*Iliad*, XVI.) For the *ense Locro* Mr. Keightley accounts thus: "Because Menœtius, the father of Patroclus, was a Locrian."—"Jove lacrymante" is an allusion to the bloody drops which Jupiter, in the *Iliad*, shed on the earth when he consented that Sarpedon should die.

17. "*verba Hecatēia*": words of witchcraft, from *Hecate* (see note, *Comus*, 135). Ovid, as Warton noted, has "*Hecatēia carmina*" (*Met.* XIV. 44).

18. "*Telegoni parens*": Circe, mother of Telegon by Ulysses. Ovid, as Warton remarked, calls Circe by the same name (*Epist. ex Pont.* III. i. 123).

20. "*Ægiali soror*": Medea, whose brother was Absyrtus, called also Ægialeus.

21. "*Nymenque trinum*": the three Fates. See note, *Lycid.* 75.

22. "*Artes*," etc. Mr. Keightley notes the awkward cæsura in this line.

23, 24. "*Machaon*," etc. Machaon, son of the god Æsculapius, was physician or surgeon-in-chief to the Greeks in the Trojan War, and was killed by Eurypylus. Warton remarked, after Steevens, that the death of Machaon by the spear of Eurypylus is not in the *Iliad* itself, but is related circumstantially in the continuation of the *Iliad* by the Greek poet Quintus Calaber, or Quintus Smyrnæus. He notes that this author, "not at present very familiar to boys of seventeen," was, according to Phillips, one of the classics read by Milton with his pupils. The fact in the text, however, may have been within Milton's information *indirectly* in 1626.

25, 26. "*Philyreie*," etc. : Cheiron, the wise centaur and physician, son of Saturn and Philyra, and tutor of Achilles, Æsculapius, and so many other heroes. See *Eleg.* IV., and note there. He died from an accidental wound from one of the poisoned arrows of Hercules. There are various accounts of the manner of the accident; but Milton follows Ovid, *Fast.* V. 379 *et seq.*; where Cheiron is called "*Philyreius heros*," and the hopelessness of his wound is thus described :—

"Sanguine Centauri Lernææ sanguis Echidnæ
Mixtus ad auxilium tempora nulla dabant."

28. "*Cæse puer genetricis alvo*": Æsculapius, the God of Medicine himself, son of Apollo and Coronis, and brought into the world in this fashion when his mother was destroyed. He was killed at last by Jove's lightning, because Pluto complained that he had saved the lives of so many.

29. "*Tuque, O alumno major Apolline*." The "*tu*" is the dead medical Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Gostlyn, the subject of the poem (see *Introd.* I. pp. 282, 283); but the expletive phrase has puzzled commentators. Warton was sure that "*Apolline*" is a misprint for "*Apollinis*"; but, having made the change, and so translated the passage "And thou, O greater than the pupil of Apollo," he was uncertain who this "pupil of Apollo" might be. As he could hardly be Æsculapius, who was not so much the pupil of his father Apollo in the medical art as of Cheiron, to whom his father had entrusted his education, Warton ingeniously suggested Iapis, the son of Iasos, celebrated by Virgil (*Æn.* XII. 391 *et seq.*) thus :—

"Jamque aderat Phœbo ante alios dilectus Iapis
Iasides; acri quondam cui captus amore
Ipse suas artes, sua munera, lætus Apollo,
Augurium citharamque dabat, celeresque sagittas.
Ille, ut depositi proferret fata parentis,
Scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi
Maluit, et mutas agitare inglorius artes."

Now, if we are forced to the reading "*Apollinis*," Iapis may certainly be the "*alumnus*." But are we forced to that reading? If "*Apolline*" were a misprint in the edition of 1645, it was not likely to escape correction in the edition of 1673. Why not retain "*Apolline*" and translate "*alumno*," not "pupil," but "tutor" or "foster-father"? There are examples of this. The meaning would then be "And thou (Gostlyn) greater in medicine than thy tutor Apollo."

31. "*Cirrha*": a town at the foot of Parnassus, and therefore not far from the Mount Helicon of the next line.

37. "*fila rupit Persephone tua*." After Proserpine or Persephone became Queen of Hades, she regulated the deaths of human beings, cutting the threads of their lives herself or by Atropos.

45. "*Æaci*." Æacus was co-judge of the dead with Minos and Rhadamanthus.

IN QUINTUM NOVEMBRIS.

1. "*Jam pius extremâ veniens Iacobus ab arcto*." James came from Scotland in 1603, and the Gunpowder Plot attempt was on the 5th of November 1605. "*Pius Iacobus*" is conventional. See note, *In Prod. Bomb.* No. 2.

2, 3. "*Teucrigenas populos . . . regna Albionum*." In the old British legends, as afterwards compiled by Milton in his *History of Britain*, the Britons are Troy-sprung or *Teucrigenæ* (from Teucer, ancestor of the Trojans), inasmuch as the true founder of the British realm was Brutus with his Trojan colony, B.C. 1150; but before that time the island had been called *Albion*, and its inhabitants *Albiones*, from a giant Albion, son of Neptune, who ruled it for a while about B.C. 2220.

7—47. "*Cum ferus ignifluo regnans Acheronte tyrannus,
Eumenidum pater, æthereo vagus exul Olympo,
Fortè*" etc.

In the whole of this description of Satan out on wing, surveying the round of our globe, and indeed in the ideas and construction of this Latin poem generally, written in Milton's eighteenth year, Warton detected "an early and promising prolusion" to *Paradise Lost*. I can confirm the observation. The Satan of this Latin poem is, in sketch, though with concentration of his energies on one act, the Satan of *Paradise Lost*, or more particularly that Satan as he is continued into *Paradise Regained*; and the tenacity of the conception through forty years of Milton's life is remarkable.—It is no contradiction of this that Milton in this poem invests Satan at the outset with classic names and epithets, calling him, for example, "father

of the Eumenides or Furies," as Pluto was in some of the mythologies, and Acheron in others, and representing him as "exiled from Olympus."

13. "*Illic unanimes odium struit inter amicos*": an adaptation, as Richardson noted, of Virgil, *Æn.* VII. 335, 336:—

"Tu potes unanimes armare in prælia fratres,
Atque odiis versare domos."

23. "*Summanus*": an old and rather rare name for Pluto, a contraction of "*Summus manium*," Chief of the Dead. Ovid has the name, *Fast.* VI. 731.

27—30. "*Neptunia proles . . . qui*," etc. This is the giant Albion (see note to lines 2, 3). He had ruled our island forty-four years and given it his name, Milton tells us in his summary of the legends (*Hist. of Britain*), "till at length, passing over into Gaul, in aid of his brother Lestrygon, against whom Hercules was hastening out of Spain into Italy, he was there slain in fight." Hercules is called *Amphitryonides*, after his putative father Amphitryon, his real father being Jupiter. All this, Milton says in the last line, happened before the age of the Trojan War: in the legendary chronology (note 2, 3) it was no less than a thousand years before that age.

31—33. "*At simul hanc, opibusquæ et festâ pace beatam*," etc. Here, as Warton noted, a phrase is borrowed from Ovid's description of Envy, *Met.* II. 790—796, and the whole of that passage is re-collected:—

"Adopertaque nubibus atris,
Quacunque ingreditur, florentia proterit arva,
Exuritque herbas, et summa cacumina carpit:
Afflatuque suo populos, urbesque, domosque
Polluit: et tandem Tritonida conspicit arcem,
Ingeniis, opibusque, et festâ pace, virentem:
Vixque tenet lacrymas, quia nil lacrymabile cernit."

36, 37. "*Qualia Trinacriâ . . . clausus in Ætnâ . . . Typhæus*." The hideous hundred-headed giant Typhon or Typhæus, after frightening all the gods, was crushed down by Jupiter under the fires of Mount Ætna.

38. "*adamantinus*." So in First Edition; misprinted "*adaman-tius*" in Second.

39. "*Dentis . . . cuspidè cuspiis*." Evidently Milton meant to make the sound of this line an echo to the sense.

45. "*natal*." Misprinted "*notat*" in Second Edition.

48. "*Jamque pruinosas velox superaverat Alpes*." Steevens referred to Lucan, I. 183:—

"Jam gelidas Cæsar cursu superaverat Alpes."

49—53. "*A parte sinistrâ nimbifer Apenninus*," etc. : i.e. Satan, after crossing the Alps, and entering Italy, makes direct for Rome by a route which keeps the Apennines on his left hand as he flies and Tuscany in the main on his right. He has a pleasure in looking at Tuscany, as the old Etruria so famous for its magic and superstitions.

53. "*Mavortigenæ . . . Quirini*": i.e. Romulus, the son of Mars, called Quirinus after he was deified, though Mars himself is also called Quirinus.

54—63. "*lucem, cum circumgreditur totam Tricoronifer urbem*," etc. With malicious ingenuity Milton makes Satan arrive in Rome, on his diabolical errand, on the eve of St. Peter's Day (to be exact, let us say June 28, 1605), when the Pope went in procession through the city, with his Cardinals preceding him, and there was all the unusual stir and ceremonial in consequence, with gatherings of priests and friars of all orders, a great service in St. Peter's, etc. In the satirical and semi-humorous tone of the description, throughout one sees young Milton's willing sympathy with the utmost intensity of the English Protestant feeling of his time.

57. "*submisso*." So in Second Edition: "*summisso*" in First.

64—67. "*Qualiter exululat Bromius, Bromiſque*," etc. Not even will Milton's love of music let him praise the thunders of singing with which he fancies the vaults and dome of St. Peter's resounding on that Eve. No; they were like the howling of Bacchus (here called by his surname of *Bromius*, "the Roaring") and of the crew of Bacchus, singing their orgies on the Echionian mountain Aracynthus, while the neighbouring river Asopus trembles at the din, and the farther-off Mount Cithæron answers with his rocky echoes. *Echionian* is properly "Theban," and both Asopus and Cithæron were in Bœotia, near Thebes; but Aracynthus, called also Actæus, was in Acarnania, more than a hundred miles west from Thebes, and quite out of the range of Bœotian echoes. Mr. Keightley fancies that Milton was misled in his topography by Virgil, *Ecl.* II. 24:—

"Amphion Dirceus in Actæo Aracyntho,"

where "*Amphion Dirceus*" means "the Theban Amphion."

¶ 71—73. "*Captum oculis Typhlonta*," etc. The horses of Night are familiar creatures in classic poetry; and Spenser has them, *F. Q.* I. v., where they are described thus (stanza 20):—

"Before the dore her iron charet stood,
Already harnessèd for journey new,
And cole-blacke steedes yborne of hellish brood";

and again, with a difference (stanza 28):—

“Through mirksome aire her ready way she makes :
Her twyfold teme, of which two blacke as pitch,
And two were browne, yet each to each unlich,
Did softly swim away.”

It was a daring beauty in Milton to be the first (as he is believed to be) who gave these horses names. His lines may be thus translated:—

“Typhlos the blind to lead, and with him the fierce Melanchætes,
Torpido Siope next, whose sire was Acherontæus,
Coupled with shaggy Phrix, whose mane flew cloudily round her.”

Each name is from the Greek, and is etymologically significant, as if he had called the horses *Blinding*, *Blackhaired*, *Silence of Hell*, and *Shuddering*.

74. “*regum domitor*”: the Pope, with the polite title of “*Phlegontius hæres*” also fitted to him.

75, 76. “*Ingregitur thalamos (neque enim,*” etc.) This insinuation is conventional, as against Popes in general, the verb *producit* being in the present tense; and it is not to be regarded as directed against the particular Pope who reigned in June 1605: viz. Paul V.

80—85. “*Assumptis micuerunt tempora canis,*” etc. In this description of Satan as he stood at the Pope’s bedside there is a touch of resemblance to the appearance given to Satan in the Temptation in the Wilderness, *Par. Reg. I. 314 et seq.* and 497, 498; but the special equipment in the garb of a Franciscan friar is, as Warton pointed out, from two passages in Buchanan. Thus, in Buchanan’s *Franciscanus*, a Satire on the Franciscans:—

“Haud quoties longo sub syrmatæ rasum
Cerno caput, tortum funem, latumque galerum,
Atque fenestratum soles captare cothurnum,
Cernere me Paulum credo.”

Again in the same poet’s *Fratres Fraterrimi*, xxxiv., entitled “*Somnium*,” and describing the apparition of St. Francis at the poet’s bedside:—

“Cum mihi Franciscus, nodosâ cannabe cinctus,
Astitit ante torum, stigmata nota gerens.
In manibus sacra vestis erat, cum fune galerus,
Palla, fenestratus calceus, hasta, liber:
Et mihi subridens, ‘Hanc protinus indue,’ dixit.”

86—89. “*Talis . . . Franciscus eremo.*” Warton thinks that here Milton means St. Francis d’Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan order (1182—1226), but has, by mistake, attributed to that Saint incidents which properly belong to the life of St. Francis Xavier, the Jesuit Missionary (1506—1552).

92. "*Dormis, nate?*" So, as Warton notes, *Iliad*, II. 23, Έδδεις, Ἀρπείος υἱέ;

96. "*pharetrati . . . Britanni*." In memory, as Mr. Keightley supposes, of the ancient fame of the English bowmen.

97. "*Latius . . . Cæsar*"; the Roman Cæsar, or German Emperor. The Cæsar or Emperor in 1605 was Rodolph II.

102, 103. "*disjectam . . . classem*," etc. The shattered Spanish Armada of 1588.

104, 105. "*Sanctorumque cruci tot corpora fixa probrosa,
Thermodoontea nuper regnante puella*."

These are the Roman Catholics put to death in England during the reign of Elizabeth, here called "*Thermodoontea puella*" or "Amazonian girl," from Thermodon, a river falling into the Euxine sea in the country of the legendary Amazons. Ovid's adjective, as Warton noted, is *Thermodontiacus*; but Todd refers for *Thermodoonteus* to Propertius, III. xiv. 15, 16. There, however, the form, in the edition I have at hand, is *Thermodonteus*:—

"Qualis Amazonidum nudatis bellica mammis
Thermodonteis turma vagatur agris;"

and, if this reading is correct, Milton has not the warrant of this passage, either for his word, or for shortening the second syllable of it.

116. "*ad consilium*": to his Parliament.

117, 118: "*Patricios*," members of the House of Commons; "*procerum de stirpe creatos*," Peers; "*grandævos patres*," etc., Bishops and Privy Councillors.

120. "*nitratæ pulveris*." The accepted Latin phrase for Gunpowder was "*pulvis nitratus*" or "*pulvis nitrosus*."

126. "*vel Gallus atrox, vel sævus Iberus*." The French King in 1605 was Henry IV., the hero of Navarre; the Spanish King was Philip III. Milton thinks of the two peoples and their religion, and not of the particular sovereigns.

127. "*Sæcula . . . Mariana*": the times of "the Bloody Mary," Elizabeth's predecessor.

133. "*Tithonia*": Aurora or Morning, the wife of Tithonus.

135. "*nigri . . . nati*": Memnon, the dark King of Ethiopia, son of Tithonus and Aurora, for whose untimely death in the Trojan war Aurora was inconsolable. See note, *Pens.* 18.

138. "*revolvens*": rolling back.

139—154. "*Est locus*," etc. This Latin poem, juvenile production though it is, contains fine poetical passages; and the present

is one of them. With various precedents in his mind, the young poet imagines a place on the earth where there is a Cave of Murder and Treason; and he describes it with much power:—

“Far there exists a place, girt round with unchangeable night-gloom,
Once the foundation vast of a building crumbled to ruins,
Now the den of pitiless Murder and double-tongued Treason,
Who at one birth came forth as the issue of Termagant Discord:
Here, mid rubbish-heaps and ruptured masses of stone-work,
Coffinless bones lie about, and iron-spigoted corpses.”

Round the cavern are Stratagem, Strife, Calumny, Fury, Fear, and all shapes of Death; pale Horror hovers over it; the shrieks of ghosts are heard in the silence of the spot; the very ground is blood-soaked; while far in the interior, shunning the cavern's mouth, lurk Murder and Treason themselves, restlessly looking back in continual dread.

143. “*præruptaque*.” So in Second Edition. In the First the word was “*semifractaque*”; which gave a false quantity, the first syllable of *semi* being long. Milton ought to have known this, if only from the 122 in his own *Elegia Quinta*.

155. “*pugiles Romæ*”: “champions of Rome” in the sense of hired bravoës or ruffians.

156. “*antistes Babylonius*”: the Babylonian priest; Rome, in the Protestant interpretation, being the great Babylon of the Apocalypse.

158. “*Gens exosa mihi*.” Warton refers to Juno's speech to Æolus, *Æn.* I. 65 *et seq.*, for the phrase “*Gens inimica mihi*,” and a certain general resemblance.

165. “*paruere gemelli*.” The *gemelli* are Murder and Treason. The first syllable of *paruere* being long, Milton, as Warton observed, either committed a false quantity here, or is to be absolved on the ground that he meant the *u* to be slurred, and the whole word to be a trisyllable. In the only other case of his use of the same verb in his Latin poetry, “*Parere Fati discite legibus*” (*In ob. Pro. Med.*, written in the same year), the law of the verse permits the initial syllable of the line to be either long or short: so that instance does not help us to a decision. It is in his favour, however, that in a preceding line in this same poem, *In Quint. Nov.* (26) he has the quantity right in the compound “*apparent*.”

166—169. “*Interea longo flectens curvamine cælos despicit*.” . . . *Dominus*,” etc. A combination of two Biblical passages,—Ps. xviii. 9 and Ps. ii. 4.

170—193. “*Esse ferunt spatium*,” etc. In this imagination of the House or Tower of Fame, the young poet dares to come after

Ovid's similar description (*Met.* XII. 39—63) and Chaucer's 'much more elaborate one (*House of Fame*: Book III.) He helps himself to touches from both, and uses also Virgil's description of Fame herself (*Æn.* IV. 173—188); yet he produces an Abode of Rumour, quite his own, and suitable for his purpose.

171. "*Mareotidas undas*": distinctly so in both Milton's editions; but certainly, as Mr. Keightley observes, either a mistake or a misprint for *Mæotidas*. For Milton cannot have meant Lake *Mareotis*, which is in Egypt, but the great Lake *Mæotis*, now "the sea of Azof," north of the Black Sea. That lake, washing the western end of the Caucasian chain, does lie close to that boundary-line between Asia and Europe where Milton places his House of Fame.

172. "*Titanidos . . . Famæ*." According to Virgil as above, *Æn.* IV. 178—180; where Fame is represented as the daughter of Terra, and sister of the Titans Cœus and Enceladus.

178—180. "*Qualiter instrepitant . . . agmina musarum*," etc. The original of this image, in its exact form, as Warton noted, is in the *Iliad*, II. 469 *et seq.*, and XVI. 641; but Chaucer has a modification of it in his *House of Fame*, III. 430—435, describing the coming in of the petitioners to the Goddess:—

"But, whyl that I beheld this sighte,
I herde a noise approchen blyve,
That ferde as been don in an hyve,
Agen hir tyme of out-fleyinge:
Right swiche a maner murmuringe
For all the world hit semed mee."

181. "*Illa*," Fame; "*matris*," Terra or Earth, Fame's mother. See *ante*, 172.

182—188. "*Auribus innumeris cinctum caput . . . nec tot, Aristoride, . . . volvebas lumina*." Aristorides is Argus, the hundred-eyed guardian of the cow Io, or Isis; his father was Aristor. Compare Virgil's Fame, as above (181—183):—

"Cui, quot sum corpore plumæ,
Tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu,
Tot linguæ, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures."

And Chaucer's *House of Fame*, III. 291—306:—

"For as fele eyer hadde she
As fetheres upon foules be,
Or weren on the bestes four
That Goddes trone gunne honour . . .
And, soth to tellen, also she
Had also fele up-styndyng eres
And tonges as on bestes heres."

The propriety of such a corporeal organism for the goddess Fame or Rumour is obvious.

207. "*Dextra tubam gestat Temeseo ex ære sonoram.*" Temese, on the Calabrian coast, was famous for its copper, and Warton quotes from Ovid the phrase "*Temesea æra.*"—In Chaucer, Fame does not herself carry a trumpet, but is attended by Æolus, the wind-god, carrying two trumpets,—a golden one for good report or praise, and a brass one for evil report or infamy.

208. "*cedentes . . . auras.*" Compare *Par. Lost*, II. 842, where the phrase "the buxom air," as Todd remarked, literally translates this.

220—226. "*Attamen . . . celebratio anno.*" It seems impossible to doubt that Milton suddenly huddled up in these closing lines a poem which he intended to be longer. If he had kept proportion with the foregoing parts of the poem, the proceedings of Fame or Rumour after her arrival in England ought to have been more gradual; the indefinite horror caused by her murmurs should have been seen encircling the dark deed to which they appertained; and the ring should have been drawn closer and closer till we reached the actual 5th of November and the capture of Guy Fawkes in the cellar. Probably Milton had to get the piece ready by the 5th of November 1626, and had to cut it short at the last moment. As it is, it is the best Gunpowder Plot poem in existence; and in the last two lines we seem to hear the cries of the boys in the streets carrying Guy Fawkes about in effigy.

IN OBITUM PRÆSULIS ELIENSIS.

4—6. "*Quem nuper effudi,*" etc. A reference to his *Elegia Tertia*. For the interval between the death lamented in that piece and the death lamented in this, see *Introductio*. I. p. 289.

7—10. "*Cum centilinguis Fama . . . spargit,*" etc. This is as if Milton had still in his ear lines 211, 212 of the preceding poem, *In Quint. Nov.* Possibly he did not write the present piece till he had finished that, though Bishop Felton had died Oct. 5.

10. "*Neptuno satus.*" See *In Quint. Nov.*, 26, 27, and note there; also *Comus*, 13—29. Mr. Keightley thinks Milton was the first to call the Britons outright "sons of Neptune"; but I should doubt it.

13, 14. "*insulâ quæ nomen Anguillæ tenet*": i.e. the Isle of Ely, so called from its abundance of eels (*anguilla* Lat. for "eels"). The word *Ely* in old English meant Eel Island; so that "Isle of Ely" is tautological.

17. "*potentem . . . deam*": i.e. Death.

18, 19. "*Nec vota Naso in Ibis concepit . . . diriora*." The *Ibis* of Ovid, one of the poems which he wrote in his exile, is a furious invective, in 646 lines of elegiac verse, against an unknown enemy. There had been a similar poem, with the same fancy-name, by the Greek poet Callimachus, in abuse of his pupil Apollonius Rhodius, who had given him offence.

20—22. "*Gravique vates*," etc. The early Greek poet Archilochus (about B.C. 680), famous for the severity of his satires, and of whom the story is that, when Lycambes, who had promised him his daughter Neobule in marriage, broke his word and gave her to another, he took revenge in a poem of such tremendous scurrility that the whole family hanged themselves. He left an extraordinary reputation; and Horace (*Epist.* I. xix. 23 *et seq.*) claims to have introduced his verse and spirit, though not his matter, among the Latins.

25, 26. "*Audisse tales videor . . . sonos*," etc. As appears from the sequel, it is the voice of the dead Bishop that the poet hears.

31—44. "*Non est, ut arbitraris*," etc. The drift of this passage is that the voice which the poet hears corrects that Pagan view of Death which would regard it with anger and execration, and substitutes the Christian view, which justifies acquiescence, and even joy. In the classic mythology, he is told, Death may be the daughter of Night, or of Erebus, or of a Fury, or born under Chaos, or what not; but Christianity teaches that she is God's minister, sent from heaven to collect His harvests, and call souls out of their fleshly tabernacles, either to the light above or to judgment below. Note, however, the relapse into classic imagery in lines 39—44. The Hours were among the children of Themis by Jupiter, as in the Orphic hymn quoted by Warton:—

"Ὀραι θυγατέρες Θέμειδος καὶ Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος.

45. "*Hanc ut vocantem*," etc. A strange error has been committed here by all previous editors. They make the quotation end with the preceding line at "*subterraneas*," and print as if at the words "*Hanc ut vocantem*" Milton resumed speech in his own name. Accordingly, they suppose Death herself to have been the speaker of all those words which Milton has hitherto heard mysteriously uttered, from line 27 to line 44, defining the true nature of Death; and they suppose "*Hanc ut vocantem latus audiivi, cito fadum reliqui carcerem*," etc., to mean "As joyfully I heard her so speaking, speedily I (Milton) left this foul prison, and," etc., to the end of the poem. If, however, one reads on to the end of the poem, it becomes obvious that it could not be Milton himself that is speaking. Were he the speaker, then the whole passage from line 45 to the end would be a kind of dream by Milton of a flight upwards through the starry

spaces to which he was carried by the effects on his imagination of the voice he had heard. So, of course, the editors have hitherto interpreted the passage; but the idea of such a starry dream-flight by Milton himself would be quite out of keeping with the circumstances, and poetically awkward. All becomes plain and natural, however, if we suppose that the voice which Milton has heard from line 27 has been that of the dead Bishop, and that this voice does not stop at "*subterraneas*" in line 44, but continues to the very end of the poem. Then the "*Hanc ut vocantem lætus audiivi*," etc. of lines 45, 46, implies "I have been telling you the true nature of Death, and what I have told you is not mere conventional Christian doctrine, but consists with my own experience; for, when Death called me, I heard the summons gladly, left the foul prison of my earthly body, and lo! all at once, amid swift guarding Angels, I felt myself carried up through the starry worlds to the Heaven where I now abide." As I have no doubt that this reading will at once recommend itself and permanently supersede the other, I have printed accordingly, and extended the quotation-marks to the close of the poem. This is one of the cases in which the absence of quotation-marks in Milton's own editions has led to mistakes.

• 49, 50. "*Vates ut olim . . . senex*," etc.: i.e. Elijah. See 2 Kings ii. 11. How much more consistent the comparison to Elijah's ascent is with the upward flight of the soul of the dead Bishop than it would have been with the imaginary flight of the poet!

• 51—64. "*Non me Bootis*," etc. Milton is not singular in this somewhat quaint enumeration of the constellations and luminaries through or past which the soul of the dead mounted on its flight to the Heaven where it was to abide. Todd, who read the passage as a description of Milton's own ideal flight in the celestial spaces, paralleled it, on that understanding, with the opening of the Fourth Day of the First Week in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*:—

"Pure Spirit, that rapt'st above the firmest sphere,
In fiery coach, thy faithful messenger,
Who, smiting Jordan with his pledged cloak,
Did yeast divide the waters with the stroke,
O take me up; that, far from Earth, I may
From sphere to sphere see th' azure Heavens to-day.
Be thou my Coachman, and now cheek by jowl
With Phœbus' chariot let my chariot roll;
Drive on my coach by Mars his flaming coach;
Saturn and Luna let my wheels approach;
That, having learnt," etc.

But take the following passage from Donne's *Progress of the Soul*, written on the death of Mrs. Elizabeth Drury. After comparing Death to the discharge of a rusty gun, which bursts in pieces in the

act of shooting out the bullet, he traces the flight of this bullet (*i.e.* the escaped soul) thus:—

“She stays not in the Air,
To look what meteors there themselves prepare;
She carries no desire to know, nor sense,
Whether th’ Air’s middle region be intense;
For th’ element of Fire, she doth not know
Whether she passed by such a place or no;
She baits not at the Moon, nor cares to try
Whether in that new world men live and die;
Venus retards her not, t’ enquire how she
Can (being one star) Hesper and Vesper be;
He that charm’d Argus’ eyes, sweet Mercury,
Works not on her, who now is grown all eye;
Who, if she meet the body of the Sun,
Goes through, not staying till his course be run;
Who finds in Mars his camp no corps of guard,
Nor is by Jove, nor by his Father, barred;
But, ere she can consider how she went,
At once is at and through the Firmament:
And, as these Stars were but so many beads
Strung on one string, speed undistinguished leads
Her through these spheres,” etc.

Though young Milton yielded in his present Latin poem to the habit of astronomical enumeration which such precedents as these may have instituted, how much more tastefully and poetically he has managed it! Perhaps, as he had been reading Chaucer’s *House of Fame* for the purposes of his *In Quint. Novembris* (see note to that poem, lines 170—193), he may have had in his mind Chaucer’s description there (Book II.) of his flight with the Eagle, through the elements and constellations, and past the Galaxy itself, on their way to Fame’s House.

51, 52. “*Bootis . . . sarraca tarda, frigore.*” Juvenal has a similar phrase (*Sat. V. 22, 23*):—

“illo tempore quo se
Frigida circumagunt pigri sarraca Bootæ.”

56, 57. “*deam . . . triforem*”: *i.e.* the Moon. See *Par. Lost*, III. 730, and note there.

57, 58. “*suos . . . dracones.*” See *Pens.* 59, 60, and note.

NATURAM NON PATI SENIUM.

3. “*Œdipodioniam . . . noctem*”: such night as Œdipus moved in after he was blind.

19. “*sono dilapsa tremendo.*” Mr. Keightley refers to 2 Peter iii. 10, “The heavens shall pass away with a great noise.”

23. "*proles Junonia*": Vulcan.

25. "*tui . . . nati*": Phaethon.

29. "*ætrei . . . Hæmi*": Mount Hæmus, separating Thrace from Thessaly, and famous for its height.

31, 32. "*Ceraunia*." The name "Ceraunian Mountains" was applied both to a part of the great Caucasian range between the Euxine and the Caspian, and also to a lofty mountain-chain in Epirus. The latter "Ceraunians" are meant here, as being near Thessaly, which was the theatre of the war between the Gods and the Titans. In that war the antagonists hurled mountains against each other; and Pluto, who took part with his brothers Jupiter and Neptune against Saturn and the Titans, is supposed to have used the Ceraunians in this manner. "*Superos*" in line 32 must therefore mean the Titans, or Saturn and the Titans.

33, 34. "*At Pater Omnipotens . . . consuluit rerum summa.*" So, as Todd noted, in *Par. Lost*, VI. 671—673, "*The Almighty Father . . . consulting on the sum of things.*"

37, 38. "*Mundi rota prima . . . ambitos . . . cælos.*" The "*rota prima*" is the *Primum Mobile* of the Ptolemaic system; the "*ambiti cæli*," or "enclosed heavens," are the nine inner spheres. See *Intro. to Par. Lost*, II. p. 87, *et seq.*

39—65. "*Tardior haud solito Saturnus, et,*" etc. Observe how, throughout this whole passage, Milton's imagination is regulated by the Ptolemaic system of Astronomy then prevalent. The thesis of the entire poem is "*Naturam non pati Senium*," "That there is no decay in Nature." By *Nature*, of course, is here meant the whole Physical system of things, the Mundus, the Cosmos. Well, after having first (lines 1—7) expressed sorrow at the liability to error shown by the human mind, especially when it measures eternal things by its own fleeting standard, and after having next (lines 8—32) put as strongly as possible the question whether it actually is the case, as some people hold, that Nature is wearing out,—after all this the debater arrives (line 33, "*At Pater Omnipotens*," etc.) at his own resolute contradiction of the proposition. The Almighty Father, he asserts, has "consulted better for the sum of things" than such a proposition would imply; and then he goes on to verify this assertion in detail by actually glancing at the successive portions of this "sum of things." He begins, as we have seen in last note, with the *Primum Mobile*, or that outermost shell which bounds the Universe in from Chaos or Nothingness, and maintains that that outermost shell is still wheeling in its vast diurnal revolution as soundly as ever, and whirling round with it all the interior heavens. And now, in the present passage, he proceeds to say that not only is that outer-

most shell still safe, but also each of the successive parts of its enclosed heavens, inwards to the very Earth at the core of all. He keeps to the Ptolemaic or Alphonsine order in his enumeration, only skipping a sphere or two for brevity. The Fixed Stars having been assumed as certified by the Primum Mobile, it is enough to find Saturn duly moving in *his* sphere (line 39), and next,—for Jupiter may be skipped,—Mars as red as ever in *his* (line 40). Then the behaviour of the Sun is examined, and four lines are given to that important body (41—44), also with a favourable report. The same number of lines (45—48) is then given to the planet Venus, not named, but defined beautifully by her functions as both the Morning-star and the Evening-star, according to the season. One may then skip Mercury and pass to the Moon (49, 50). There are no signs of decay in her either. And so, all the planetary spheres having been reported on inwards from Saturn's to the Moon's, one arrives (51) at the aerial region of the so-called Elements, within the Moon's sphere and more immediately surrounding the Earth. The report of the state of this region is also satisfactory. That the Elements are keeping their faith is witnessed by the undiminished roar of the thunder and flash of the lightning (51, 52), the unabated fury of the North-West Wind (53), and the unmitigated stringency of the North-Easter, blowing snow and storms among the Scythian Geloni (54, 55). From the Winds one may pass to the Sea. Well, do not the Mediterranean waves beat as grandly as ever the base of the Sicilian promontory of Pelorus; is not Triton's conch heard as loudly round all the shores; or is the weight of the giant Ægeon or Briareus less than it was on the spines of the Balearic sea-monsters (56—59)? Only the Earth itself then remains; but observe how, even in the mention of it, the fancy still moves centrewards, or from the surface (61—63) to the interior (63—65). The flowers on the Earth's surface have not lost anything of their beauty,—not the Narcissus, nor the Hyacinth (into which the youth Hyacinthus, the favourite of Apollo, was turned), nor that flower which sprang from the blood of Adonis (the beloved of Venus); nor is the interior of the Earth less rich than it was in gold and gems.—So ends the report, and with it the argument. Since the Ptolemaic theory was abandoned, there has been no such easy or convenient way of taking an inventory of "the sum of things."

65—69. "*Sic denique in ævum*," etc. While denying the doctrine of slow and progressive decay in Nature, and anticipating her continued steadiness for ages to come, the debater accepts the Scriptural prophecy of the ultimate and sudden conflagration of all things (2 Peter iii. 7—10).

DE IDEA PLATONICA QUEMADMODUM ARISTOTELES INTELEXIT.

1. **Dicite.* Mr. Keightley objects to this commencement of a poem in Iambic trimeters with a dactyl, on the ground that, "though the Scazontes used sometimes to commence verses with a dactyl," he does "not believe that this was the case in the regular Iambic measure." But Horace, in a single ode in regular Iambic trimeters (*Epode XVII.*), has a dactyl at the beginning at least three times: lines 6, 12, 78. Mr. Keightley adds the remark that all through this poem Milton makes "too frequent use of the dactyl and anapæst."

2, 3. "*noveni . . . numinis Memoria mater.*" Mnemosyne (Memory) was the mother of the nine Muses.

7—10. "*Quis ille,*" etc.: the Platonic Idea or Archetype. See Introduction, I. pp. 294, 295.

10. "*exemplar Dei*": the model from which the Deity worked in the creation of Man.

11, 12. "*Haud ille,*" etc. The meaning is "This Eternal Idea or Archetype is not a mere conception of the Divine Mind, a kind of twin with Minerva in the brain of Jove."

13—15. "*Sed, quamlibet,*" etc.: *i.e.* "But, though his nature is common, in the sense of being distributed among many, yet he stands apart after the manner of an individual unit, and, wonderful to tell! is bound to a definite locality." This seems to be a rendering, in the language of poetical burlesque, of one part of Aristotle's famous criticism of the Platonic doctrine of Ideas or Universals. See Aristotle, *Metaph.* I. vi.; or, for a summary of the Aristotelian criticism of Plato's Ideas, Schwegler's *Hist. of Phil.*: translation by Dr. Hutchison Stirling, pp. 101—105.

16—24. "*Seu sempiternus,*" etc. Here Milton, still in poetical burlesque of Aristotle, inquires what is the locality of the Archetype, in what part of the total Mundus he is to be sought; and, in doing so, he falls back, as always, on the Alphonsine conception of the Mundus as a thing of ten spheres (see note to preceding poem, 39—65). Is the Archetype up among the stars, roving among all the ten spheres at his pleasure; or does he inhabit the Moon's sphere only, nearest to the Earth? If not in those vacancies of mere space, is he to be found perchance down in the Lower World, sitting drowsily on the shores of Lethe, among those souls that are waiting to be ferried back and to re-enter mortal bodies (which would obviously be for the convenience of his business); or does he walk about somewhere on the Earth itself, a giant bigger than Atlas?

23. "*diis,*" misprinted "*iis*" in the edition of 1673.

25—34. "*Non, cui profundum*," etc. The burlesque is still continued; only in this form:—"No one can tell where the Archetype is: no one has ever seen him. Not the Dircean augur (Theban prophet) Tiresias, whose blindness only enlarged his spiritual vision. (see *Intro.* to *Par. Lost*, II. pp. 101—103); not the god Mercury himself (here called by his Ovidian synonym "*Platones nepos*"), instructing his band of prophets through the silent night; not any old Assyrian priest, learned in the most ancient lore of Ninos, Belos, and Osiris; not even Hermes Trismegistus, though he knew all secrets and founded the Egyptian Philosophy (see *Il Pens.* 88, and note there).

35—39. "*At tu*," etc. *Tu* is, of course, Plato; and here, it seems to me, Milton intimates at the close that he does not believe that the Aristotelian representation of Plato's Idea, which he has been burlesquing in the poem, is a true rendering of Plato's real meaning. If it were so, if Plato had really taught any such monstrosity, then, etc. I rather think commentators on the poem have missed its humorous character, and supposed Milton himself to be finding fault with Plato.

36. "*induxti*." The word is misprinted "*induxit*" in the Second Edition.

AD PATREM.

3. "*gemino de vertice*": Mount Parnassus.

14. "*Clio*": the Muse of History, inasmuch as what he is to say about his Father is strictly true.

20. "*Prometheæ . . . flammæ*": of the fire which Prometheus brought down from Heaven.

21—23. "*tremebundaque Tartara carmen ima ciere valet*," etc. See *L'Allegro*, 145—150, and note there.

25. "*Phæbades*," priestesses of Apollo (an Ovidian word); "*Sibyllæ*," the Sibyls, or prophetic women, of whom there were many, and one of whom gave to the Roman Tarquinius the famous Books of the Sibylline Verses.

32—34. "*Ibimus*," etc. Rev. iv. 4, and v. 8.

35—40. "*Spiritus et rapidos qui circinat igneus orbes
Nunc quoque sidereis intercinit ipse choreis
Immortale melos*," etc.

The "*nunc*" here is emphatic, meaning "even now, while we are in this mortal life." For even now does not the famous sphere-music of Pythagoras (see note, *Arcad.* 63—73) peal among the constellations (some of these mentioned by name); and what is it that prompts that sphere-music, leads it, and makes the melody

inexpressible? What but the Fiery Spirit itself which is beyond all the spheres, encircles them all, and regulates their wheelings? See Ezekiel i. 20, and connect that text imaginatively with Milton's idea of the Heaven or Empyrean, as explained in the *Intro. to Par. Lost*, II. pp. 78, 79. In the present passage, it will be observed, there is a subtle addition of the "*Spiritus igneus*" of the Empyrean to the ordinary music of the spheres.

37. "*inenarrabile carmen*." Compare *Lycid.* 176: "the unexpressive nuptial song."

41—49. "*Carmina regales epulas ornare solebant,
Cum nondum luxus*," etc.

An allusion to such stories of old bards singing in regal halls as that of Demodocus in the *Odyssey*, Book VIII., and that of Iopas in the *Æneid*, I. 740—746. But there is a blended recollection, touched poetically by Milton himself, of many stories of the kind. One might even include, by imaginary foresight, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*.—*Lyæus* is a name for Bacchus.

50—55. "*Denique quid vocis modulamen inane juvabit*," etc. The purport of this passage is that song without words is but poor music. It might suit the sylvan choristers, or birds, but not a divine singer like Orpheus. No: it was not by his mere harp, but by the words of his song as well, that Orpheus performed his great feats in music, drawing the floods and oaks after him, and making even Pluto and the ghosts weep in Hell. See notes, *L'Allegro*, 145—150, and *Il Penseroso*, 103—108. Ovid, *Met.* X. 14, speaking of Orpheus, has the phrase "*simulacraque functa sepulcris*."

56—66. "*Nec tu perge, precor*," etc. In connexion with these compliments to his father on his musical distinction see *Intro. I.* pp. 297, 298.

66. "*Dividuum*." The Latin adjective "*dividuus*" for "divisible" or "divisible into two" had fastened on Milton; and he turned it into English. See *Par. Lost*, VII. 382 and XII. 85; also *On Time*, 12.

68—70. "*Neque . . . ire jubabas quâ via lata patet*," etc. To commerce?

71, 72. "*Nec rapis ad leges*," etc. See *Intro. I.* p. 299.

74. "*procul urbano strepitu*": *i.e.* at Horton (see *Intro. I.* pp. 288, 289). The "*sinis*," in the present tense, in line 76, seems to certify that this poem was written there.

79. "*Cum mihi Romuleæ patuit facundia linguæ, et . . . grandia magniloquis elata vocabula Graiis*": *viz.* at St. Paul's School and the University; or perhaps rather at St. Paul's School alone, before he went to the University.

82—85. "*Addere suasisti*," etc. Milton seems to have added French, Italian, and Hebrew to his Latin and Greek while he was at the University. His tutor Young had presented him with a Hebrew Bible as early as 1625. It is interesting to know that it was by his father's advice that he ranged beyond Greek and Latin. See stanza 10 of Francini's complimentary Italian Ode to Milton; also note to "Translations of Psalms LXXX.—LXXXVIII.

84. "*barbaricos . . . tumultus*": i.e. the Germanic invasions, which produced modern Italian by corrupting the old Latin.

86—92. "*Denique quicquid . . . per te nosse licet, per te, si nosse libebit*," etc. The tenses of the verbs seem to show that Milton, when he wrote this poem to his father at Horton, was actually engaged in those miscellaneous scientific studies of which he here speaks. Altogether the probability is that this poem was written shortly after Milton had left the University in 1632. It would be then, if ever, that his father would address to him those mild remonstrances about his disinclination to any profession to which the poem is an answer. Moreover, it is significant of the date that Milton inserted this poem in his own editions just before his Greek pieces, the first of which was written in 1634.

93. "*I nunc, confer opes*," etc. Warton quotes Ovid, *Heroid.* XII. 204:— "I nunc, Sisypbias, improbe, confer opes."

98—100. "*Publica qui juveni commisit lumina nato, atque Hyperionios currus*." The "*juvenis*" is Phaethon, to whom his father entrusted the chariot of the Sun (Hyperion here taken for the Sun).

101—104. "*Ergo ego . . . victrices hederas inter laurosque sedebo*," etc. Todd quotes Virgil, *Ecl.* VIII. 12, 13:—

"Hanc sine tempora circum
Inter victrices hederam tibi serpere lauros";

and Richardson, for the whole passage, quotes Horace's words in the first of his Odes:—

"Me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium
Dis miscent superis; me gelidum nemus
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
Secernunt populo."

107. "*Sæva nec anguiferos extende, Calumnia, rictus*." Compare *In Quint. Nov.* 146.

115—120. "*Et vos, O nostri, juvenilia carmina, lusus*," etc. It does not seem to me improbable that these six lines were added to the poem just before its publication in the volume of 1645. The phrase "*juvenilia carmina*" seems to refer to that volume as containing this piece among others. Anyhow, it was a beautiful ending, and prophetic.

GREEK VERSES.

See Introduction to these Verses, I. pp. 307, 308. In addition to the criticism of Milton's Greek there quoted from an eminent Greek scholar of last century, the reader may like to see the corresponding criticism of an eminent Greek scholar of a later time. The following remarks have been furnished me, at my request, by my colleague in the University of Edinburgh, Professor S. H. Butcher:—

"*Psalm CXIV.*—This translation is interesting owing to a "certain rhythmical swing in the verses rather than to any accuracy of diction. It may be noted as a special point, which indicates the delicacy of Milton's ear, that he observes Epic usage as regards the hiatus between vowels, although he could not have known anything of the grounds on which it rested. But the mistakes in detail are numerous: (1) wrong forms, as ἐβρώσε for ἠρώσε; (2) false quantities, εἰλυμένη, where the *υ* is long, and αἰνὰ (for αἰνή), where the *α* is long; (3) misapplied words, as ἐντραφερῶ ἐν ἀλωῇ, in the sense, as it would seem, of a 'rich meadow.' The true meaning of ἀλωή is either 'a threshing-floor' or 'a vineyard,' neither of which would be an appropriate place for a skipping ram. The sense of ἐντραφερός (a word which does not occur in Greek literature, but which would naturally mean 'well-fed') appears to be modelled on τραφερὴ ἀρουρα, which in late authors means 'rich land.' The impossible μεγάλ' ἐκτυπέοντα is evidently intended for μεγάλα κτυπέοντα, and is due to a false reminiscence of a Homeric phrase. Among doubtful expressions may be reckoned παραὶ σύριγγι (line 11) and πέλωρ (line 12).

"*Philosophus ad Regem*, etc.—An inferior production, consisting of a mixture of Epic dialect and that of Attic prose; Epic constructions such as εἰ with subjunctive, εἰ ὀλέσσης, ἀφέλοιω (optative without ἄν), and Attic words or phrases, e.g. ἐννομος, ὅλως (which is rarely if ever used except in prose), δεινὸν δρᾶν τινά, where, however, idiom requires δεινόν τι δρᾶν τινά. Even in Epic the subjunctive οὔρη could not here stand as equivalent to the Future Indicative, nor πρὸς θυμὸν for κατὰ θυμόν. The words ὕστερον αἰθι are meaningless; the Homeric ὕστερον αὔτε was doubtless in the author's mind. The expression ἀφελέσθαι κάρηνον could not in Greek of any period mean 'to remove by death'; also ῥηιδίως, 'recklessly,' is in this context a very doubtful use.

"*In Effigiei ejus Sculptorem.*—The thought is very confusedly expressed. There seems to be no real antithesis between the first and the second couplet, such as is at first suggested by τήνδε μὲν εἰκόνα and τόν δ' ἐκτυπτών. The metrical errors here are—(1) anapaests in the fifth foot in the two first lines; (2) a spondee in the fourth foot in the last line. Αὐτοφνὲς εἶδος could hardly denote

"the original of a likeness, as opposed to the portrait. The word *αὐτοφύης*, which means primarily 'self-grown,' is generally applied 'to 'natural,' opposed to 'artificial.' If *δυσμύμημα* existed, it would 'probably mean 'a thing hard to imitate,' not 'a bad imitation.'"

AD SALSILLUM, POETAM ROMANUM, ÆGROTANTEM. SCAZONTES.

1—5. "*O Musa gressum quæ volens trahis claudum,*" etc. A humorous description of the kind of verse in which Milton chose to address Salzilli: viz. the *Scazon*, *Choliambus*, or *Hipponactic Trimeter* (see Introd. I. pp. 308, 309). Though it is a limping measure, and walks with the gait of the lame Vulcan, it thinks itself no less becoming on occasion than when Deiope, the fairest of Juno's attendant nymphs, moves her perfectly-matched limbs before the couch of that goddess.—In Latin Scazons the strict rule of prosodians is that the last foot should always be a Spondee and the penultimate always an Iambus. Greek Scazons allowed either an Iambus or a Trochee for the penultimate. Milton, in the present piece, uses great licence. He has frequently a Spondee for the penultimate; and once at least (22) he has an Iambus for the last foot, converting the line into a regular Iambic trimeter.

6. "*s'is,*" i.e. "*si vis.*"

7, 8. "*Camæna nostra cui tantum est cordi, quæunque,*" etc. The reference is to Salzilli's extravagant Latin compliment to Milton (printed *ante*, I. p. 473), where he had said that Milton would be equal to Homer, Virgil, and Tasso put together.

9. "*Milto.*" Observe that Milton adopts here the Latin form of his own name which Salzilli had used in his verses, instead of *Miltonius* or *Miltonus*, which were the more common forms.

15. "*Visum superbâ cognitas urbes famâ,*" etc. Compare stanzas 6—9 of Francini's Italian Ode to Milton (*ante*, I. pp. 474, 475).

22. "*Tam cultus ore Lesbium condis melos.*" This line is not a Scazon: see note, 1—5. The *Lesbium melos* is poetry after the manner of Alcæus and Sappho, natives of Lesbos. By *Romano ore* Milton probably means Italian, not Latin, as it seems to have been by his Italian poetry that Salzilli was best known in Rome.

25, 26. "*sive tu magis Pæan libenter audis*": a Latin idiom. Compare *Epitaph. Dam.* 209, 210, and *Par. Lost*, III. 7.

26. "*hic*": Salzilli.

27, 28. "*Querceta Fauni, vosque rore vinoso
Colles benigni, mitis Evandri sedes.*"

These are poetical designations for Rome and its neighbourhood. Both Faunus and Evander are important personages in the myths of primitive Latium. They are represented as contemporaries: Faunus,

an old native king, fond of agriculture and cattle-breeding, and afterwards worshipped as the God of Fields; and Evander, a refugee Greek king from Arcadia, who came into Latium, helped to civilise it, and led a mild and hospitable reign there. Thus, of Evander, Ovid, *Fasti*, V. 91—96:—

“ Exsul ab Arcadiis Latios Evander in agros
Venerat, impositos attuleratque deos.
Hic, ubi nunc Roma est orbis caput, arbor et herbæ,
Et paucae pecudes, et casa rara fuit.
Quo postquam ventum: ‘Consistite,’ præscia mater,
‘Nam locus imperii rus erit istud,’ ait.”

There was a sacred oracular grove of Faunus on the Aventine hill, where also Evander had an altar.—Mr. Keightley notes that, though there are vineyards on the Roman hills, they are not famed for wine.

33—35. “*Ipse inter atros emirabitur lucos Numa, ubi*,” etc. Warton’s note on the passage is as follows:—“Very near the city of Rome, in the middle of a gloomy grove, is a romantic cavern with a spring, where Numa is fabled to have received the Roman laws from his wife Egeria, one of Diana’s nymphs . . . When Numa died, Egeria is said to have retired thither, to lament his death . . . On these grounds Milton builds the present beautiful fiction that Numa, still living in this dark grove, in the perpetual contemplative enjoyment of his Egeria, from thence will listen with wonder to the poetry of the neighbouring bard. This place is much frequented in sultry weather by the people of Rome, as a cool retreat . . . Milton might have visited it while at Rome.”—The Grove or Valley of Egeria was one of the famous spots about Rome in the time of the Empire; and Juvenal has a passage (*Sat.* III. 12—20) complaining that the place had been let out to the Jews, and its natural beauty spoilt by a litter of panniers and hay where there ought to have been pure green turf.—It appears to be disputed now whether the place pointed out by Roman *ciceroni* to tourists as the Valley of Egeria is the actual place so distinguished by the old Romans and referred to by Juvenal. See Smith’s *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog.* II. 820 (Art. *Roma*).

38, 39. “*Nec in sepulchris ibi obsessum reges,
Nimium sinistro latus irruens loro.*”

Inundations of the Tiber were frequent; and Milton has here in view Horace’s description of one such in his Ode I. ii.—

“Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore Etrusco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum monumenta regis,
Templaque Vestæ,
Illic dum se nimium querenti
Jactat ultorem; vagus et sinistra
Labitur ripa (Jove non probante) ux-
orius amnis.”

41. "*curvi . . . Portumni.*" Mr. Keightley does not see why the epithet *curvus* should be applied to Portumnus; but, as that god of harbours stands here for the open sea, may not the curves or windings of his shores be signified?—There was a temple to Portumnus at the mouth of the Tiber.

MANSUS.

1, 2. "*Hæc quoque,*" etc. Because, as Warton notes, these verses of Milton were but an addition to the numerous poetical testimonies already received by Manso. More than fifty poets, we are told by the Italian literary historian Quadrio, had written in his honour.

4. "*Post Galli cineres, et Mæcænatis Hetrusci.*" Caius Cornelius Gallus, who died B.C. 26, at the age of about forty, was distinguished as a general, and also as a poet and orator, and was the intimate friend of Virgil, Ovid, and all the other eminent writers of the Augustan age; by whose affectionate references to him he is now chiefly remembered. Of the Etruscan Mæcenas, and his celebrity in literature, nothing needs be said. He died B.C. 8.

6. "*Victrices hederas inter laurosque sedebis.*" A line transferred from the Verses *Ad Patrem*. See line 102 of that poem, and note there.

7—10. "*Te pridem . . . concordia Tasso junxit . . . Mox tibi . . . Musa Marinum tradidit.*" For Manso's relations with Tasso and Marini see *Introd. I.* pp. 310, 311.

11, 12. "*Dum canit Assyrios divùm prolixus amores,*" etc. The reference is to Marini's poem *L'Adone*, which is suitably characterised.

16. "*Vidimus aridentem operoso ex ære poetam*": Marini's monument at Naples.

20, 21. "*Amborum genus . . . describis,*" etc. See *Introd. I.* p. 311.

22, 23. "*Æmulus illius . . . qui,*" etc.: *i.e.* Herodotus, born at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, not far from Mount Mycale, and imagined to be the author of the *Life of Homer* still extant, but now named "Pseudo-Herodotean."

24. "*Clîus.*" See note, *Ad Patrem*, 14.

25. "*Imprudens Italas,*" etc. Perhaps an allusion to the things he had written in Italy,—his *Italian Sonnets*, the *Epigrams Ad Leonoram* and the *Scazons to Salzilli*; or perhaps by "*Musa*" he only means himself, the poet.

30—33. "*Nos etiam in nostro modulantes flumine cygnos,*" etc.

"I believe it is an old tradition," says Warton, "that, if swans sing, it is in the darkest and coldest nights of winter." The Thames has always been famous for its swans; and Ben Jonson had this in mind when he wrote of Shakespeare—

"Sweet swan of Avon! what a sight it were
To see thee in our water yet appear,
And make those flights upon the banks of Thames
That so did take Eliza and our James!"

34. "*Tityrus*." By *Tityrus* Milton is supposed here to mean Chaucer, who had visited Italy about 1373 and seen Petrarch (Prologue to the *Clerke's Tale*). In Spenser's Pastorals *Tityrus* is a fancy-name for Chaucer. See February Eclogue in *Shepherd's Calendar*, and the opening of *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, where Spenser speaks of himself as

"The Shepheard's boy (best known by that name)
That after Tityrus first sung his lay."

36, 37. "*Quæ plaga septeno mundi sulcata Trione . . . Boöten*." See note, *Eleg.* V. 35.

38—48. "*Nos etiam colimus Phæbum, nos munera Phæbo . . . misimus*," etc. There is a reference here, as Warton pointed out, to the belief that Apollo was worshipped by the ancient Britons. The belief is argued, with some minuteness, by Selden, in his notes to Drayton's *Polyolbion* (Songs VIII. and IX.), where he shows how Belin, or Belinus, the "All-healing Deity" of the Druids, and the chief object of their worship, might, by antiquarian ingenuity, be identified with Apollo. Assuming this belief, Milton, in the present passage, goes farther, and ventures to claim as native British Druidesses those Hyperborean nymphs who, according to Herodotus (IV. 35), brought from their far country offerings to Apollo and Artemis in Delos. Herodotus gives but two of these nymphs, and names them Upis and Arge; but Milton, as Warton noted, takes as his authority Callimachus, *Hymn. Del.* 292:—

"Ὀδῆς τε, Λοξῶ τε, καὶ ἐνάλω Ἑκαέργῃ,
Θυγατέρες Βορέας."

To adapt these three nymphs the better to his purpose, he characterises each of them, making Loxo the daughter of the famous giant-killing Corineus of Cornwall, the companion of Brutus (see note, *Lycidas*, 156—162), Upis a famous prophetess, and Hecæerge yellow-haired. Moreover, he supposes all the three British beauties to have been stained, after the fashion of their country, with the Caledonian woad; and, not content with this, he feigns that the tradition of their visit had been preserved in Delos, so that the Greek girls there still had songs about Upis, Hecæerge, and Loxo.

Altogether, the passage is a piece of scholarship finely turned into poetry.

49. "*Fortunate senex! ergo quacunq; per orbem.*" An adaptation, as Mr. Keightley notes, of Virgil's line (*Ecl.* I. 47):—

"*Fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt.*"

52. "*Tu quoque in ora frequens venies plausumq; virorum.*" From Propertius, III. ix. 32, as Bowle noted:—

"*Et venies tu quoque in ora virum.*"

Todd quotes also Virgil, *Georg.* III. 9:—

"*Victorque virum volitare per ora.*"

56—69. "*At non . . . calo fugitivus Apollo,*" etc. Another passage of mythological poetry. Apollo, when he was banished from heaven, came to the domain of Admetus, King of Phææ in Thessaly, son of Pheres (hence named Pheretiades), the same who had previously received the great Hercules (Alcides) as his guest. For nine years the god kept the herds of this king Admetus; whose hospitality he at length rewarded in various ways, but especially by obtaining for him the favour that he should not die if he could find any one else to die for him,—a boon afterwards leading to the touching story of his wife Alcestis (note, *Sonnet XXIII.*) But, while the god was in this service, it was his wont, when he would be at leisure for music, to retire to the cave of the gentle and cultivated centaur Cheiron (notes, *Eleg.* IV. 23—28, and *In ob. Proc. Med.* 25, 26), which was in the same Thessalian region, deep in woods, and near the river Peneus. And O what music the god would make in those leafy retreats, the friendly Centaur sitting beside him and listening! The banks of the valley reeled, the deepest stone-blocks were stirred, with the ravishment; the Trachinian rock (Mount Ceta) nodded its vast weight of woods; the ash-trees came in troops from the hills; the spotted lynxes gathered to gaze, lured from their forest haunts! In all this Milton recollects the chorus in the *Alcestis* of Euripides, describing Apollo's music while he kept the herds of king Admetus (570 *et seq.*); and several of the phrases in the passage are waifs from Virgil, Ovid, and Horace. He has not, however, studied minute geographical consistency; for, though Mount Pelion, where the Centaur had his cave, is near Phææ, it is at a considerable distance from the river Peneus on one side, and from Mount Ceta on the other. It was enough for the poet to keep his range within Thessaly. The purport of the whole passage, as regards Manso, is that he in Naples had been to Tasso and Marini what the hospitable king Admetus of Phææ and the good centaur Cheiron of Mount Pelion had been to Apollo in his Thessalian banishment.

72. "*Atlantisque nepos*": i.e. the god Mercury, who was the grandson of the Titan Atlas, being the son of Jupiter by Maia, one of the daughters of Atlas.

* 73. "*magno favisse poeta*." Tasso must be especially meant.

75. "*Æsonios lucratur vivida fusos*." See *Elegia Secunda*, line 8, and note there. Mr. Keightley notes that the phrase "*lucratur Æsonios fusos*," "has the benefit of Æsonian spindles," is an odd one, and not classic.

76. "*Nondum deciduos servans tibi frontis honores*." This compliment to Manso, on his keeping his hair even in his old age, is irreconcilable with a most precise statement in the sketch given of Manso in the *Pinacotheca* of Janus Nicius Erythræus. In the Third Part of that interesting collection of biographic portraits of eminent men who had died within the lifetime of the author (this Third Part dated 1648, while the two preceding parts had appeared in 1645), Manso forms the subject of Article XIII. (pp. 56—58); and there, after much in commendation of Manso, this passage occurs in illustration of his affability and pleasant manners in private society: "As he excelled in all the Christian virtues, so he was found most of all remarkable in what we call humility; that is, in lowliness of mind and modesty. Wherefore he would not willingly listen to any praises of himself, would detract from his own merits, and attribute all good to others; and, as is the fashion in the club-meetings of the Blessed Virgin, in which he was ranked as one of the members (*ut mos est in sodalitiis B. Virginis, in quibus ille numerabatur*), he would good-humouredly bear to have his defects publicly exposed. If bid lick the ground with his mouth, or kiss the feet of his club-fellows, he would not refuse, or escape the authority of the master of the revels; nor was he less obedient if he were ordered to snatch from his head the periwig with which he concealed his baldness (*caliendrum e capite quo calvitiam occultabat*), but immediately did as he was ordered, and made no scruple about exhibiting, amid the great laughter of the beholders, his bald head (*neque dubitabat, magno intuentium cum risu, caput pilis nudum ostendere*)." Either, therefore, Erythræus is wrong in this part of his sketch of Manso (which is not likely), or the old nobleman's wig was a good one, and he had worn it carefully when Milton and he were together.

80—84. "*Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges, Arturumque*," etc. On the autobiographical significance of this passage, as the first announcement of Milton's intention to write a poem on the subject of Arthur and the British Legends, see *Introd. to Par. Lost*, II. pp. 41, 42. Compare also *Epitaph. Dam.* 162—171. He had probably talked of this scheme to Manso; and, from his

way of mentioning it here, it does not appear to have yet taken exact shape in his mind. Was Arthur but to come in as one of the legendary British kings; or was he to be the central figure, and was the time of the story to be that of his wars with the Saxons?—“*Etiam sub terris*” has reference to Arthur’s mysterious retreat to Faery-land, and concealment there; the “*invicta mensa*” is, of course, the Round Table. Todd, however, quotes the phrase “*sociæque ad fœdera mensæ*” from Statius? *Theb.* VIII. 247.

85—93. “*Tandem, ubi,*” etc. A beautiful passage, written, I should say, with tears. Note the sudden and yet lingering “*at ego securâ pace quiescam.*” Something of the same mournful cadence recurs in *Sams. Agonistes*, 598.

94—100. “*Tum quoque . . . Olympo.*” The frequency with which Milton ends a poem with this dream of Heaven and its joys has been already remarked on. See note, *Eleg. Tertia*, 63, 64.

EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS.

1—3. “*Himerides Nymphæ,*” etc. The *Himerides Nymphæ* are the nymphs of the Sicilian river Himera, mentioned more than once by Theocritus, and once (V. 124) thus, Ἰμέρα ἀνθ’ ὕδατος ῥέιτο γάλα: “May Himera for water flow milk.” There were, in reality, two rivers of this name in Sicily, one flowing to the south coast, and the other to the north. The northern Himera, which had the city of Himera at its mouth, is supposed to be the river of Theocritus. Milton’s intention, however, is simply to invoke the Sicilian muses generally, the muses of Pastoral Poetry proper, who had inspired Theocritus, and his fellow Sicilian and pastoralist, Moschus. The First Idyll of Theocritus contains the lamentation of the shepherd Thyrsis for his dying fellow-shepherd *Daphnis*; the Thirteenth Idyll of the same poet relates the abduction of the beautiful youth *Hylas* by the water-nymphs, and the grief of Hercules for his loss; and the Third Idyll of Moschus has for its subject the untimely death of the pastoral poet *Bion*, whom Moschus acknowledges as his master, and who, though born in Asia Minor, near Smyrna, had come to reside in Sicily. This last Idyll is entitled Ἐπιτάφιος Βίωνος, or *Epitaphium Bionis*, in imitation of Bion’s own First Idyll, which is a lament for the death of Adonis, and is entitled Ἐπιτάφιος Ἀδώνιδος, or *Epitaphium Adonidis*. In short, Milton desires, in the opening, as all through the poem, to remind his readers that the poem is on the model of the old Greek Pastoral. Hence he calls it a “*Sicelicum carmen,*” or “*Sicilian song,*” attempted on the banks of the Thames.

See *Intro.* to the poem, I. pp. 325, 326; also *Intro.* to *Lycidas*, I. pp. 193—200, and notes to *Lycidas*, lines 85, 86, and 132—134.

4. "*Thyrsis*." Milton, in lamenting Diodati under the name of Damon, represents himself as Damon's surviving fellow-shepherd *Thyrsis*. The name, as has been said, is that of the chief speaker in the First Idyll of Theocritus; and thence it descended as a standing name in subsequent Pastoral poetry. Virgil has it for one of the speakers in his Seventh Eclogue; the English Pastoralists had not forgotten it; and Milton had already used it in his *Comus* as the name of the Guardian Spirit in his guise of a shepherd. In that character it had been worn by the musician Henry Lawes, the performer of the part, who indeed claimed a kind of property in it in consequence (see Lawes's Dedication of the original edition of *Comus*, I. p. 385); but Milton now reclaims it for himself.

7. "*Damona*." *Damon* is also a name in the classic Pastoral. Virgil has a *Damon* as one of the speakers in his Eighth Eclogue.

9—11. "*Et jam bis*," etc. This passage by itself would have fixed for us the date of Diodati's death. Milton had gone abroad in the April of 1638, and he returned to England in the autumn of 1639. Computing from this last date, or from a few weeks later, when Milton wrote his poem, two harvests, with their precedent summers of green crop, would take us back to the summer or early autumn of 1638. Diodati, therefore, had died shortly after Milton left England, though Milton, as the sequel of the poem shows, remained ignorant of the fact till he was on his return.—Till lately we had no other record on this interesting subject than Milton's own lines afford; but the date and circumstances of Diodati's death, and the place of his burial, are now known exactly. See *Intro.* I. pp. 318, 319.

12, 13. "*Nec dum aderrat Thyrsis*," etc.: i.e. Diodati's death in England had happened while Milton was at Florence, on the first of his two visits to that city: viz. in August 1638.

15. "*assuetâ seditque sub ulmo*." Warton properly refers to the phrase "*the accustomed oak*" in *Pens.* 60 (see note there); but Todd quotes also Ovid, *Met.* X. 533, "*assuetâ semper in umbrâ*."

18. "*Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni*." This line is the burden, or recurring line, of the poem, beginning every paragraph after this point, and repeated in all seventeen times. The exquisite device of such a burden, or recurring line, breaking a long pastoral monologue into musical parts, is found in the First Idyll of Theocritus; where the line—

"Ἀρχετε βοκολικᾶς, Μῶσαι φίλοι, ἄρχετ' αὐδῶς

occurs, with only a verbal variation, nineteen times, breaking the lament of *Thyrsis* for the dying *Daphnis*. Again, in the Second

Idyll of Theocritus, we have two such refrains breaking a monologue, one repeated ten times, and the other twelve times. So in the *Epitaphium Bionis* of Moschus, where the line

"*Ἀρχετὲ Σικελικαὶ τῷ πένθεος, ἄρχετὲ Μοῖσαι*"

occurs fourteen times; and so in Bion's *Epitaphium Adonidis*, where similar, but slighter, use is made of the line

"*Αἱ αἱ τῶν Κυθήριαν ἀπώλετο καλὸν Ἀδωνις.*"

Virgil also, in his Eighth Eclogue, makes one of the speakers repeat nine times the line

"*Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin.*"

23. "*aureâ*": used as a dissyllable.

27. "*nisi me lupus antè videbit.*" For this superstition compare Virgil, *Ecl.* IX. 54.

31. "*post Daphnin.*" See note, *ante*, lines 1—3.

32. "*Pales*," the Roman god, or goddess, of sheepfolds; "*Faunus*" (see note, *Ad Sals.* 27), the Roman god of fields and cattle. In this whole passage (29—32) there is a recollection of Virgil, *Ecl.* V. 76—80:—

"*Dum juga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit,
Dumque thymo pascentur apes, dum rore cicadæ:
Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.
Ut Baccho Cererique, tibi sic vota quotannis
Agricolæ facient.*"

40. "*rapido sub sole.*" Virgil has the phrase, "*solem ad rapidum*," *Georg.* I. 424.

46. "*Mordaces curas.*" From Horace. See *L'Allegro*, 135, and note there.

47. "*Dulcibus alloquiis.*" Also from Horace (*Epod.* XIII. 17).

51, 52. "*Aut æstate, dies medio dum vertitur axe,
Cum Pan æsculeâ somnum capit abditus umbrâ.*"

The idea is taken, as Warton noted, from Theocritus, I. 15—17:—

"*Οὐ θέμις, ὦ ποιμὴν, τὸ μεσαμβριὸν, οὐ θέμις ἄμμιον
Συρίσδεν' τὸν Πᾶνα θεδοίκαμες· ἦ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀγρᾶς
Τανίκα κεκρακὼς ἀμπαύεται.*"

56. "*Cecropiosque sales referet, cultosque lepores?*" *Cecropios* (from Cecrops, the mythical founder of the Athenian state) may be translated "Attic"; in "*Cecropios sales*" there is a recollection of the phrase "*Attic salt*," as a name for genuine wit; and in the whole line there is an allusion to Diodati's sprightly humour. See *Introd.* to *Eleg. Prima*, I. pp. 255—257, and *Introd.* to *Eleg. Sexta*, I. pp. 266—268. See also note to *Comus*, 619—628.

65. "*Innuba*," etc. Compare *Par. Lost*, V. 215—219.

67. "*Mærent, inque suum convertunt ora magistrum.*" Warton compares *Lycidas*, 125:—

"The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed."

69, 70. "*Tityrus . . . Alpheisibæus . . . Ægon . . . Amyntas.*" These fancy-names are all from the classic Pastoral, and more especially from Virgil's Eclogues, where shepherds so named are either speakers or are mentioned. Milton may, or may not, have had real persons in view under these designations.

71. "*Hic gelidi fontes, hic illita gramina musco.*" So, as Richardson noted, Virgil, *Ecl.* X. 42, 43:—

"Hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori:
Hic nemus."

73. "*Ista canunt surdo.*" So, as Mr. Keightley notes, Virgil, *Ecl.* X. 8, "*Non canimus surdis.*"

75. "*Mopsus.*" Another name from the classic Pastoral. In Virgil's *Ecl.* V. *Mopsus* is one of the speakers.

76. "*avium*": here to be taken, by synæresis, as a dissyllable (*av-yum*); but, as Mr. Keightley remarks, the first syllable of the word ought then to be long by position, whereas Milton keeps it short.

79, 80. "*Saturni grave sæpe fuit pastoribus astrum,*" etc. See note, *Il Pens.* 43. Warton refers to Propertius, IV. i. 85, 86.

"Felicesque Jovis stellas, Martisque rapacis,
Et grave Saturni sidus in omne caput."

82. "*Quid te, Thyrsi, futurum est?*" A Ciceronian idiom for "*Quid tibi,*" etc. In scanning this line the *æ* of *nymphæ* must remain unelided.

88, 89. "*Hyas, Dryopeque, et filia Baucidis Ægle,*" etc. These female names are from the classic mythology, and here turned to Pastoral use. Real persons may, or may not, have been in Milton's mind. The *Ægle*, so specially characterised, *might* be some real person; but the character, after all, as Warton noted, is taken from Horace (*Od.* III. ix. 9, 10):—

"Me nunc Thressa Chloe regit,
Dulces docta modos, et citharæ sciens."

90. "*Venit Idumanii Chloris vicina fluenti.*" If any one of the four shepherdesses mentioned was a real person of Milton's acquaintance, this Chloris might be she; for, as Warton explained, the *Idumanium fluentum*, from which she is said to have come, is the river Chelmer in Essex, near its influx into Blackwater Bay, called by Ptolemy *Portus Idumanius*. It is hardly possible to suppose so

precise a local designation adopted without some suggestion from fact.

99, 100. "*deserto in littore Proteus agmina phocæarum numerat.*" A recollection from Virgil, *Georg.* IV. 418—436, where the sea-god, Proteus is described in this very occupation of tending and numbering his troops of sea-calves on the beach.

115—117. "*Ecquid erat tanti Romam vidisse sepultam,*" etc. A reference to Virgil's First Eclogue, where the shepherd Tityrus tells the shepherd Melibœus of his visit to Rome and his first impressions of that great city. As in that Eclogue Tityrus represents Virgil himself, Milton's meaning here is, "Was it of so much consequence for me to go all the way from England to see Rome, even if Rome had been the same vast and unruined city that it was in Virgil's days?" He all but borrows a line of the Eclogue—

"Et quæ tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?"

Milton visited Rome twice in the course of his foreign tour: viz. in Oct. and Nov. 1638, and again in Jan. and Feb. 1639.

126. "*Pastores Thusci*": the wits and literary men of Florence, among whom Milton had spent two months (Aug. and Sept.) in 1638, and again two months (March and April) in 1639. Among these he became acquainted most intimately with the following eight persons, all then of some distinction in Florentine society, and active in its Academies or literary institutions: Benedetto Buommattei, Jacopo Gaddi, Agostino Coltellini, Valerio Chimentelli, Pietro Frescobaldi, Antonio Malatesti, Antonio Francini, and Carlo Dati. But the great Galileo was living in his blindness near Florence, and Milton had been introduced to him also.

127, 128. "*Thuscus tu quoque Damon, antiquæ genus unde petis Lucumonis ab urbe.*" For Diodati's genealogy see *Introductio ad Elegia Prima*, I. pp. 253—255. By "*antiquæ Lucumonis urbe*" is meant Lucca, Milton perhaps having heard a tradition that it had been founded by one of the old Etruscan Lucumons or kings,—possibly even by that Lucumon who was afterwards Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth King of Rome in the legends. Lucca is certainly an ancient city; but it is doubted now whether it is of Etruscan origin, as no Etruscan remains have been found on the site (see Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog.*, Art. *Luca*). It has already been noted in the *Introductio* (I. p. 317) that Milton, when on his second visit to Florence, made an excursion of a few days, expressly to see Lucca, the place of Diodati's ancestry.

132. "*Et potui Lycidæ certantem audire Menalcam!*" An allusion, in pastoral terms, to the discussions and trials of literary skill he had heard in the Florentine academies. *Lycidas* and

Menalcas may be any of the fore-named group of Florentine scholars (note 126). Both names are from the Virgilian Eclogues; and, though Milton had already two years before appropriated *Lycidas* immortally to Edward King of Cambridge, he does not hesitate to re-apply the name casually here.

133, 134. "*Ipse etiam tentare rursus sum,*" etc. : i.e. Milton had himself in Florence partaken in the literary discussions of the Academies, and been complimented by his Florentine friends on his poetical and other abilities. See note to *Mansus*, line 29, for an enumeration of the pieces of verse written by Milton in Italy. While in Florence, he wrote also an interesting Latin letter to Buommattei on his Italian Grammar (Sept. 10, 1638); and it is possible, though not likely, that he wrote other things which he did not preserve. Doubtless the "attempts" he speaks of as "not displeasing" his Florentine friends were chiefly such of his Latin poems and academic exercises as he had brought with him from England, or could remember; for it does not seem that any of his Florentine friends could read English, so as to appreciate his *Comus*, his *Lycidas*, or his other English pieces.

134, 135. "*nam sunt et apud me munera vestra,*" etc. Richard-son refers to Virgil, *Ecl.* III. 62, 63, where Menalcas says:—

"Et me Phœbus amat : Phœbo sua semper apud me
Munera sunt, lauri, et suave rubens hyacinthus."

I do not doubt, however, that Milton had actually received little gifts, or tokens of remembrance, from his Florentine friends, and that, to be in pastoral keeping, he names these "*fiscellæ, calathique, et ceræ vincla cicuta.*"

136—138. "*Quin et nostra . . . et Datis et Francinus . . . Lydorum sanguinis ambo.*" Milton here, after having referred to his Florentine friends generally as "*pastores Thusci,*" or "Tuscan shepherds," mentions two of them, Carlo Dati and Antonio Francini, with particular regard, and expressly by their own names, on account of the encomiums they had bestowed upon him: Francini in an elaborate Italian ode, and Dati in a Latin address (see both performances among the *De Auctore Testimonia*, I. pp. 474—477). They are called "of the blood of the Lydians," in allusion to the story in Herodotus, universally accepted in the ancient world, that the Etruscans came from Lydia in Asia Minor. Doubtless, too, there is an allusion to Horace (*Sat.* I. vi. 1, 2) where he says of Mæcenas that no one was *generosior* than he of all who inhabited "*Lydorum Etruscos fines.*"—It may be again mentioned that Milton's affectionate remembrance of his Tuscan friends accompanied him through life. Among his Latin Familiar Epistles is one to Carlo Dati, dated "London, April 21, 1647," in which messages are sent to Coltellini,

Francini, Frescobaldi, Malatesti, and Chimentelli, and "the rest of the Gaddian Academy"; the correspondence with Dati did not then cease; and in Milton's *Defensio Secunda*, published in 1654, he made honourable mention of seven of the group by name, acknowledging his obligations to them, and to "not a few others" in Florence.

142. "*cum te cinis ater habebat.*" Traced to Virgil, *Æn.* IV. 633:—

"Namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat."

144. "*Vimina nunc texit varios sibi quod sit in usus.*" Traced to Virgil, *Ecl.* II. 71, 72:—

"Quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus,
Viminibus mollique paras detexere junco?"

149. "*Aut ad aquas Colni, aut ubi jugera Cassibelauni?*" The "*aqua Colni*" sufficiently designate the neighbourhood of Horton in Bucks, the country-residence of Milton's father, where Milton had mainly lived from 1632 to 1638; the "*jugera Cassibelauni*," remembered by Milton as also a frequent scene of his meetings and walks with Diodati, were the neighbourhood of St. Albans in Herts, where, according to Camden, the British king Cassibelaunus, who opposed Cæsar, had his headquarters.

150—154. "*Tu mihi percurres medicos,*" etc. The reference is to Diodati's profession of medicine and his botanical knowledge. See *Comus*, 619—628, and note there.

155—160. "*Ipse etiam,*" etc. Observe the subtle connexion here with what has preceded. Milton has been speaking of Diodati's profession, of his botanical pursuits, of the topics of conversation these furnished in their walks, and now of the close of all this by death. Then he goes on to remember that he himself has a profession, if it may be so called,—that of letters and poetry,—and how often and how naturally, in exchange for Diodati's medical chat, he had talked with him about his own literary doings and plans. Well, if Diodati had been still alive, to welcome him back to England, what would have been one of his first communications to that beloved friend? Would it not have been about a great English Poem he had been meditating while in Italy, and of which his mind was still so full that actually but a few days ago,—eleven nights and a day, says Milton, with his usual exactness,—he had been trying to make a beginning? It had not been successful; the theme was too grave for one whose poetical exercises hitherto had been of a lighter kind: well might he hesitate! Would he have ventured, after all, to tell even Diodati? And now, with no Diodati to hear, shall he risk putting his bold intention on paper? Observe the studied breaks

in the syntax, the jerks of short clauses, with which he conveys his doubts whether it will be prudent to do so, whether he may not incur the charge of boastfulness if he does; and then the sudden resolution "*tamen et referam: vos cedite, Sylva.*" By "*sylva*" or "woods" Milton here means Pastoral Poesy: and it is as if he had said, "Pastoral Poesy! listen to that scheme of mine which is to withdraw me from your service and transfer me to one higher and more difficult!"

162—168. "*Ipse ego Dardanias,*" etc. In this famous passage Milton divulges in greater detail that scheme of an Epic on the subject of King Arthur and Legendary British History which he had announced a year before in his poem to Manso (see *Mansus*, 80—84, and note there). All the proper names in the passage are significant. The "*Dardaniæ Rutupina per æquora puppes*" of which he is to speak are the Trojan ships along the Kentish coasts, bringing Brutus and his wandering Trojan followers to their new home in Britain (*Rutupinus* being from *Rutupæ* or *Rutupiæ*, now *Richborough* in Kent, famous among the Romans for its oyster-beds, and reckoned one of the most convenient ports in southern Britain). The "*Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ*" is the realm which Brutus established in Britain, called, in poetical gallantry, not his, but that of his wife Inogen, or Imogen, the daughter of the Grecian king Pandrasus, with whom Brutus and his Trojans had fought in the course of their Mediterranean wanderings, though at length there was an agreement, with a handsome parting dowry of ships and money from Pandrasus to Inogen and her adventurous husband. In the line "*Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum*" we are led farther on in British legendary history, and touch it at two long-separated points. Brennus and Belinus are two famous British brothers, sons of Dunwallo Molmutius, the second founder of the British nation, more than six hundred years after its first foundation by Brutus; and the legends tell nothing less of them than that, after mutual wars in Britain, they joined forces and led that famous expedition of so-called Gauls into Italy by which infant Rome had nearly perished (B.C. 390),—the so-called Gauls of that invasion being in reality Britons, and the Brennus who flung his broadsword into the scale, and said "*Væ victis!*" to the trembling Romans who were weighing out their ransom in gold, being the younger of the two brothers. For Arviragus, again, though he is wedged into the line with the two brothers, and indeed separates them, we must come down to the time of the Roman occupation of Britain; for he was one of the sons of the British king Cunobelin (Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*), and fought against the Roman invaders about A.D. 45. In the succeeding line "*Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos*" we overleap several centuries more, and

NOTES TO THE MINOR POEMS

arrive at the period of the supposed colonisation of Armorica in France by refugee Britons escaping from the cruelties of Hengist, Horsa, and their Pagan Saxons (A.D. 450 *et seq.*) Thus at last we reach the main subject:—

“*Tum gravidam Arturo, fatali fraude Iögernem ;
Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,
Merlini dolus.*”

Here we rest on the birth of the great Arthur, whose mother was Igraine, wife of Duke Gorlois of Cornwall, but whose father was not this Gorlois, but Uther Pendragon, King of all Britain, introduced into the lady's castle, in the likeness of her dead husband, by the craft of the magician Merlin.—How Milton was to weld into one epic all these masses of legend, straggling over some sixteen hundred years of imagined time, cannot be known. Probably, while making Arthur his immediate hero, and using Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, or the original Arthurian poems, as his material for that story, he might, by some device of magical reflection or doubling-back in the narrative, have included a retrospect of the British Legendary History back to Brutus, as told in Geoffrey of Monmouth, and summarised poetically by Spenser in sixty-four stanzas of his *Faery Queene* (see *F. Q.* Book II. Canto x. stanzas 5—68; and note the mention there of Brutus and Inogen, 9—13, Brennus and Belinus 40, Arvirage or Arviragus, 51, and the Armorican settlers, 64). As it happened, he was never to carry his project into effect; and all we have from him as a substitute for it is his prose compilation of the British Legends in his *History of Britain*, published in 1670. Within a year after the *Epitaphium Damonis* was written, the notion of an Arthurian Epic was abandoned by Milton and other subjects were occupying his mind. See *Introd. to Par. Lost*, II. pp. 42—44, and *General Introd. to Minor Poems*, I. pp. 82—84.

168—171. “*O, mihi tum si vita supersit . . . Brittonicum strides.*” If Milton had carried out his great Arthurian project, then, as he here says, the simpler pastoral pipe which he had hitherto used most in his poetry would have been hung up and forgotten, and, as he also says, the Latin versification, which he had so much practised, would have been exchanged for native English and the British war-screach.

171—178. “*Quid enim? omnia non licet uni.*” In this passage, in the opening of which there is a trace of Virgil's “*non omnia possumus omnes*” (*Ecl.* VIII. 63), Milton still pursues the idea of his great intended epic, and emphasises the fact that it would be in English. In that fact there was certainly a drawback; for would it not limit his constituency of readers to his own countrymen? What then? He would be content with that constituency! Yes!

let him be unknown all through the foreign world, if he should be read along all the rivers and all the shores of his own native island ! For the importance of this concession in Milton's mode of thinking, and a re-expression of it shortly afterwards in one of his prose-pamphlets, see *Intro. to Par. Lost*, II. pp. 40, 41 ; and see also *Intro. to the Latin Poems*, I. pp. 248—252. The enumeration of British rivers and coasts in the present passage is very poetical, and may be compared with that in *At a Vacation Exercise*, 91—100. Whether the *Usa* is the Ouse of the Eastern Counties or the Ouse of Yorkshire may remain doubtful ; but the former may be preferred, as the river nearest Cambridge (see Spenser, *F. Q.* IV. xi. 34). The *Alaunus* may be the Denbighshire Allen or Alyn, flowing into the Dee. The "*vorticibus frequens Abra*," where the epithet "*vorticibus frequens*" is from Ovid, *Met.* IX. 106, is supposed by Warton to be probably the Humber ("storming Humber" Spenser calls it, *F. Q.* IV. xi. 30) ; but *Abra*, Latinised from *Aber* a river's mouth, was a name of various rivers, and sometimes especially designated the Severn. The *Treanta* is, of course, the Trent ; then, above all, Milton names *Thamesis meus*, his own Thames ; after which the *Tamara* or Tamar, dividing Devon from the mining county of Cornwall, is the only river mentioned, and the eye then glances swiftly to the extreme north of the island, catching no more rivers, but only the sea round the *Orcades*, or Orkneys.—In all these places, and not least in the last, Milton is now read.

180. "*Hæc tibi servabam lentâ sub cortice lauri.*" Probably this is a mere metaphorical expression for "I was keeping all this to be told you" ; but the image is that of something packed up in tough laurel bark, and one can discern the significance of that image for the occasion.

181—197. "*tum quæ mihi pocula Mansus . . . bina dedit, mirum artis opus,*" etc. I do not see any other possible interpretation of this passage than that which accepts it, as Warton was inclined to do, as a description of an actual pair of cups or goblets, with designs painted or engraved on them, which the Neapolitan Manso had given to Milton as a keepsake at parting, and which Milton had hoped to show to Diodati. True, it may be argued that the whole is but a fiction in the manner of the pastoralists. Thus Virgil, following precedents in Theocritus, makes the two shepherds, Damoetas and Menalcas, who contend in his Third Eclogue for the superiority in singing, name as their stakes, respectively, a young heifer and a pair of beechen cups. Damoetas, who has staked the heifer, asks Menalcas to name his stake ; and Menalcas replies—

"De grege non ausim quicquam deponere tecum :
Est mihi namque domi pater ; est injusta noverca ;

Bisque die numerant ambo pecus, alter et hædos.
 Verum, id quod multo tute ipse fatebere majus,
 (Insanire licet quoniam tibi) pocula ponam
 Fagina, cælatum divini opus Alcimedontis ;
 Lenta quibus torno facili superaddita vitis
 Diffusos hedera vestit pallente corymbos.
 In medio duo signa, Conon, et, quis fuit alter,
 Descripsit radio totum qui gentibus orbem,
 "Tempora quæ messor, quæ curvus arator haberet.
 Necdum illis labra admovi, sed condita servo."

To this, Damocetas answers that the cups will do, but they are no great bargain against the heifer, as he has two cups of his own by the same maker—

"Et nobis idem Alcimedon duo pocula fecit,
 Et molli circum est ansas amplexus acantho ;
 Orpheaque in medio posuit, sylvasque sequentes.
 Necdum illis labra admovi, sed condita servo.
 Si ad vitulam spectas, nihil est quod pocula laudes."

Despite this coincidence, however (and Milton certainly had those passages in his mind, and takes phrases from them), it is impossible to conceive the present from Manso to be a pure fiction, and difficult to conceive that the two cups are a mere allegorical substitute, in the poem, for a real present of some quite different article. Save for this passage, we know of no present of Manso to Milton except the Latin distich of compliment—

"Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, mos, si pietas sic,
 Non Anglus, verum herclè Angelus ipse, fores ;"

and surely not even Milton's imagination could have converted that into two cups, a *mirum artis opus*, which Manso "*circum gemino cælaverat argumento*." For, though the designs on the cups in the poem are described in most gorgeous language, one can still see what the subjects might be on two actual cups. On one side of each was an oriental scene of the Red Sea, the Arabian shores, palm-trees, and the divine bird Phoenix looking back at Aurora surmounting the green waters ; on the obverse was a scene from Greek mythology, representing Olympus and the gods, with Cupid underneath, his torch, his quiver, and his eyes all ablaze, shooting his arrows right upwards through the celestial ranks. Now, if, as Milton seems to say, the designs were Manso's own, the present was a very graceful one for the old nobleman to make to his young English visitor. Nor, if he did, when Milton was going away, take such a pair of cups from his cabinet, and beg Milton to accept them in addition to the Latin distich of compliment he had already written, would there have been much inconsistency in the act with what Erythræus, in his sketch of Manso (see note to *Mansus*, line 76), tells us of the old nobleman's habits at last : viz. that the only fault found with him was that he seemed to be too careful of his

goods (*quod nimis ad rem attentus videretur*), and that people did not understand this till after his death, when it appeared that he had been saving all he could that he might leave a more handsome endowment for a college for the education of young noblemen which he had founded in Naples, and from which he expected great things.—Milton's pleasure in the regard Manso had shown for him is conspicuous throughout the passage. He calls him (line 182) "Manso, not the last glory of the Chalcidic, *i.e.* Neapolitan, shore" (for *Chalcidicus*, see note, *Ad Leon.* III. 4).

198—219. "*Tu quoque in his—nec me fallit spes lubrica, Damon—
Tu quoque in his certè es,*" etc.

This closing passage is in a strain of noble and surprising phrenzy. Observe the transition from the preceding description of one of the designs on the cups,—the Heaven of the Gods, and Love not absent even there, but shooting his darts right up among the Gods themselves. "Thou too art among *them*," he exclaims, addressing the dead Damon; "I know for certain that thou also art among *them*"; and then, once on the track of his favourite idea of a mystic or divine Love active even among the heavenly hierarchies (see note, *Comus*, 999 *et seq.*), he remains in that idea to the end. Damon,—or let him be called at last by his own real name of DIODATI,—is not among the dead. He is living above the skies: he has spurned back the rainbow; amid the souls of heroes and the gods everlasting, he is drinking the joys that await the blessed! Nay for him, virgin as his life on earth had been, were there not reserved the highest honours of Apocalyptic promise (Rev. xiv. 2—4)? Yes, there in Heaven, his head encircled with the glittering crown, and walking with palm-branches in the glad procession, he was partaking already in the eternal nuptial-feast, joining his voice in the unutterable marriage-song, and mixing in a revel beatific beyond all Bacchic orgies, because ruled by the thyrsus of Sion itself (Rev. vii. 9—17, and xix. 5—9). Compare lines 165—181 of *Lycidas*, and the note there. But the phrenzy here, though with latent Biblical support, is more daringly wild. The last line especially breaks all conventional bounds.

AD JOANNEM ROUSIUM: ODE.

Milton's Note on the Verse.—In this note, Milton, in a manner which is obviously apologetic, explains the irregularities of form in his Ode. In the first place, he explains that, though he has divided it into seven pieces, or three Strophes, as many Antistrophes, and

an Epode, yet in this division he has attended rather to the habits of modern reading than to the ancient arrangement for singing, and so has made the pieces neither all of the same length, nor quite correspondent in the metres employed. Hence perhaps, in strictness, the whole Ode ought, he says, to have been printed monostrophically, or as one continuous run of varied verse, without break into parts. Next, however, in the measures, of the individual lines great liberties have been taken, some conforming to rule, but others being quite loose and arbitrary, or guided by no rule but that of the poet's own ear. Among the first kind will be found some *Phaleucians* (otherwise called *Phalæcians* or *Hendecasyllabics*, and strictly of the formula — | — ∪ | — ∪ | — ∪ | — ∪); and, should it be objected that in two of these Phaleucians a spondee has been admitted as the third foot, Milton would justify himself by the example of Catullus, who has admitted a spondee at his pleasure, if not for the third foot, at least for the second.—The substance of all this is that the Ode is a metrical whim of Milton's, outraging all the traditions of Latin prosody, and falling back rather on that boundless licence of the easy Greeks which Martial envied. In one of Martial's Epigrams to Earinus, a favourite servant of the Emperor Domitian (IX. 12), he comments humorously on the strictness of the Latin prosody, which would not permit him to get such a pretty, sweet-sounding name as *Earinus* into his verse, though the Greeks managed it—

“ Nomen nobile, molle, delicatum,
Versu dicere non rudi volebam :
Sed tu syllaba contumax repugnans.
Dicunt ‘*Εαρινόν*’ tamen poetæ,
Sed Græci, quibus est nihil negatum,
Et quos ‘*Ἄπες*’ ‘*Ἄπες*’ decet sonare ;
Nobis non licet esse tam disertis,
Qui Musas colimus severiores.”

As Milton in this Ode was less scrupulous than Martial, and used that Greek licence on a large scale which Martial could not risk even in the quantity of a syllable, the critics have, almost unanimously, condemned his experiment. Thus the Rev. Dr. Symmons, one of Milton's greatest admirers, calls the Ode to Rous “a wild chaos of verses and no verses heaped together confusedly and licentiously.” While admitting that some of the irregular individual lines might be defended as rhythmical and “not wholly contrary to the genius of the Latin language,” he will not give the benefit of even this chance to others. Two of Milton's so-called Phalæcians he declares to be “not Phalæcians, whatever Milton may call them”; and he specifies thirteen lines as so bad that “to reject them disdainfully” does not require the judgment of fastidious ears, inasmuch as long-eared King Midas himself (see Milton's Sonnet to Lawes) would

have done so.—For our part, we have faith enough in Milton's own ear and scholarship to believe that he had passed all Dr. Symmons's objections through his mind before venturing on the Ode, or at least before printing it, and thought them no bar to the whim in which he had chosen to indulge, if only he guarded himself by a due note of explanation. We believe also that any one who will read the Ode continuously, with Milton's explanation in mind rather than the rules of Latin prosody, will find in it the full arbitrary rhythm which Milton intended. Cowper, who acknowledged that the translation of this Ode had cost him more labour than that of any other of Milton's Latin pieces, contrived to render the rhythm into what he considered might pass as an English equivalent. See specimen in Introduction, I. pp. 332, 333.

- I—3. "Gemelle cultu simplici gaudens liber,
Fronde licet geminâ,
Munditieque nitens non operosâ."

An exact description of the missing copy of the Moseley, or 1645, edition of Milton's Poems, which had been sent to Rous at Oxford (see Introd. I. pp. 88—94). It was a double book, consisting of the English Poems and the Latin, separately paged, and with a separate title-page to the Latin Poems in addition to the general one at the beginning, but the two parts bound together in one neat, plain volume. Compare Martial's address *Ad Librum Suum* (III. 2):—

"Cedro nunc licet ambules perunctus,
Et frontis gemino decens honore
Pictis luxuriis umbilicis."

6. "*haud nimii poetæ*": said in semi-humorous modesty.
7, 8. "*Dum vagus Ausonias nunc per umbras,
Nunc Britannica per vireta lusit.*"

The poems had been composed partly in "Ausonian shades," i.e. in Italy, partly in "British green fields," i.e. in England. This I take to be the meaning, and not that the poems were partly in Latin and partly in English. The sequel seems to forbid that metaphorical interpretation.

10—12. "*nox itidem pectine Daunio*," etc. Both Warton and Mr. Keightley understand this as a reference to the Italian Sonnets in the volume; but this would presuppose the metaphorical interpretation of the preceding phrase "*Ausonias per umbras*" which I question in last note. Milton's meaning, by the syntax, is "While, now in Italy, now in England, I amused myself, innocent as yet of any concern in popular disputes, and indulged at random in my native lute (English verse), or anon would strike up a distant melody for my neighbours with *Daunio's* quill." Now, though this last

phrase would certainly include the Italian Sonnets, and might be wholly appropriated to them if the Latin Poems had been previously mentioned, it seems more natural, in the context, to take *Daunian* as comprehending the Latin Poems with the Italian. The word *Daunia* applied strictly to a portion of Apulia in South-eastern Italy; and its extension either to ancient Italy generally or to modern Italy seems to be a poetic licence. Possibly, in selecting the term, Milton may have remembered Horace's reference (*Od.* III. 30) to *Daunia* as a rather barbaric and sterile part of Italy:—

“Dicar qua viols obstrepit Aufidus,
Et qua pauper aquæ Daunus agrestium
Regnavit populorum”;

and he may have implied that neither was his Latin offered as the classical Latin of ancient Rome, nor his Italian as the right modern Tuscan.—If the Italian Sonnets *are* specially referred to, then the context would favour the hypothesis that these Sonnets were written in England, and not in Italy (see Introduction to Italian Sonnets, I. pp. 208—210); for it would be too great a strain to translate, with Mr. Keightley, “*longinquum*” “distant from England,” and “*vicinis*” “to those who were near him, the Italians.”

18. “*Thamesis ad incunabula.*” The true sources of the Thames are not at or near Oxford, but either much farther west, in Gloucestershire (if the Isis is taken as the main head), or considerably to the north-east, in Buckinghamshire (if the Thame is taken as the head); but Milton condescends to the popular fancy that the Thames begins to be the true *Thamesis* a little below Oxford, where the longer Isis (Celtic *ouse* or “water”), after being reinforced by the Cherwell precisely at Oxford, receives also the Thame as its tributary, and so starts afresh Londonwards as the *Thame-Isis*. The poets were fond of this fancy and of its association with Oxford. Thus, Spenser (*F. Q.* IV. xi. 24—26), in his assembly of all the waters and rivers of the earth to the marriage of the completed Thames with the Medway in the open sea far below London, makes the Thame and Isis come first of all the English rivers, as being the father and mother of the now full-grown bridegroom:—

“But him before there went, as best became,
His auncient parents; namely th’ auncient Thame:
But much more aged was his wife than he,
The Ouze, whom men doe Isis rightly name.”

He goes on to tell that the Isis was a “weak and crooked creature” that could scarce see her way, and required the support of her two attendants the Churne and the Cherwell, but that Thame was stronger, though also old and gray-bearded, and also somewhat bowed forward in his gait

"by reason of the lode
And auncient heavy burden which he bore
Of that faire City, wherein make abode
So many learned impes, that shoote abroad
And with their braunches spred all Britany."

21. "*Aonidum*": of the Muses, called Aonides, from Aonia, the old name of Boeotia.

29. "*Tollat nefandos*," etc. The Civil War had lasted since 1642; and, as Oxford had been the King's headquarters, the University there had especially suffered. Most of the Colleges had been broken up, or turned into barracks; and all the studious routine of the place had been interrupted. Milton, in Jan. 1646-7, sighs for an end of this state of things in Oxford, and throughout England.

33—36. "*Immundasque volucres . . . figat Apollineâ pharetrâ, Phineamque abigat pestem*," etc. Milton has in view those who in England, in 1646-7, might be likened to the Harpies, or unclean and infectious birds of Greek mythology, who were sent to punish the Thracian king and soothsayer Phineus, in his blindness, by continually attending him and spoiling and tainting all the food that came to his table. As it was not Apollo that delivered Phineus from the Harpies, the phrase "*Apollineâ pharetrâ*" is used with reference to the quiver which the deity who will perform the like service for England will bear. It will be the quiver of that monster-killing god who is also the God of Poetry. So also Thames, the seat of Oxford, is the "*amnis Pegaseus*," the river of the winged Pegasus, the horse of the Muses, at the stroke of whose hoof sprang up the sacred Hippocrene.—Who, in 1646-7, were the harpies and unclean birds of England, in Milton's estimation, one can easily guess (see *Sonnets* XI. and XII., and *On the New Forcers of Conscience*, and Introductions and Notes to those pieces). Some of them had fastened especially on Oxford. But Milton must have had in view also the Royalists and Prelatists.

42. "*institoris insulsi*." Mr. Keightley translates "the ignorant keeper of a bookstall"; but it may be any "tasteless huckster" that could make use of the paper of the book.

46. "*remige pennâ*." Mr. Keightley quotes Virgil, *Æn.* I. 301, "*Remigio alarum*"; and Warton compares *Par. Lost*, II. 927, "*sail-broad vans*."

56—60. "*Quam cui præfuit Ion . . . Actæa genitus Creusâ*." Ion, the mythical ancestor of the whole Ionian race, was the son of Apollo by Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus, king of Athens. He was therefore *Erechtheides*, or grandson of Erechtheus, just as his mother Creusa was *Actæa*, i.e. Attic or Athenian (from Acte,

"promontory," an old name for Attica). The story about Ion was that his mother, ashamed of his birth, exposed him in a cave, but that Apollo caused Hermes to carry him to Delphi, where he was brought up, as a child of unknown parentage, in Apollo's own temple. "He, therefore, a youth, would wander in play about the altars which fed him; but, when he grew to manhood, the Delphians made him guardian of the treasures of the God, and trustworthy keeper of all." So says Euripides in the beginning of his *Ion*, and the rest of that play continues the story. It is to Ion, when he was keeper of the rich temple of Delphi, with its furniture of golden tripods and other gifts, that Milton compares Rous of the Bodleian.

65. "*Delo posthabitâ*": adapted from Virgil's words about Juno (*Æn.* I. 16), "*posthabitâ . . . Samo*."

73—87. "*Vos tandem . . . Rousio favente*." Warton and Mr. Keightley think that this Epode has in view chiefly the future fate of those of Milton's prose-writings that had been sent to Rous (see list of them, *Introd.* I. pp. 330, 331); but, though these are included, I do not see that he distinguishes between them and the poems he was now replacing in their companionship. In 1646-7, when this Ode was written, Milton, whether as poet or as prose-writer, was under that cloud of abuse, and in some quarters even infamy, which his Anti-Episcopal pamphlets and Divorce pamphlets, but especially the latter, had occasioned. There probably was some discrimination already among his contemporaries between the merits of his poetry and the demerits or disputed merits of his prose-pamphlets; for the public beginnings of his poetical reputation might date from as far back as 1634, when his *Comus* was acted and heard of, whereas his controversial prose-pamphlets and the conflict of judgments about them dated only from 1641. But in the conflict of judgments about his prose-pamphlets any poetical reputation he had previously acquired had been swallowed up. Even the collected volume of his poems which he had let Moseley publish for him in 1645, partly with a view to compel people to remember that he was not a prose-pamphleteer only, had failed of that effect; and some fourteen months afterwards, when the present Ode was written, Milton might well look forward to a very dubious verdict from his countrymen on the worth of all he had done. Still he had faith in at least the rectitude of what he had done, whether as poet or as prose-writer; and hence he could say, half sadly, "*Si quid meremur sana posteritas sciet*," and could expect those "*ultimi nepotes*," that "*cordatior ætas*," that should understand him thoroughly and do him justice. The "*cordatior ætas*" was long in coming! Milton himself hardly lived to see it. New fame, but also new infamy, in England and through Europe, grew round him for thirteen years more, in consequence

of his Regicide pamphlets and his connexion with the Commonwealth and Cromwell; at the Restoration he was "blind Milton," one of the "damnable Cromwellian crew," whom even respectable people wanted to see hanged, or consented to see live on unhanged only because God had already put the mark of his own vengeance upon him, and punished him with blindness; and, though *Paradise Lost* in 1667, and *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* in 1671, recalled attention to the blind heretic, and revived the distinction that might be made between his poetical genius and his political and prose enormities, only a brave Dryden among the greater critics, with here and there a following among the lesser, neglected this distinction in their general estimate, and saluted the yet living Milton with adequate reverence. Thirteen years after Milton's death (1687) a scribbler called Winstanley dismissed him thus in a book called *Lives of the most famous English Poets*: "He is one whose natural parts might deservedly give him a place among the principal of our English poets; but his fame is gone out like a candle in a snuff, and his memory will always stink." Through the subsequent century, as we know, this conclusion was resented and reversed, and the poet Milton became for England all that he has since been. But still there was the inevitable distinction. The Poet Milton was one being, high in heaven; Milton the Prose-writer was quite another being, down irrecoverably in Tartarus. Hear, for example, how the able and scholarly Warton, who was the first to do editorial justice to Milton's Minor Poems, could speak of Milton's Prose-writings as late as 1791, in a note to this very passage in the Ode to Rous. "Upon the whole," wrote Warton, "and with regard to his political writings at large, even after the prejudices of party have subsided, Milton, I believe, has found no great share of favour, of applause, or even of candour, from distant generations. His *Si quid meremur*, in the sense here belonging to the words, has been too fully ascertained by the mature determination of time. Toland, about thirty years after the Restoration, thought Milton's prose-works of sufficient excellence and importance to be collected and printed in one body. But they were neglected and soon forgotten. Of late years, some attempts have been made to revive them, with as little success. At present they are almost unknown. If they are ever inspected, it is perhaps occasionally by a commentator on Milton's verse, as affording materials for comparative criticism, or from motives of curiosity only, as the productions of the writer of *Comus* and *Paradise Lost*, and not so much for any independent value of their own. In point of doctrine, they are calculated to annihilate the very foundations of our civil and religious establishment, as it now subsists: they are subversive of our legislature, and our species of government. In condemning

"tyranny, he strikes at the bare existence of Kings; in combating
 "superstition, he decries all public Religion. These discourses
 "hold forth a system of government at present as unconstitutional,
 "and almost as obsolete, as the nonsense of passive obedience;
 "and, in this view, we might just as well think of republishing the
 "pernicious theories of the Kingly bigot James as of the Republican
 "usurper Oliver Cromwell. Their style is perplexed, pedantic,
 "poetical, and unnatural, abounding in enthusiastic effusions which
 "have been mistaken for eloquence and imagination. In the midst
 "of the most solemn rhapsodies, which would have shone in a Fast
 "Sermon before Cromwell, he sometimes indulges a vein of jocular-
 "ity; but his witticisms are as awkward as they are unsuitable, and
 "Milton never more misunderstands the nature and bias of his
 "genius than when he affects to be arch either in prose or verse.
 "His want of deference to superiors teaches him to write without
 "good manners; and, when we consider his familiar acquaintance
 "with the elegancies of antiquity, with the orators and historians of
 "Greece and Rome, few writers will be found to have made so
 "slender a sacrifice to the Graces." Clearly, when this was written
 by one of the truest admirers of Milton's Poetry, the *cordiator ætas*
 which Milton had anticipated for his writings in general had not
 come. Has it come even yet? Less decisively than before, but
 decisively enough, there is still kept up the Wartonian kind of
 distinction between Milton's poetry and Milton's prose. About
 Milton's Poems people know what it is right to say; but Oh! his
 opinions, Oh! his pamphlets! To be sure, there is his *Areopagitica*;
 they will make that an exception, they will call that noble, for its
 doctrine is now axiomatic; but Oh! for the rest! Well, it cannot
 be denied that there is something valid in the distinction theoret-
 ically, and that practically we do find it necessary to make such
 distinctions in our literary criticisms. We like one production of a
 writer, and we do not like, or we do not equally like, another pro-
 duction of the same writer. Besides, poems are poems, and opinions
 are opinions. We desire only to be stirred and roused and charmed
 and elevated by a poem; but, if an opinion concerns any matter of
 morals or politics still in discussion, how can we avoid hating it,
 and even any presentation of it, if we do not agree with it? With
 all this, however, the distinction, as it has been applied to Milton,
 may be challenged at its roots, and will more and more be challenged.
 It is the author of *Paradise Lost* that is the author of those *Prose*
Pamphlets; and it is the author of the *Prose Pamphlets* that is the
 author of *Paradise Lost*. They sprang from one life; they are but
 diverse manifestations of one and the same soul; they are organically
 related; neither could have come into the world from any other
 mind than precisely that which exulted in the other; there is an

interfusion between the two of the same sap, the same ruling ideas, the same Miltonism, the same life-blood. What God and History, and Milton's own meditations and determinations about himself through fifty years, thus organically united, and transmitted as a conjoint bequest from one man's life to those who in future times might care to know how he figured things and with what thoughts he walked the world, what might have we now, because of our temporary shibboleths, to break so positively into two parts, declaring that the one must be accepted, but the other must be ignored? Perhaps, in this respect, a *cordatior ætas* than even the present still awaits Milton. Perhaps to the total body of his writings, prose and verse together, his countrymen may yet learn to address, with enlarged significance, the two opening lines of his Ode to Rous, addressed by himself only to his volume of Poems, as partly English and partly Latin:—

“Gemelle cultu simplici gaudens liber,
Fronde licet geminâ.”

IN SALMASII HUNDREDAM: IN SALMASIUM.

• On the subjects of these two scraps see *Introd. I. pp. 333—336.*—It may be added, in explanation of phrases in the second piece, that Salmasius ranked as an *Eques*, or Knight, on the continent, having, as Todd notes, been presented with the Order of St. Michael by Louis XIII. of France.—Of “*Mungentium cubito virorum*” in the same piece Warton notes that this was a cant name among the Romans for fishmongers.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

TWO RECOVERED SCRAPS OF LATIN VERSE ON EARLY RISING. •

Some years ago, Mr. Alfred J. Horwood, when examining the family papers of Sir Frederick U. Graham, of Netherby, Cumberland, Bart., for the purposes of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, came upon an old Latin Common-Place Book of Milton's, a good deal of it in his own handwriting, containing jottings of books he had read, and notes and suggestions from them at various times of his life. Together with this Common-Place Book there was found a single loose leaf of foolscap paper, “much damaged by damp,” on which was a short Latin prose-essay, headed “*MANE CITUS LECTUM FUGE*,” with some appended Latin verses on the same subject. As

the leaf bore the name *Milton* still distinctly legible on its left margin, and as the handwriting bore in parts a strong resemblance to some of Milton's, Mr. Horwood concluded that the essay was a juvenile Academic Proclusion of Milton's on the subject of *Early Rising*, which he had not thought it worth while to print with the collection of his other *Proclusiones Oratoriæ* in 1674. Accordingly, when editing the *Common-Place Book* for the Camden Society in 1877, he appended the little essay and the verses, entitling the volume "*A Common-Place Book of John Milton, and a Latin Essay and Latin Verses presumed to be by Milton.*" With the essay, as it is in prose, we have nothing to do here; but the verses, if only on the chance that they are an additional and accidentally recovered scrap of Milton's juvenile metrical composition in Latin, deserve reproduction. There are, in reality, two distinct pieces of verse, in different metres, though both on the subject of *Early Rising*, and both evidently intended as poetical appendages to the *Prose Proclusion* written on the same leaf:—

CARMINA ELEGIACA.

Surge, age, surge! Leves, jam convenit, excute somnos!
 Lux oritur; tepidi fulcra relinque tori.
 Jam canit excubitor gallus, prænuncius ales
 Solis, et invigilans ad sua quemque vocat.
 Flammiger Eois Titan caput exerit undis,
 Et spargit nitidum læta per arva jubar.
 Daulias argutum modulatur ab ilice carmen,
 Edit et excultos mitis alaunda modos.
 Jam rosa fragrans spirat silvestris odores;
 Jam redolent violæ luxuriatque seges.
 Ecce novo campos Zephyritis gramine vescit
 Fertilis, et vitreo rore madescit humus.
 Segnes invenias molli vix talia læto,
 Cum premat imbellis lumina fessa sopor.
 Illic languentes abrumpunt somnia somnos,
 Et turbant animum tristia multa tuum;
 Illic tabifici generantur semina morbi:
 Qui pote torpentem posse valere virum?
 Surge, age, surge! Leves, jam convenit, excute somnos!
 Lux oritur; tepidi fulcra relinque tori.

[ASCLEPIADIC VERSES.]

Ignavus satrapam dedecet inclytum
 Somnus qui populo multifido præest.
 Dum Dauni veteris filius armiger
 Stratus purpureo p . . . buit
 Audax Eurialus Nisus et impiger
 Invasere cati nocte sub horrida
 Torpentes Rutilos castraque Volscia:
 Hinc cædes oritur clamor et absonus.

The text in both pieces is given as it stands in Mr. Horwood's transcript, save that the punctuation is corrected. There seem to be errors, or mistranscriptions, in some of the lines. Neglecting these, we may say (1) that the internal evidence on the whole confirms the strong external evidence that the pieces are Milton's, and (2) that the style proves that in that case they must have been very early compositions of his. In all probability, they, and the Latin Pro-
lusion to which they were attached, were done as a Latin theme when he was at St. Paul's School. If they were done later, they must have been among his very first exercises in Latin at Christ's College, Cambridge.

NOTES TO PARADISE LOST

PRELIMINARY MATTER.

I. COMMENDATORY VERSES PREFIXED TO THE SECOND EDITION.

Latin Verses by S. B., M.D.—The author, according to Toland, was Dr. Samuel Barrow, a physician. He has been identified with a Dr. Samuel Barrow who had been principal physician to the English Army of General Monk in Scotland to as late as December 1659, when Monk was preparing for that march of his Army into England which brought about the Restoration, and who was afterwards Judge Advocate-General, and Physician in Ordinary to Charles II. The most exact account of him I have found is in Lysons's *Environs of London*, vol. ii. p. 371; where, after describing a handsome monument in Fulham Church ("the work of the celebrated Grinling Gibbons, and said to have cost £300") to the memory of "Dorothy, Lady Clarke, daughter of Thomas Hylliard, Esq., and wife, first, of Sir George Clarke, Knt., Secretary at War to Charles II., and, secondly, of Samuel Barrow, M.D., Physician to Charles II. and Judge Advocate," Lysons continues:—"On a slab at the foot, enclosed within iron rails, is the following inscription to the memory of Dr. Barrow, who wrote the Latin verses prefixed to Milton's *Paradise Lost*: 'P. M. S. Samuelis Barrow, M.D., ex vetustâ in agro Norfolk. prosapiâ, Caroli II. Medici Ordinarii, Advocati Generalis et Judicis Martialis per annos plus minùs viginti; quæ munera jussu regio suscepit quod Albemarium secutus optatum Caroli reditum suis maturavit consiliis. Uxorem duxit unicam, relictam Gul. Clarke Eq. aurat; cujus felicissimi paribus (cum sexdecim annis rarum amoris conjugialis exemplum præbuisset), quæ sola potuit, mors fregit consortium, 12 Kal. Aprilis, A.D. 1682, infracto adhuc manente superstitis amore. Ob. æt. 57.'" ("Sacred to the pious memory of Samuel Barrow, M.D., of an ancient family in the county of Norfolk, Physician in Ordinary to Charles II., and Advocate-General and Judge-Martial for 20 years, more or less; which offices were conferred on him by the

"King's order because, as a follower of Albemarle, he helped by his counsels to bring about the desired return of Charles. He married, for his sole wife, the widow of Sir William [George?] Clarke, Knt.; from the society of which most happy mate, after he had for sixteen years exhibited a rare example of conjugal love, Death, which alone had the power, tore him away March 21, 1681-2, the love of the survivor remaining yet unbroken. He died aged 57.") From this it would appear that Barrow had been born about 1625, and was therefore Milton's junior by about seventeen years. From 1671 onwards to his death in 1682 I find him mentioned in Chamberlayne's *Anglicæ Notitia* as one of the "Principal Physicians who now practise in London" and one of the Licentiates of the Royal College of Physicians. All in all, in 1674, when Barrow's verses were prefixed to the Second Edition of *Paradise Lost*, he must have been a man of considerable note in London and of intimate Court connexions; and it is interesting to find among Milton's greatest admirers at that date so eminent a Restorationist. Several of Milton's best-known friends, it may be noted, were physicians; and Barrow had probably the liberality of mind natural to his profession, and had moreover been an associate of Cromwellians in the Commonwealth time. He survived Milton more than seven years; and his widow, who appears to have erected the slab to his memory in Fulham Church, survived him till 1695, when the fine monument to her described by Lysons was put up in the same church.—The verses prove that Barrow had been a diligent and intelligent reader of *Paradise Lost*, and are scholarly enough. As Todd has pointed out, he has taken the liberty, in the title to his verses, and in the first line, of making *Paradisus* feminine, whereas the Greek and Latin writers make the word masculine. In this he has been followed, however, by some of the translators of parts of the Poem into Latin. In the last four lines Barrow may have had in recollection the eulogies by Salzilli and Selvaggi prefixed to Milton's Latin Poems in the editions of 1645 and 1673.

English Verses by A. M. (i.e. Andrew Marvell).—When these verses appeared, Marvell was about fifty-four years of age, had been M.P. for Hull for about fourteen years, and was a marked man both for his political honesty and for his literary ability. The last he had recently exhibited, with much popular effect, in his celebrated satire, *The Rehearsal Transposed* (1672-3), directed against Dr. Samuel Parker, who, after a youth of peculiarly strict Puritan professions, had turned renegade at the Restoration, was receiving ecclesiastical promotion on his way to the Bishopric of Oxford, and had published several works of a notoriously time-serving character. For Marvell's intimacy with Milton, and official connexion with him before this date, see Memoir, I. p. 41, Intro. to *Paradise Lost*, II. pp. 57—60,

and *Intro. to the Lines Ad Christinam* among the Latin Poems (I. pp. 273—281). *The Rehearsal Transposed* contains proof that the intimacy had not ceased in 1672. Milton is mentioned with great respect in one passage in the Second Part, in which Marvell thus addresses Parker, with reference to allusions he had made to Milton: "At his Majesty's happy return J. M. did partake, even as 'you yourself did, of his regal clemency . . . and has ever since 'expiated himself in a most retired silence. It was after that, I 'well remember it, that, being one day at his house, I there first 'met you, and accidentally. . . . But then it was, when you, as I 'told you, wandered up and down Moorfields, astrologising on the 'duration of his Majesty's Government, that you frequented J. M. 'incessantly, and haunted his house day by day. What discourses 'you there used he is too generous to remember." Marvell, we may add, promised Aubrey, after Milton's death, to write his recollections of Milton for the use of Wood in his *Athenæ et Fasti Oxonienses*; but he himself died in August 1678, four years after Milton, without having performed his promise. The present verses on *Paradise Lost* and the mention in *The Rehearsal Transposed* are, therefore, the chief extant tributes by Marvell to his friendship with Milton.—There is a curious and subtle connexion between the verses and *The Rehearsal Transposed*. When Marvell adopted this title for his prose attack on Parkér, he had in view the famous burlesque called *The Rehearsal*, by Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, acted in 1671, and published in 1672. As Buckingham had there burlesqued Dryden, under the name of "Bayes," so, under the same nickname of "Bayes," was Parker ridiculed in Marvell's 'transposed' adaptation. But in these verses on *Paradise Lost* Marvell reverts to the original *Rehearsal* and to the "Bayes" of that burlesque,—i.e. to Dryden. See the story of Dryden's application to Milton for leave to turn his *Paradise Lost*, or part of it, into a rhymed Drama, *Intro. II. p. 18*; and read lines 17—30 and lines 45—54 of Marvell's present piece in connexion with the details of that story. The full significance of Marvell's reference to Dryden and his rhyming will then be felt, and it will be seen that Milton must have talked with Marvell about Dryden's odd proposal, and reported to Marvell his answer of grim civility: "Yes, Mr. Dryden, you may tag my verses if you please."—Dryden, it is to be remembered, had been, since the Restoration, the champion of Rhyme, and especially of the Rhymed Drama. In his *Essay on Dramatic Poetry* (1663) he had discussed the question, and given the preference to Rhyme; and his practice had in the main corresponded. But, at the time with which we are now concerned, he was being beaten on the question. The popular taste had revolted from his efforts to establish a Drama of Rhymed Declamation in England, and was calling loudly for a

return to the Elizabethan Blank Verse for lofty subjects and Prose for others. Thus, in the Epilogue to Buckingham's *Rehearsal*:—

"Wherefore, for ours, and for the Kingdom's peace,
May this prodigious way of writing cease!
Let's have, at least once in our lives, a time
When we may hear some Reason, not all Rhyme.
We have for ten years felt its influence;
Pray let this prove a year of Prose and Sense."

Now, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, published in 1667, and introducing Blank Verse for the first time on a large scale into English Poetry for epic or narrative purposes, must have been an innovation discomposing to Dryden, as helping to turn the scale against his own advocacy of Rhyme. Hence, perhaps, with all his admiration of Milton, his proposal to try the effects of a Rhymed Drama founded on *Paradise Lost*. Hence, on the other hand, Marvell's contemptuous notice of that experiment. For, though all Marvell's own poetical attempts had been in rhyme, he here confesses himself a convert to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, not only in respect of the author's success with so stupendous a subject (the possibility of which he had at first doubted), but also in respect of the new metrical form adopted. Blank Verse, Marvell now admitted, was the proper kind of verse for so sublime a subject. Let "Bayes" and the rest of the town-poets write their verses, spelling words all the while in search of rhymes, and, like pack-horses, unable to get on unless they heard the tinkle of the bells attached to their harness! Milton was not to be bound by such mechanism, and might despise such aid! So Marvell would assert; and yet in asserting it, such was the force of custom, he could not help showing his own slavery to Rhyme! Observe the lines—

"I too, transported by the mode, offend,
And, while I meant to *praise* thee, must *commend*."

They may be explained thus:—"In this kind of verse, which I am now writing, and which is Dryden's favourite kind, you see how the necessity of finding a rhyme to *offend* forces me to end the next line with *commend*, though it is a weaker and less natural word than the one that might otherwise have suggested itself. Generalise this one instance sufficiently, and the superiority of Milton's unrhymed verse for all great purposes will be apparent."

II. AUTHOR'S PREFACE CONCERNING THE VERSE.

This Preface, it is to be remembered, had not been originally prefixed to the First Edition, but, with the Prose Argument, was an

afterthought in 1668, for insertion into the copies of the First Edition that still remained to be bound. (See *Intro.* II. pp. 12, 13.) Many readers had "desired" a Prose Argument as a directory to the Poem; and the publisher Simmons, having applied to Milton for such an Argument, had obtained from him also "a reason of that which stumbled many others, why the Poem rimes not." Had Dryden been among those who were stumbled? Milton's protest for Blank Verse was, at all events, dead against the teachings and practice of Dryden, and is perhaps the most thoroughgoing declaration on that side of the question yet to be found in the language. It calls Rhyme "the invention of a barbarous age to set off wretched matter and lame metre," and speaks of it as "a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no musical delight," consisting merely in "the jingling sound of like endings," and in fact "a troublesome and modern bondage" to poets. Though this is said of it more especially in relation to "longer works," the application is hardly limited to them, but is extended even to shorter works, save in so far as one might be weak enough to yield to custom in their case.

This is not the place to discuss the question of theory so raised; about which a great deal might be said for Rhyme that is left unsuggested in Milton's brief decision. It is more relevant to glance at Milton's sketch of the history of the question:—Rhyme, he truly says, had been utterly unrecognised, if it was not even systematically discountenanced, in Greek and Latin poetry. It was a mere invention of the Middle Ages, he adds, without inquiring, as later research has done, whether its origin was Celtic or Oriental, or to what natural causes its origin among the races that first used it, and its rapid adoption everywhere in the vernacular poetry of modern Europe, are to be attributed. The fact of such universal adoption, sanctioned by the example of the first famous poets of the different nations, he admits,—not caring, apparently, to qualify the admission by any reference to the Anglo-Saxon Alliterated Rhythm which persisted some time among the English in competition with the Rhymed Metres of Chaucer and others, and which had its analogues among other Northern nations. At length, however,—*i.e.* in the sixteenth century,—there had been an awakening on the subject. "Some both Italian and Spanish poets of prime note" had rejected Rhyme both in longer and shorter works. Among the Italian poets whom Milton may have had in view in this reference Todd and other commentators recognise these: Trissino (1478—1550),⁹ Rucellai (1475—1525), Alamanni (1495—1556), and Tasso (1544—1595). The use of *versi sciolti*, or blank verse, among the Italians may be traced farther back than any of these; but all of them had stamped that kind of verse with their approval in at least portions of their

writings,—Tasso, for example, in his *Sette Giornate del Mondo Creato*. Among the first noted Spanish writers of blank verse Bowle and Todd mention Aldana, in a translation of Ovid's *Epistles*, Gonsalvo Perez, in a translation of the *Odyssey*, Boscan (1500—1544), and Garcilasso de la Vega (1503—1536). Milton takes no notice of early French attempts in Blank Verse; nor does he notice Surrey's memorable first introduction of the same into English in his translation of the Second and Fourth Books of the *Aeneid*, written before 1547, though not published till 1557. He passes over likewise Surrey's immediate English successors in the practice of Blank Verse even in non-dramatic subjects, to note more expressly the remarkable phenomenon of the sudden adoption of Blank Verse for English Tragedy by Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, in 1561, and the general persistence in that form by all the subsequent Elizabethan dramatists. But, though citing this prevalence of Blank Verse in English Dramatic Poetry for nearly a century past as a precedent in his favour, and though doubtless aware that there had been stray specimens of English non-dramatic poetry in blank verse subsequent to Surrey's, he closes his Preface, truly enough, with a claim for his own *Paradise Lost* "to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of riming." In other words, Milton regarded himself as the first to apply English Blank Verse to a great epic subject and to show how the music of Blank Verse might be modified for epic purposes.

I have said that this Preface of Milton to his *Paradise Lost* is perhaps the most thoroughgoing invective against Rhyme to be found in the English language. Nearly a hundred years before, however (1570), Roger Ascham had written against Rhyme more at length and as strongly. The passage is in his *Schoolmaster*, and must have been known to Milton. "This matter," says Ascham, after expressing his opinion that the verse of Plautus and Terence and of the oldest Latin poets generally is very poor and crude, "maketh me gladly remember my sweet time spent at Cambridge, and the pleasant talk which I had oft with M. Cheke and M. Watson of this fault not only in the old Latin poets, but also in our new English rhymers at this day. They wished, as Virgil and Horace were not wedded to follow the faults of former fathers (a shrewd marriage in greater matters), but by right imitation of the perfect Grecians had brought Poetry to perfectness, also in the Latin tongue, that we Englishmen likewise would acknowledge and understand rightfully our rude beggarly Rhyming, brought first into Italy by Goths and Huns when all good verses and all good learning too were destroyed by them, and after carried into

" France and Germany, and at last received into England, by men of excellent wit indeed, but of small learning and less judgment in that behalf. But now, when men know the difference, and have the examples both of the best and of the worst, surely to follow rather the Goths in rhyming than the Greeks in true versifying were to eat acorns with swiſe when we may freely eat wheat bread amongst men. . . . Some that make Chaucer in English and Petrarch in Italian their gods in verses, and yet be not able to make a true difference what is a fault and what is a just praise in these two worthy wits, will much mislike this my writing. But such men be even like followers of Chaucer and Petrarch as one here in England did follow Sir Tho. More : who, being most unlike him in wit and learning, nevertheless, in wearing his gown awry upon the one shoulder, as Sir Tho. More was wont to do, would needs be counted like unto him. This misliking of Rhyming beginneth not now of any newfangle singularity, but hath been long misliked of many, and that of men of greatest learning and deepest judgment. . . . The noble Lord Th. Earl of Surrey, first of all Englishmen, in translating the Fourth Book of Virgil, and Gonsalvo Perez, that most excellent man and Secretary to King Philip of Spain, in translating the Ulysses of Homer out of Greek into Spanish, have both, by good judgment, avoided the fault of Rhyming ; yet neither of them hath fully hit the perfect and true versifying. . . . The spying of this fault now is not the curiosity of English eyes, but even the good judgment also of the best that write in these days in Italy ; and namely of that worthy Felice Figlinecio, who, writing upon Aristotle's Ethics so excellently in Italian as never did yet any one in mine opinion either in Greek or Latin, amongst other things doth most earnestly inveigh against the rude rhyming of verses in that tongue : and, whensoever he expresseth Aristotle's precepts with any example out of Homer or Euripides, he translateth them not after the rhymes of Petrarch, but into such kind of perfect verse, with like feet and quantity of syllables, as he found them before in the Greek tongue,—exhorting earnestly all the Italian nation to leave off their rude barbarousness in rhyming, and follow diligently the excellent Greek and Latin examples in true versifying."

Milton's invective against Rhyme, I suspect, is to be received *cum grano*. He was probably provoked to strength of statement by having heard of the "stumbling" of many of the first readers of *Paradise Lost*, and perhaps of the outcry of some critics, at the novelty of the verse. Meaning mainly to defend his choice of Blank Verse for a poem of such an order, he may have let his expression sweep beyond the exact bounds of his intention. For, though he had used Blank Verse in his own earlier poetry, as in *Comus*, had

not the bulk of that poetry been in rhyme? Nay, though he was to persist in Blank Verse, with fresh liberties and variations, in the two remaining poems of his life,—*Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*,—was he not, in the choruses of *Samson Agonistes*, to revert occasionally to Rhyme, and to use it in a most conscious and most cunningly artistic manner? ,

NOTES TO PARADISE LOST

BOOK I.

1—26. "*Of Man's first disobedience . . . sing, Heavenly Muse,*" etc. There is a characteristic peculiarity in this "Invocation," with which Milton, following so far the established custom of great poets, has opened his epic. It is expressly the HEBREW Muse that he invokes,—the Muse that may be supposed to have inspired the shepherd Moses, either on Mount Horeb, when he was keeping the flocks of his father-in-law Jethro, and the Angel of the Lord appeared to him out of the burning bush (Exod. iii. 1, 2), or at a later date on Mount Sinai, when he was along with the Lord for forty days, receiving the Law (Exod. xxiv. 12—18). On either of these occasions Milton supposes Moses to have received that inspiration which enabled him to reveal, in *Genesis*, how the Heavens and the Earth were made; and it was the same Heavenly Muse, he assumes, that afterwards, by Siloa's brook or pool, near the Temple at Jerusalem (Isaiah viii. 6, and Nehem. iii. 15), inspired also David and the Prophets. This Muse, and no other, must inspire the present poet. For the theme that he proposes requires such aid; his song is one that intends to soar *above* the Aonian Mount,—i.e. above that Mount Helicon, in old Aonia or Bœotia, which, with the neighbouring region, was the fabled haunt of the Grecian Muses. In the end, however, this form of an invocation even of what might be called, by a bold adaptation of classic terms, the true, primeval, or Heavenly Muse (Milton afterwards, *P. L.*, VII. 1, calls her Urania), passes into a direct prayer to the Divine Spirit. Compare the passage from *The Reason of Church Government*, quoted Introd. II. p. 47. There can be little doubt that Milton believed himself to be, in some real sense, an inspired man.

6. "*The secret top.*" Some interpret *secret* here in its Latin sense of "separate," "retired," or "solitary"; but Milton may have had in view the "thick cloud" and "smoke" that covered Mount Sinai, and the "glory of the Lord like a devouring fire on the top

of the mount," at the giving of the Law to Moses (Exod. xix. 16—18, and xxiv. 15—18). Compare also *Par. Lost*, V. 598.

16. "*Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.*" So, as Bentley pointed out, Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.*, Cant. I. Stanza 2:—

"Cosa non detta in prosa mai nè in rima."

Rime being the more correct spelling (from the A.-S. *rim*, number, not from the Greek *ῥυθμός*, rhythm), recent editors of Milton have printed the word so in this passage. But Milton's own spelling here is *rhime*; and, as in his prose preface on "The Verse," he has uniformly spelt the word *rime*, his deviation here must be supposed intentional. Nor is it difficult to see the reason. By *rime* in the prose-preface he means the special kind of verse which consists in "the jingling sound of like endings," whereas here by *rhime* he means verse in general. So also in the only other passage of his poetry in which the word occurs,—*Lycid.*, line 11. There also he means verse in general, and there he spells the word *rhyme*.

19. "*Instruct me, for Thou know'st.*" Newton quotes Theocritus, Idyll xxii. 116: εἰπὲ θεά, σὺ γὰρ οἶσθα.

21. "*Dove-like sat'st brooding.*" In *Gen.* i. 1, 2, the phrase is "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters"; but "brooded," or "hovered," is said to be a more exact rendering of the Hebrew word than "moved"; and the very comparison "dove-like," to illustrate the meaning of "brooding" in the passage, is said to occur in the Talmudists or Jewish commentators on the Bible. There may be a recollection also of Luke iii. 22.

25. "*Eternal Providence.*" In the First Edition the phrase runs "*assert th' eternal Providence*"; but there is a direction among the Errata to delete *th'*.

27. "*Say first,*" etc. Compared by Hume with *Iliad*, II. 484-6.

32. "*For one restraint, lords of the World besides.*" Mr. Keightley understands *For* to mean *But for*, and points as if the passage meant "being lords of the world besides, but for one restraint." But surely the more natural interpretation is, "transgress his will on account of one restraint (though they were) lords of the world besides"; and this is the interpretation suggested by the original pointing.

33, 34. "*Who first seduced them,*" etc. Compared by Hume with *Iliad*, I. 8:—

Τίς γ' ἄρ σφόδρ θεῶν ἐπιδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;
Ἀηροῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός.

40. "*He trusted to have equalled,*" etc.: Isaiah xiv. 12—14.

46. "*ruin and combustion*." Mr. Dyce found this phrase in a document of the Long Parliament in 1642: "And thereby to bring the whole kingdom into utter ruin and combustion." Mr. Keightley, accordingly, suggests that the phrase may have been a popular one about that time. Milton, however, here uses it with a precise significance,—*ruin* referring to Satan's overthrow and expulsion from Heaven, and *combustion* to the flaming track of his descent.

50—53. "*Nine times the space*," etc. Commentators have fancied here a recollection of Hesiod, *Theog.* 722-5, where the poet, describing the defeat of the Titans by Zeus and their confinement in Tartarus, says that Tartarus is just as far below the Earth as the Earth is below Heaven, and that, as it would take a brass anvil nine days and nights to fall from Heaven to Earth, so it would take it nine days and nights more to fall from Earth to Tartarus. But, though Milton afterwards (*Par. Lost*, VI. 871) makes the *fall* of Satan and the other rebel Angels into Hell a matter of nine days, the nine days of the present passage are not those nine days of their *fall*, but nine *subsequent* days, during which he supposes the Angels to have lain in stupor in Hell after their fall. *Nine*, as Hume pointed out, was a mystical number, often used by the ancient poets by way of a certain for an uncertain time. He gives instances from the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Æneid*.

57. "*witnessed*," in the sense of "*testified*" or "*exhibited*," not in the modern sense of "*saw*."

59. "*as far as Angels ken*." Printed in the original edition "*as far as Angels kenn*"; which, as it was not then the habit to indicate the possessive case by an apostrophe, leaves us uncertain whether *ken* is to be taken as a verb or as a noun. Some editors, accordingly, print "*as far as Angels ken*,"—*i.e.* as far as Angels extend their gaze or knowledge. "With others, I prefer "*as far as Angel's ken*," *i.e.* to the extent of the ken or gaze of an Angel.

62, 63. "*from those flames no light; but rather darkness visible*," etc. It seems to have been a common idea that the flames of Hell give no light; and Mr. Keightley quotes from Walker's *History of Independency* (Part 1, 1648) this example: "Their burning zeal without knowledge is like Hell-fire without light." Newton quotes from Seneca's description of the grotto of Pausilipo (*Epist.* lvii.) this coincidence with the phrase "*darkness visible*": "Nihil illo carcere longius, nihil illis faucibus obscurius, quæ nobis præstant non ut per tenebras videamus, sed ut ipsas."

66, 67. "*hope never comes*," etc. A recollection of the famous inscription, in Dante (*Inf.* III. 9), over the gate of Hell:—

"Lasciate ogni speranza voi che entrate."

73, 74. "*As far removed,*" etc. This passage has already been cited (Intro. II. p. 84) as fixing the distance down in Chaos where Hell proper, in Milton's imagination, is supposed to begin. "The centre" is the Earth, or the Earth's centre: "the utmost pole" is not the Earth's pole, but the pole of the entire Starry Universe. Homer (*Iliad*, VIII. 16) makes Tartarus just as far beneath Hades as Earth is beneath Heaven; and so also Hesiod (see previous note, 50—53). Virgil (*Æn.* VI. 577) doubles the distance; and Milton, in his different cosmological scheme, keeps Virgil's proportions, making the distance from Heaven to Hell equal to three times the radius of the Starry Universe.

75. "*Oh how unlike the place from whence they fell!*" Not unlike one of the phrases in that passage of Cædmon's Anglo-Saxon Paraphrase which some suppose Milton to have consulted in the edition of the Cædmonian Fragments by Francis Junius, published at Amsterdam in 1655 (see Intro. II. pp. 140—145). Satan's soliloquy in Hell after his Fall opens thus in Cædmon:—

" Is þes ānra stede ungelic swiðe
þam oðrum þe we ær cūðon
hean on heofonrice."

80, 81. "*Long after known in Palestine, and named Beelzebub.*" The word "Baal," meaning "Lord," was a general name for "god" among the Semitic nations; and their different Baals or gods were designated by names compounded of this word and others either indicating localities or signifying qualities: as *Baal-Gad*, "the God of Gad"; *Baal-Berith*, "the God of Treaties." *Baal-zebub*, or *Beelzebub*, means literally "the God of Flies." This particular deity was worshipped at Ekron in Palestine, where the plague of flies or insects which afflicts hot countries seems to have been particularly felt (2 Kings i. 2, 3); and that he was an important deity of Palestine may be gathered from his being referred to afterwards (Matthew xii. 24) as "Beelzebub, the prince of the devils."

81, 82. "*the Arch-Enemy, and thence in Heaven called Satan.*" *Satan*, in Hebrew, means "Enemy." Cædmon also makes "Satan" a new name given by God to the chief of the rebel Angels after his fall:—

" Him for gālscepe God sylfa wearð
mihtig on mōde yrrē, wearp hine on þæt morder innan
niðer on þæt nióbed and sceóp him naman siððan,
cwað þæt se hēhsta hātan sceolde
SATAN siððan."

These lines of Cædmon's Anglo-Saxon, with the three given above, are from that portion of Grein's text of the Cædmonian *Genesis* in which the coincidences of idea and expression with *Paradise Lost* are most striking. It may be well, however, at this

point, to exhibit these coincidences more fully by means of a modern English version of all that is essential in the entire piece of the Cædmonian text in which they occur. The following version is substantially Thorpe's:—

"Then spake the overmoody King, that erst was brightest of angels,
 Fairest in Heaven's realm, and his high Lord's love,
 Dear to his master, till they turned them to folly,
 So that with him for his madness God's self became,
 The mighty one, angry, and cast him into that murder-dwelling,
 Down into that new bed, and sithence framed him a name :
 Saying that the Arch-Rebel should ever thenceforward
 SATAN be called ; and bidding him govern
 Hell's dark abyss, and not with God war.

Satan harangued, speaking with sorrow,
 He who Hell thenceforth should have in his rule,
 Governing the abyss : erst he was God's Angel,
 Fair in Heaven's realm, till that his mind urged him,
 And the pride of his heart chiefly of all,
 That he would not obey the Lord of Hosts,
 Nor His word revere. Boiled within him
 The thoughts round his heart ; hot was without him
 His dreadful punishment ; and these were his words :

' This narrow place is most unlike

That other which once we knew

High in Heaven's Kingdom, which my Lord bestowed on me,
 Though we, for His Almightyness, may not possess,
 But must yield, our realm. Yet hath He not done rightly,
 To have struck us down to the fiery abyss
 Of this hot Hell, bereft of Heaven's Kingdom,
 And hath it decreed with the race of Mankind

To people anew. My greatest of sorrows
 Is that Adam shall, who was wrought out of Earth,
 Be possessor now of my strong dominion,
 Live as His delight, while we thole this torment,
 This misery in Hell. Wala ! that I had power of my hands
 And might for a season be out again,

But one winter-space : then I with this host——!

But round me lie bonds of iron ;
 Presseth me this cord of chain, and I am powerless ;
 Me have so hard the clasps of Hell
 Grasped in their grip. Here is huge fire,
 Over and under ; I never beheld

A loathlier landskip ; the flame abateth not
 Hot over Hell. Me hath the shackling of rings,
 This hard-polished chain, cramped in my course
 And barred from all motion ; bound are my feet,
 And fettered my hands ; and of these Hell-doors
 The passage is closed, so that noways I may
 Escape from these limb-bonds. About me lie
 Of the hardest iron hotly forged
 Great gratings with which God hath me

Hafed by the neck

He hath now devised a Mid-World, and wrought in it Man,
 After His likeness, by whom to repeople

The Kingdom of Heaven with pure souls. Our endeavour must be
 That we upon Adam, if ever we may,
 And also on his offspring, our wrongs may avenge,
 Corrupting him in his will there, if we may think of a means.
 We can never succeed
 In weakening the will of mighty God. Avert we now then from the children of
 men
 That Heavenly Kingdom we may not have ourselves, making them forfeit His
 favour
 And pervert that which with His word He hath commanded. Then will He be
 wroth with them
 And cast them out from His favour: then shall they seek this Hell,
 And these grim depths; then may we have them as our vassals,
 The children of men, in this fast durance. Begin we then our war!
 If I to any of my thanes have princely treasures
 Given of old, while we in that good realm
 Happily sat, and held sway in our stations,
 Then never could he at a dearer moment
 Repay the gift with recompense than if now he would,
 Whichever of my thanes, come to my aid,
 That he up hence might issue forth,
 Pass these barriers, and take power with him
 By beat of his wings upwards to fly,
 Winding in clouds, thither where stand created
 Adam and Eve in their earth-kingdom,
 Bosomed in bliss."

After letting this extract make its own impression, the reader will probably be as well qualified as there is any need he should be, or as means permit, for judging of the validity of the argument at pp. 140—145 of the Introduction respecting the likelihood of any knowledge by Milton of the Anglo-Saxon poem of his old Northumbrian predecessor.

84, 85. "*Oh how fallen! how changed from him!*" etc. A coagulation, as Newton pointed out, of phrases from Isaiah xiv. 12, "*How art thou fallen from Heaven!*" and Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 274, "*Quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore qui!*" etc.

84—124. The syntax of this whole first speech of Satan to Beelzebub is very abrupt and irregular—approaching here and there the figures of speech known in books on Rhetoric as *Anacolouth* (unfinished clause or sentence), and *Synathræsmus* (hubbub). In this the reader will discern a poetical fitness. From this involved construction of the passage, however, results some uncertainty here and there as to the punctuation.

86. "*didst outshine.*" The more usual construction would be "*did outshine.*"

87—91. "*whom mutual league, etc. joined with me once, now misery hath joined in equal ruin.*" Expression and syntax modelled, as Bentley pointed out, on Ovid, *Met.* I. 351-3:—

"O soror, O conjux, O femina sola superstes,
Quam commune mihi genus et patruelis origo,
Deinde torus junxit, nunc ipsa pericula jungunt."

94²—98. "*Yet not for those, etc. do I repent,*" etc. Here, and in the sequel of Satan's speech (110—114), there are traces of the bold words of defiance to Zeus uttered by Prometheus in his dialogue with Hermes in the *Prometheus Vinctus* of Æschylus, 991 *et seq.*

109. "*And what is else not to be overcome?*" Todd and most of the editors print this not as an interrogation, but as a clause in continuation of the four preceding. But, in the original editions, and in all till Bishop Newton's in 1749, there is a distinct point of interrogation at the end of this verse, and it is disconnected from the preceding clauses by a colon. A clear enough meaning, indeed, may be got by the other reading. "All is not lost," Satan is then made to say; "the unconquerable will, the study of revenge, immortal hate, and courage never to submit or yield, *and whatever else in a being like me is not to be overcome.*" But the meaning thus given to the last clause is languid compared with any one of those meanings which it will bear if the original punctuation is preserved. "All is not lost," Satan then says; "the unconquerable will, etc. . . and courage never to submit or yield: *and what else is there that is not to be overcome?*" or "*and what is there that else (i.e. without the fore-mentioned qualities) is not to be overcome?*" or "*and in what else does not to be overcome (i.e. invincibility) consist?*"

116, 117. "*by fate,*" etc. Satan here assumes the necessary, or at least indestructible, existence of himself and the Angels.—"*Empyreal,*" made of the element of fire.

128. "*throned Powers*": i.e. those of the Angels that sat on thrones or had kingly rank in Heaven, as distinct from the multitude of the Seraphim.

152. "*gloomy Deep.*" Deep is one of Milton's synonyms in the poem for Chaos. So is Abyss.

167. "*if I fail not*": i.e. "if I mistake not." The common Latin phrase, *ni fallor*.

176. "*his shafts.*" For "*its shafts.*" See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 64—66, and subsequent note, line 254.

180. "*yon dreary plain,*" etc. Imagine that Satan here sees at some distance a dark plain or extent of smoking ground (afterwards described more particularly), lying but of the burning and flaming element in the midst of which they still are.

198. "*Titanian or Earth-born, that warred on Jove.*" The Titans were the progeny of Ouranos (Heaven) and Ge (Earth), who made war on their father and had possession of Heaven for a time,

but were at length defeated and expelled by Zeus after a ten years' war. By the "Earth-born" Milton seems to mean the Giants, a different brood from the Titans, though often confused with them; represented by some as savage autochthones of certain volcanic countries, and by others as the offspring of Tartarus and Ge. They also assailed Heaven, and had to be put down by Zeus and the other Gods.

199. "*Briareos or Typhon*," etc. Briareos, in the Greek mythology, though not expressly named as a Titan, was of their race, being a hundred-handed fifty-headed monster, son of Heaven and Earth. He aided Jupiter against a conspiracy of the Titans, but afterwards fought with the Giants in their war against him. Typhon, or Typhœus, a hundred-headed monster, son of Tartarus and the Earth, also warred against the Gods for their destruction of the Titans: he had his den, according to Pindar, in Cilicia, of which Tarsus was a city.

201—208. "*Leviathan*," etc. Milton clearly had in view some of the published stories of whales or other sea-monsters found in the Scandinavian seas; and Todd quotes a passage in point from Olaus Magnus, telling how the whale has such a rough skin that, when he raises his back above the sea, sailors sometimes mistake it for a small island, land upon it, light their fires, and cook their food, till the pain wakes the sleeping beast, and down he dives.

202. "*Created hugest that swim the ocean-stream*": a line purposely of difficult sound. Either the third foot must be read as an *anapest*, or the word "hugest" must be pronounced as one syllable, "hug'st." As in the original text this word is spelt fully and not with the apostrophe, the first is probably the right way of reading. "*Ocean-stream*" is a phrase from the ancient geography, which supposed a sea flowing round and round the habitable circle of Earth.

204. "*night-foundered*." Milton has this exact word once besides—*Comus*, 483: "*Some one like us night-foundered here*." In both places he uses the word in the same sense, *i.e.* brought to a stand by the coming on of night. The usual meaning of the word is to sink, or go to the bottom (*fundus*); but one can see the idea of the metaphor,—swallowed up and lost in the darkness.

207. "*under the lee*": *i.e.* on that side of the monster which was protected from the wind.

224. "*i' the midst*." The contraction of *in* occurs in the original edition, and for obvious reasons ought to be retained. Indeed, Milton prints "*i' th' midst*."

232. "*Pelorus*": "One of the three great promontories of Sicily, now called Cape Faro, not far from mount *Ætna*."—TODD.

235. "*Sublimed with mineral fury.*" Sublimation, in chemistry, is properly the conversion of solid substances by heat into vapour, in order that, in cooling, they may become solid again in a purer form. Thus, when crude sulphur is heated, the vapour adheres to the walls of the chamber and forms there the fine powder called Flower of Sulphur, or sublimed sulphur. Milton's use of the term seems proper enough.

242-244. "*Is this the region . . . that we must change for Heaven?*" An unusual order in English, but occasional in Latin—the thing received in exchange being put first.

254. "*The mind is its own place,*" etc. This is a memorable line for grammatical as well as for other reasons—being one of the only three places in all Milton's poetry (according to the original text) in which, as far as yet detected, he has used the word *Its*. The other two places are *Par. Lost*, IV. 813, and *Ode on the Nativity*, 106. On the history of the word *Its*, and Milton's use of it, and of *his* and *her*, in his poetry, see Essay on Milton's English, pp. 55-71.

257. "*And what I should be, all but less than he*": a phrase of difficult construction: meaning either "And what I should be,—viz. all but just next to him," etc.; or "And what I should be, all but (except) that I am less than he," etc. Were it safe to propose emendations (which it is not), one might suggest that Milton dictated *albeit*.

259, 260. "*hath not built here for his envy*": i.e. hath not built here in such a manner as to make the place an object for his envy.

266. "*oblivious pool*": i.e. pool causing oblivion. Compare *Par. Lost*, II. 73, 74. Hume quotes *Æn.* vi. 714: "*Lethæi ad fluminis undam.*"

279—281. "*though now they lie . . . as we erewhile*": Satan and Beelzebub are on the solid plain beside the burning lake; but all the rest of the Angels are still in the lake.

282. "*pernicious highth.*" Though meaning originally "hurtful," "destructive," *pernicious* seems to have come to mean also "extreme," "excessive," in our old writers. Thus *Henry VIII.* II. 1:—

"All the Commons
Hate him perniciously."

284. "*Was moving toward the shore*": i.e. Satan began to move on foot over the solid plain towards the verge of the burning lake,—Beelzebub gazing after him or following at a distance.

285. "*ethereal temper*": i.e. of ethereal temper or nature (*temperies*): a curious ellipsis. See Essay on Milton's English, p. 80.

286—298. "*The broad circumference*," etc. In the two similes in this passage,—the comparison of Satan's shield to the moon and of his spear to a pine-tree,—may be marked, as in many others of the similes of Milton, the habit, natural to the poetic mind, of pursuing a comparison, once suggested, beyond the mere limits of illustrative likeness, for the sake of a rich accumulation of circumstance beautiful in itself.—Spenser (*F. Q. V.* 5, 3) compares the shield of Radigund, "on the shoulder hung," to the full moon.

288—290. "*Through optic glass the Tuscan artist . . . top of Fesolè, or in Valdarno*." The Tuscan artist is Galileo, who first turned the "optic glass" or telescope to account for astronomical purposes. Fesolè or Fiesole is a hill close to Florence, the seat of the ancient Etruscan city of Fæsulæ; Valdarno is the valley of the Arno, in which Florence itself lies. Milton, who had been four months in Florence (1638-39), knew the spots well, and had seen Galileo, then old and blind, in his villa near Florence. It was at Padua in the Venetian States that Galileo had first (1609) turned his telescope to the moon; but he was a Tuscan by birth, and the greater part of his life after 1610 was spent in or near Florence.

294. "*some great ammiral*." The word "*ammiral*" or "*amiral*," now corrupted into *Admiral*, is from the Arabic *amir* or *emir*, meaning "lord"; the final *al* being probably the Arabic definite article *al*, as it would occur, after the noun, in such phrases as *emir al moslemin*, "commander of the faithful." It came into use in the European tongues, through the Spanish, and was generally applied, as now, to the chief commander of a fleet. But it was also used in English books, about and before Milton's time, as the name for any large ship.

296. "*marle*": *i.e.* soil. The word generally means fat or rich earth.

299. "*Nathless*": *i.e.* "ne (or not) the less," "nevertheless."

303. "*Vallombrosa*." Literally "the shady valley": a beautiful valley, about eighteen miles from Florence, doubtless visited by Milton in the autumn of 1638. There is a tradition that he spent some days there. See Wordsworth's verses, "*At Vallombrosa*."

304—307. "*scattered sedge . . . the Red-Sea coast . . . Busiris and his Memphian chivalry*." Sedge is sea-weed, with which the Red Sea so abounds that it was called by the Hebrews the "Sea of Sedge." "*Busiris*" is a special name given, on speculation, to the Pharaoh who chased the children of Israel; and the Egyptian horsemen and charioteers are called "*his Memphian chivalry*," from Memphis, one of the great cities of ancient Egypt. Busiris figures in Greek legends as a king of Egypt noted for his persecution of

foreigners; and Raleigh, in his *History of the World*, expressly argues that he was "the first oppressor of the Israelites." Milton follows Raleigh.

305. "*Orion armed.*" The constellation Orion was supposed to bring stormy weather at his rising and setting. Thus, as noted by Mr. Browne, Horace (*Od.* I. 28, 21-22):—

"Me quoque, devexi rapidus comes Orionis,
Illyricis Notus obruit undis."

And again (*III.* 27, 17-18):—

"Sed vides quanto trepidet tumultu
Pronus Orion."

He is called "armed" because of his sword, belt, and club. Hume quotes from Virgil (*Æn.* III. 517): "*Armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona*"; and Todd refers to "*Orione armato*" in Petrarch, Sonnet 23.

339. "*Amram's son*": i.e. Moses. See Exod. vi. 16—20; also Exod. x. 14—15.

341. "*warping*": i.e. working themselves forward, or moving in a fluctuating manner.

350. "*On the firm brimstone.*" Here we have the colour of the plain hinted,—sulphury and yellow, at least on its shore towards the lake.

353. "*Rhene or the Danaw*": i.e. the Rhine (Latin *Rhenus*), or the Danube (German *Donau*).

355. "*Beneath Gibraltar,*" etc.: i.e. south of Gibraltar, into Africa.—Dunster has a good note, in which he calls attention to the three different similes used by Milton, within so brief a space as from line 300 to line 355, to suggest the vast number of the Angels. First, in their supine state on the lake, they are compared to the dead leaves lying in heaps in Vallombrosa, or to the masses of floating sea-weed on the Red Sea; next, when on wing from the lake to the solid plain at their leader's call and signal, they are like the cloud of locusts coming over Egypt at the summons of Moses's rod; but, finally, when they alight on the plain and fill it, they are like the Northern hordes that, bursting the boundaries of the Rhine and the Danube, overran the Roman Empire.

361—375. "*Though of their names in Heavenly records now be no memorial . . . Nor had they yet . . . Got them new names, till,*" etc. This passage is very noteworthy. The notion that the various gods of the different forms of heathenism were the devils or degraded angels of the Scriptural dispensation belonged to the common Christian theology of mediæval Europe. But Milton gives this

common mediæval belief an ingenious poetic turn. The Rebel Angels, before their fall, had glorious names, by which they were known in Heaven; but, after their rebellion, those names were blotted out from the celestial records, so that no whisper of them has survived. It was not till, in the course of ages, roving from Hell, they had realised their new and accursed existence as the idols and false gods of deceived mankind, that they "got them new names." It is by these names only,—their names as the idols of the various Polytheisms,—that they are now known; and it is by these names that they must, though by anticipation, be called in the poem!

376. "*who first, who last*": as in *Iliad*, V. 703: *τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὕστατον*.

381—505. "*The chief were,*" etc., to "*worse rape.*" Milton cannot name all, or even the thousandth part, of those gods of the subsequent Polytheisms whom he is now regarding at that point in their existence when they were but newly fallen Angels and as yet anonymous. But he will name their chiefest chiefs,—those who were next in rank to Satan and Beelzebub. And who were these? They were, Milton virtually says, the spirits afterwards known as the chief gods of the Semitic nations,—of the nations surrounding the Jews,—and of which, and their transactions with the Jews, we hear so much in the Bible. Accordingly, in this splendid passage of 125 lines, we have a poetical enumeration of the principal Semitic idols referred to in Scripture as worshipped round about the Israelites, and sometimes luring the Israelites themselves from the worship of Jehovah. See 2 Kings xxi. 5; Jeremiah vii. 30; Ezek. xlii. 8. •

392—405. "*First, Moloch, horrid king,*" etc. For the Scriptural accounts of Moloch (meaning "king" in Hebrew), worshipped by various Semitic nations, but here represented as more particularly the god of the Ammonites, see Levit. xviii. 21; 1 Kings xi. 7; 2 Sam. xii. 26—29: see also Judges xi. 12—18. The "*opprobrious hill*" is the Mount of Olives, on which Solomon built a temple to Moloch (1 Kings xi. 7, and 2 Kings xxiii. 13, 14). The "*pleasant valley of Hinnom*" (*Ghe-Hinnom*: see Jerem. vii. 31, 32) was on the east side of Jerusalem; here was *Tophet*, supposed to mean "the place of timbrels." The word "Gehenna," now "the type of Hell," or a synonym for Hell, is borrowed from the name of this valley, which, originally the most beautiful valley about Jerusalem, and containing the royal music-garden, was afterwards, in consequence of its having been polluted by the worship of Moloch and other idols, degraded by the pious kings, and converted into a receptacle for all the filth of the city, and a place of abhorrence. Here, it is said, the Jews latterly buried their criminals.

406—418. "*Next Chemos,*" etc. For references to this god of

the Moabites and to the places mentioned in the passage, see 1 Kings xi. 7; 2 Kings xxiii. 13; Numb. xxi. 25—29, xxv. 1—9; Deut. xxxii. 49; Isaiah xv. 1, 2, 4, 5, and xvi. 2, 8, 9; and Jerem. xlviii. 1—47. Chemosh or Chemos is supposed to be identical with Baal-Peor; which is a name of associations like those with Priapus. The "*Asphaltic Pool*" is the Dead Sea.

419—437. "*With these came they who,*" etc. Here, after Moloch and Chemos, are suggested, under the general names of Baalim and Ashtaroth, a number of the miscellaneous gods, male and female, of various parts of Syria, from the Euphrates to Egypt. The appended observation as to the pliability of the physical form of the Spirits is worthy of attention, as preparing for much that follows in the poem. The dilatibility or compressibility of the Spirits at will is a postulate for the whole action of *Paradise Lost*.

437—446. "*With these in troop came Astoreth,*" etc.: i.e. along with the miscellaneous gods of Syria came that Astoreth who was more particularly the goddess of the Phœnicians. See Jer. vii. 18; 1 Kings xi. 4, 5; and 2 Kings xxiii. 13. The effigy of this goddess is found on coins of the ancient Phœnician city of Sidon.

446—457. "*Thammuz came next,*" etc. Thammuz, a Syrian love-god, originally of the parts about Lebanon. The legend was that he was killed by a wild boar in Lebanon; and the phenomenon of the reddening at a particular season every year of the waters of the Adonis, a stream which flows from Lebanon to the sea near Byblos, was mythologically accounted for by supposing that the blood of Thammuz was then flowing afresh. There were annual festivals at Byblos in Phœnicia in honour of Thammuz, held every year at the season referred to. Women were the chief performers at these festivals,—the first part of which consisted in lamentations for the death of Thammuz, and the rest in rejoicings over his revival. The worship spread over the East, and even into Greece, where Thammuz became the celebrated Adonis, the beloved of Venus. See Ezek. viii. 12—14.

457—466. "*Next came one who mourned in earnest,*" etc.: i.e. Dagon, the god of the Philistines, whose cause for mourning, as related 1 Sam. v. 1—9, was more real than that of Thammuz. "*Azotus*" is the Ashdod of this passage. "*Grunsel,*" i.e. "ground-sill" or "threshold."

467—476. "*Him followed Rimmon,*" etc. Rimmon, another Syrian god, worshipped at Damascus. The "leper" whom he lost is Naaman (see 2 Kings v.); for his gaining of King Ahaz, see 2 Kings xvi. 10—20.

476—489. "*After these appeared a crew . . . Osiris, Isis, Orus,*

and their train." Here we have the gods of Egypt, who were represented in all manner of grotesque animal forms, and supposed even to inhabit or protect living animals,—oxen, calves, rams, etc. Hence the phrases "wandering gods" and "bleating gods."—*"Borrowed gold"*: It is with the gold borrowed from the Egyptians (Exod. xii. 35) that the Israelites are supposed to have made the golden calf (Exod. xxxii.) The "rebel king" who doubled that sin is Jeroboam (1 Kings xii. 26—33). See also Psalm cvi. 19, 20.

490—505. *"Belial came last,"* etc. Next to the first place in such a procession the last place is, at least in poetic custom, the post of honour; hence Belial, who closes the procession, is a hardly less important personage than Moloch, who led it. He is, moreover, the exact opposite of Moloch in character: Moloch, defiant, fierce, and bloody; Belial, soft, effeminate, and persuasive. According to Milton, he was not a local god; but, wherever there was Atheism and utter profligacy, there Belial had his sons. See Deut. xiii. 13; 1 Sam. ii. 12.

502. *"flown with insolence,"* etc.: i.e. flowed, flooded, flushed. Mr. Keightley quotes the phrase "overflown with wine" from a pamphlet by Nash.

503—505. The allusions here are to the narratives in Gen. xix. 8 and Judges xix. 22, 28. In the first edition the text stood thus:—

"Witness the streets of Sodom, and that night
In Gibeah, when hospitable doors
Yielded their matrons, to prevent worse rape."

These words not being in strict accordance with the narratives referred to, Milton, for subsequent editions, altered the text to what it now is.

506—521. *"These were the prime in order and in might:
The rest were long to tell,"* etc.

Having concluded his list of those great leading Spirits who afterwards became the chief gods of the Semitic nations, Milton does not think it necessary to mention those inferior, though still not unimportant, Spirits, also holding commands in the 'rebel Host, who, contenting themselves afterwards with the meaner and more distant parts of the Earth for their prey, became the gods of the motley Polytheisms that surrounded and stretched away from the sacred circle of the Biblical lands. Even what we should now call the various Aryan or Indo-European Polytheisms are tacitly assumed as the work of Spirits who, at the time of this first muster of the Fallen Angels in Hell, took but junior rank, as compared with the mighty leaders fore-mentioned. But at one of these Aryan Polytheisms Milton, both on account of its renown, and also perhaps

on account of his own fondness for it, cannot help glancing,—that which bloomed out into the great Hellenic or Classic Mythology. Hence, in a few lines, we have the genealogy of “the Ionian gods,”—those gods, confessedly of later development, who were worshipped by the issue of Javan, the fourth son of Japheth, and the progenitor more particularly of the Gentiles of the Isles (Gen. x. 2—5). This theogony, however, is rapidly disposed of. Titan is named as the earliest supreme god; superseded by Saturn; who, in his turn, is dethroned by Zeus: the final expansion of the Greek mythology in its richest or Jovian stage being left to the imagination, helped by the mere mention of Crete, Ida, Olympus, Delphi, and Dodona. Observe too that the original theogonies of the lands west of Greece,—Italy, Spain, Gaul, and the British Islands,—are represented as branching off from the Grecian theogony in its Saturnian stage. This branching off is connected with the legend of the flight of Saturn into Italy, as in the passage (*Æn.* VIII. 319-20) quoted by Hume:—

“Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus Olympo,
Arma Jovis fugiens, et regnis exul adeptis.”

The “*Hesperian Fields*” are Italy and Spain; “*the Celtic*” (understand “region”) is mainly Gaul; “*the utmost Isles*” are Britain, etc. —The Scandinavian and Slavonian mythologies, it will be seen, are not even named, any more than those of the Mongolian (Turanian) and Negro races,—the devils to whom these are to be attributed being (so the silence must be construed) as yet individually obscure.

530. “*Their fainting courage.*” In the First Edition “fainted”; altered in the Second into “fainting,” for “fainting.”

534. “*Azazel.*” The name, according to Hume, signifies in Hebrew “the scape-goat” (Levit. xvi.); but Newton translates it “brave in retreat.”

543. “*reign of Chaos*”: i.e. kingdom (*regnum*) of Chaos. Newton quotes Spenser (*F. Q.* II. 7, 21), “Pluto’s grisly rayne.”

546. “*orient colours.*” Mr. Browne notes thus: “*Orient* in Milton’s poems has three meanings: (1) ‘rising,’ *Par. Los.*; IV. 644; (2) ‘eastern,’ *Par. Lost*, VI. 15, *Nat. Od.*; (3) ‘bright,’ as here, and at *Com.* 65, *Par. Lost*, III. 507, IV. 238.”

548. “*serried shields*”: i.e. close-locked (Fr. *serrer*, to press close).

550. “*perfect*”: so spelt here, though Milton generally prefers “*perfet*.” “*Dorian mood*,” i.e. the Doric or grave style of music, as distinct from the Lydian or Phrygian. Compare *L’Alleg.* 136.

551. “*flutes and soft recorders.*” According to *Chambers’s Cyclop.*, *recorder* was the name of a musical instrument, “somewhat like a

flageolet, but with the lower part wider than the upper, and a mouth-piece resembling the beak of a bird. Its pitch was an octave higher than the flute, and it had a pleasing tone." Richardson (*Dict.*) quotes Bacon's *Nat. Hist.*: "The figure of recorders and flutes and pipes are straight, but the recorder hath a less bore and a greater, above and below." See also *Hamlet* III. 2, where "re-enter the Players with recorders," and Hamlet draws a humorous moral from one of the instruments.

565. "*with ordered spear and shield*": a phrase of drill in Milton's time as in ours,—"*order pikes*" being then the equivalent of our "*order arms*"; on which word of command soldiers stand with their weapons resting perpendicularly by their sides, the butts on the ground. When soldiers halt from any movement, as in the text, arms are always "*ordered*" without word of command.

572. "*his strength*." We should now write *its*. See note *ante*, line 254.

573. "*since created Man*": i.e. "since man was created,"—a Latin form of expression: *Post urbem conditam*, etc.

575, 576. "*that small infantry warred on by cranes*": i.e. the fabulous Pygmies, or nation of Indian or Ethiopian dwarfs, who were said to have to fight with cranes that annually invaded their country. The name Pygmy is from the Greek *πυγμή*, the length of the forearm.

576—587. "*all the giant brood of Phlegra*, etc. . . . *Fontarabbia*." Milton here connects together the great wars of the most famous epic legends, ancient and modern: the primeval wars of the Giants against the Gods, which were fought at Phlegra in Macedonia, Hercules assisting the Gods; the wars of Troy and Thebes; the wars of the British hero Arthur, "Uther's son"; and those combats and joustings, all along the Mediterranean, between the Saracens and the Christian heroes of France and Spain, which are the theme of so many mediæval romances. The legends of Charlemain and his Paladins,—one of the most famous of which tells of their defeat, and of the death of Roland, at Roncesvalles in the Pyrenees, not far from Fontarabia and Bayonne,—have little to do with the true history of Charlemagne.

592. "*All her original brightness*": *her*, where we should now use *its*. See note *ante*, line 254.

609, 610. "*amerced of Heaven*": i.e. "punished with the loss of Heaven." The word "*to amerce*" (noun *amercement* of *amerciament*) was an old law term, meaning "to punish by a fine at the discretion of the Court," and derived from the French phrase *à merci*. For certain offences the penalty was *être mis à merci* (the Latin equivalent

being *poni in misericordia*); and a person so punished was said to be *amercit* or *amerced*. Thus, in a passage quoted in Richardson's *Dict.* from Rastall's *Abbreviation of Statutes* (1520): "Then al the articles of every hundred, shal be delivered to the 12 jurors of the countie, and then time shall be appointed them to give their verdictes upon paine of the king's *mercie*. And, if they give not their verdictes, they shall bee *amerced* as to the justices shall seeme best." Shakespeare (*Rom. and Jul.* III. 1) has—

"But I'll *amerce* you with so strong a fine
That you shall all repent the loss of mine."

Though the French phrase *être mis à merci* and the Latin phrase *poni in misericordia* meant the same thing in old law-language, it is not to be assumed that the French word *merci* and the English *mercy* are derived from the Latin *misericordia*, "pity," or *miserere* or *miseresco*, "I pity." This, indeed, used to be asserted in Dictionaries, and with some plausibility. But the truer derivation of *mercy* is from the Latin *merx*, merchandise or purchase, or *merces*, pay, compensation, reward; whence the Low Latin *merciare* or *amerciare*, to put to recompense. When a prisoner "*cried mercy*," what was originally meant was that he implored his captor to grant him his life for a compensation or ransom; and, when the captor *merciéd* him, he assented. To be at a person's *mercy* was to hang on his decision whether he would kill or accept a pecuniary ransom; and Richardson quotes from Minshew the old phrase "to be in *grievous mercie* of the king," i.e. "to be in hazard of a grievous penalty." The *merciful* spirit, therefore, was, in strict etymology, the willingness to accept ransom or compensation; but, as this depended on pitifulness or graciousness of disposition, it is easy to see how *mercy* and *misericordia* would come to be identified. On the one hand, the Latin *misericordia*, really meaning "tender-heartedness," was degraded to mean "right to impose fines," as in a charter of Edward I., quoted by Wedgwood (*Dict.*, *Amercement*), where the abbot and monks of a certain Abbey are, by way of privilege, exempted "*de omnibus misericordiis in perpetuum*" (from all *mercies* for ever); and, on the other hand, the word *mercy*, meaning "exaction of fine or ransom," was elevated into the sense of "tender-heartedness." Hume notes another etymological curiosity in connexion with the word *amerced*. Quoting Homer's line (*Od.* VIII. 64)—

"Ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ' ἡδῆϊα δαυδῆν,"

he points out the odd fact that the Greek *ἄμερσε* here, the same in sound as *amerce*, has also much the same meaning; inasmuch that the line might be translated—"The Muse *amerced* him of his eyes, but gave him the faculty of singing sweetly." There may be more than odd coincidence in this: there may be radical far-back identity.

The Greek *ἀμείβομαι*, of which *ἀμειβόμενος* is a part, means literally to deprive of one's share (a *priv.*, and *μέρος*, a share, or part); and *μέρος* and *merx* are probably one at root.

611. "*yet faithful how they stood.*" The construction refers back to the verb "behold" in line 605.

616—618. "*whereat their doubled ranks they bend,*" etc. A true description of a military movement; as if from Milton's actual recollections of parades he had seen in the time of the Civil Wars. If a commanding officer now desired to address his battalion when standing in line, he would first wheel its two extremities, or the ends of the two wings, inwards, so as to form three sides of an oblong enclosing himself and his staff. But Satan's troops, we have been told, had been all brought into line with ordered arms (see lines 562—565),—a "front of dreadful length," but still such that, with reference to the range of Satan's vision, Milton calls it but a battalion (line 569). Milton pushes his military exactness still farther. A company or battalion of soldiers, listening to an address from their commander, would stand in the attitude called *Attention*; and Milton seems to have had this in his mind in the phrase, "*Attention held them mute,*" though the fine poetical wording half disguises the technicality.

619, 620. "*Thrice he assayed,*" etc. A recollection, Bentley thought, of Ovid, *Met.* XI. 419: "*Ter conata loqui, ter fletibus ora rigavit.*"

632, 633. "*whose exile hath emptied Heaven.*" An oratorical exaggeration; for the computation afterwards is, even by Satan himself, that a third part only of the heavenly host had joined him in his revolt (Book II. 692, V. 710, and VI. 156). This seems to have been a common belief, suggested by the text Rev. xii. 4; where the tail of the Great Dragon draws down "the third part of the stars of Heaven." This note is from Hume and Newton.

650—656. "*Space may produce new Worlds,*" etc. Notice here the first suggestion, and by Satan himself, of the precise scheme of diabolical action of which the whole poem is a development.

668. "*Clashed on their sounding shields.*" It was the custom of the Roman soldiers, says Bentley, to applaud by smiting their shields with their swords. One might have guessed as much.

669. "*Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.*" Mr. Keightley thinks Milton here "forgets that the scene is in Hell, not upon Earth." Milton forgets nothing of the kind. The expression is in perfect consistency with his imagination of the whereabouts of the Fallen Angels. They are down in Hell; above them and Hell is Chaos or the Abyss, as Satan has just hinted (line 658);

and above that is Heaven. In their defiance they look upwards to Hell's roof, as if to send their defiance, *through* intervening Chaos, to the Heaven they have left and are still thinking of. You can hurl defiance "toward" a place without seeing it.

670. "*There stood a hill not far,*" etc. Here we have another feature suggested in the physical configuration of Hell. We have already had the burning lake, and the yellow or dark mainland bordering it; and now, on this mainland, we have to conceive a hill with burning summit, and sides glossy with lava.

673. "*his womb*": i.e. the hill's. We should now, undoubtedly, say *its*. See note *ante*, line 254.

673, 674. "*metallic ore, the work of sulphur.*" Perhaps Hume's note on this passage, just because of its quaint old chemistry, is as good as any:—"The work of sulphur: the offspring and production of sulphur, that *vivum et fossile*, as Celsus calls it, which, as it were *solî rūp*, the subterranean fire, concocts and boils up the crude and undigested Earth into a more profitable consistence, and, by its innate heat, hardens and bakes it into metals." In old chemistry, indeed, sulphur figured prodigiously. "The nature of sulphur or brimstone is most wonderful, being able as it is to tame and consume the most things that be in the world," says Pliny, as translated by Philemon Holland; and the science of the Middle Ages, inherited by Paracelsus, based itself on a doctrine that sulphur and mercury were the two all-pervading substances or agencies in nature (unless salt was to be taken as a third), generating all things between them. The doctrine appears often in Bacon's scientific writings. Thus (*Nat. Hist.*): "There be two great families of things. You may term them by several names,—sulphureous and mercurial; which are the chemist's words (for, as for their *sal*, which is their third principle, it is a compound of the other two); inflammable and not inflammable; mature and crude; oily and watery. . . . Mercury and sulphur are principal materials of metals." Again (*History of Sulphur, Mercury, and Salt*): "Sulphur and mercury, in the sense in which I take them, I judge to be the most primæval natures, the most original configurations of matter, and among the forms of the first class almost the principal. But these terms of sulphur and mercury may be varied and receive various denominations—as the oily, the watery; the fat, the crude; the inflammable, the non-inflammable; and the like. For they appear to be these two enormous tribes of things which occupy and penetrate the universe. In the subterranean world we find sulphur and mercury, as they are called; in the animal and vegetable world we find oil and water; in pneumatical bodies of the lower order we find air and flame; in the celestial regions we find starry body and pure ether." Again (*Phænomena Universi*), the

phrase occurs: "*Sulphur, quem patrem metallorum esse communis est opinio, licet a peritioribus fere repudiata*": "Sulphur, commonly thought to be the father of the metals, though that opinion is almost given up by the more skilful."—In the present passage, therefore, Milton adopts, and expresses poetically, the popular chemical belief of his time. If anywhere that belief might be true, and sulphur might be the generator of metals, surely it might be in Hell. Observe, too, that Milton speaks of metallic *ores*, and that in fact many such ores are in the form of sulphurets of metals.

675. "*brigad*." So spelt in Milton's editions, with the accent on the first syllable.

676. "*pioneers*": spelt "*Pioners*" in Milton's editions, and perhaps pronounced so. Skeat notes *pioneer* as the older form, and gives the etymology thus: "F. *pionnier*, O. F. *peonier*, pioneer; a mere extension of F. *pion*, O. F. *peon*, a foot soldier but especially applied to sappers and miners." The root is the Latin *pes*, foot.

678. "*Mammon led them on*." The name Mammon, says Bishop Newton, is Syriac, and signifies *Riches*. Milton, following Scripture, personifies him as the god of riches, as Spenser had already done,—bringing him forward, for special reasons, out of the promiscuous host of demons, whom he had left unnamed in the first muster. He identifies him in the sequel (738—751) with Mulciber or Vulcan of the classic mythology.

686. "*Ransacked the Centre*." The centre or interior of the Earth, say the commentators unanimously. Not so. *Centre* here is the Earth itself as a whole, not its interior merely. In old literature the Earth, as the supposed centre of the Universe, was frequently called "the centre" *par excellence*. Thus Shakespeare (*Troil. and Cres.* I. 3):

"The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre,
Observe degree, priority, and place."

Milton's meaning is that it was the same Mammon whom he represents as looking for gold even in Heaven, and as now beginning metallurgy in Hell, that afterwards taught mining on Earth.

688. "*treasures better hid*." Horace, *Od.* III. 3, 49.

703. "*founded the massy ore*." This is the reading in the First Edition. In the Second, and in all subsequent editions, till Bentley's in 1732, the reading is "*found out the massy ore*."

708; 709. "*As in an organ*," etc. Mr. Brown quotes from Professor Taylor a note on the exactness of this image. "The wind produced by the bellows [in an organ] is driven into a reservoir called the wind-chest, above which is placed the sound-board, and then by intricate contrivances conveyed to each row of pipes."

710—717. "*a fabric huge rose like an exhalation, etc. . . . golden architrave,*" etc. • It has been suggested that Milton may here have had in recollection some of the gorgeous machinery used in the masques so common in the reign of Charles I. The architectural terms used are exact. *Pilasters* are square pillars, generally sunk in the wall; *Doric pillars* are plain columns of the Doric order; *architrave*, *frieze*, and *cornice* are the successive parts of the entablature between the capital of the column and the roof,—the *frieze* often bearing sculptured figures in relief.

718. "*great Alcairo.*" Milton, as Hume noted, uses this modern name for old Memphis, the capital of Egypt.

720. "*Belus or Serapis.*" The *a* of Serapis is usually long; but instances in which it is made short, as here, are quoted from the later Latin poets.

728. "*blazing cressets.*" A *cresset* was any open vessel, jar, or cup, in which tarred ropes or the like could be burnt by way of beacon-lights; hence such lights themselves were also called *cressets*. Wedgwood connects the word etymologically with the English *crook* or *cruse*, a pitcher or jar (German *krug*, Dutch *kruycke*, French *cruche*), and so with *cruet* and *crucible*. Shakespeare, as Newton observed, has the word *cressets* in the sense of "blazing lights" (*Hen. IV.* Part I. iii. 1); and Todd quotes it from Sylvester's *Du Bartas*.

739, 740. "*in Ausonian land men called him Mulciber*": i.e. in Italy men worshipped him as Vulcan, one of whose names was Mulciber (the Softener).

746, 747. "*Thus they relate, erring*": i.e. the old poets who had related the fall of Vulcan from Heaven when flung out by Zeus,—Homer (*Iliad*, I. 590), etc. In Milton's persistent identification of Mammon with Vulcan is there any secret reference to the money-making spirit as the mother of metallurgy and the engineering arts?

752. "*Haralds.*" In the First and Second Editions this word is spelt so (Italian *Araldo*); but in the Third Edition (1678) it is *Heralds*, as now. See Essay on Milton's English, p. 50.

756. "*At Pandemonium.*" Here we have a name given to the palace, or range of palaces, in Hell, which Mammon had just built, and which was situated on the plain between the hill and the lake. "Pandemonium" means "the home or hall of all the Demons," and is a word formed on the analogy of "Pantheon," the hall of all the gods. Milton, if not the actual inventor of the word, was the first who gave it currency.

760. "*With hundreds,*" so spelt in the original edition; but in the Errata of that edition there is a direction for this passage, "For

hundreds read *hunderds*," as if Milton preferred the second pronunciation. In the Second Edition it is "*hunderds*"; but in the Third "*hundreds*" is restored. See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 42, 43.

768—775. "*As bees*," etc. See *Iliad*, II. 87.

774. "*with balm*": spelt "*baume*" in the First Edition.—"*expatiate*": i.e. walk about.

780. "*that pygmean race*." See note on lines 575, 576.

789—792. "*Thus incorporeal Spirits to smallest shapes*," etc. See note 419—437. There is a quaint ingenuity in the present application of Milton's postulate as to the expansibility or compressibility of the forms of the Spirits. The committee of leaders remaining in their own gigantic dimensions far within, it is only by some such reduction of the general body as in the text that the imagination can conceive the hall holding all the vast multitude.

BOOK II.

2, 3. "*Ormus and of Ind . . . gorgeous East*," etc. *Ormus*, more properly Hormuz, an island at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, once giving its name to an Asiatic kingdom; *Ind*, India; *the gorgeous East*, probably the remoter lands of Asia.—"*Showrs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold*": either a bold poetical expression, or an allusion to the actual Eastern custom of pouring pearls and precious stones over the heads and feet of princes on great state occasions.

9. "*by success untaught*." The word "success" is here used not in the ordinary sense of "good fortune," but as equivalent merely to "event" or "issue."

41, 42. "*Whether of open war*," etc. Todd compares *Faery Queen*, VII. 6, 21.

50. "*thereafter*": i.e. accordingly.

64—70. "*when*," etc. Todd compares *Æschyl. Prom. V.* 920.

70—81. "*But perhaps the way seems difficult . . . sunk thus low*." It is the *physical* reascent through the superincumbent Chaos that Moloch has here in view; and, to persuade the Angels that this might not be so difficult, he bids them remember their sensations during their descent,—how they had not fallen or sunk, as if

in obedience to a natural law of gravitation, but had been driven or pushed down through a resisting medium, in which, but for this force, they would have risen by native buoyancy. "*Descent and fall to us is adverse*" is therefore here a proposition respecting the physical nature of Angels, and not respecting their moral nature, as some have supposed.

81—85. "*The ascent is easy, then; the event is feared . . . destroyed.*" Moloch does not here speak in his own person, but anticipates a second objection that the Angels might make, if he had satisfactorily disposed of the first.

91, 92. "*the torturing hour calls us to penance.*" "Milton here supposes," says Hume, "the sufferings of the damned Spirits not to be always alike intense." The phrase "torturing hour," in a somewhat different connexion, occurs in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, V. 1, where Theseus says,

"Is there no play
To ease the anguish of a torturing hour?"

97. "*this essential*": i.e. this essence, or this essential being.

100, 101. "*we are at worst on this side nothing.*" This is sometimes printed, "*we are, at worst, on this side nothing*"; which spoils the meaning. Moloch means, "We are now already at the worst that is possible on this side of total annihilation."

104. "*his fatal throne*": i.e. upheld by fate.

113, 114. "*make the worse appear the better reason.*" A literal translation, as Bentley points out, of the Greek phrase describing the profession of the ancient Sophists, τὸν λόγον τὸν ἥττω κρείττω ποιεῖν. The phrase occurs in Plato's *Apology* of Socrates.

123. "*the whole success.*" See note, line 9. . . .

134—142. "*Or, could we . . . purge off the baser fire, victorious.*" Belial, who keeps replying closely, throughout his speech, to the arguments just urged by Moloch, here refers to Moloch's expectation as expressed in lines 60—70.

141. "*Her mischief.*" See note, Book I., line 254.

146—151. "*Sad cure!*" etc. Here Belial differs from Moloch, in thinking annihilation undesirable, even were it possible. Todd aptly compares the famous passage in *Measure for Measure* (III. 1): "Ay, but to die," etc.

156. "*Belike*": i.e. "as it were."

159. "*Wherefore cease we, then? say they who,*" etc. Here Belial begins to answer that part of Moloch's speech where he main-

tained that they were already at the worst on this side annihilation (100, 101). See note on the passage.

165. "*strook*." So the word occurs in the original editions; and previous editors have acted improperly in converting it into the more usual form "*struck*." For, though the form "*struck*," both for the preterite tense and the passive participle did exist in Milton's time, and he has himself used it, he seems to have preferred "*strook*" for musical reasons, and to have always used it except where some particular modification of those reasons recommended "*struck*." Here is one instance from his prose: ". . . how the bright and blissful Reformation, by Divine Power, strook through the black and settled night of Ignorance," etc. (*Of Ref. in England*); and other instances might be found. Again, in his poetry there are just (if the verbal indexes have guided me properly) five passages, in addition to the present, where the word in either form occurs; and in three of these instances, as here, we have, in the original editions, "*strook*": thus—

"The monstrous sight
Strook them with horror backward."

Par. L. VI. 863.

"So strook with dread and anguish fell the Fiend,"

Par. Reg. IV. 576.

". . . by mortal finger strook."

Ode Nat. 95.

In this last instance the word rhymes to "*took*." The other two instances are as follows:—

"Satan had not to answer, but stood struck."

Par. Reg. III. 146.

"And with blindness internal struck."

Sam. Ag. 1686.

In the former of these "*struck*" seems to have been chosen to avoid such a recurrence of sound as "*stood strook*"; and in the second "*struck*," as the final word, better conveys the sense of abruptness. There is also one passage (*Par. Lost, IX. 1064*) where we have the form "*strucken*."

170. "*What if the breath*," etc. Newton quotes Isaiah xxx. 33.

174. "*His red right hand*." Bentley quotes Horace, *Od. I. 22*,
• *rubente dextera*.

175. "*Her stores*": i.e. Hell's; the pronoun here preceding the noun.

181—186. "*Each on his rock transfixed*," etc. The anticipation of some such form of increased torment in Hell had already occurred to Satan: see Book I. 325—330.

205. "*venturous*": spelt *vent'rous* in Milton's editions.

220. "*this darkness light*." It has been doubted whether "*light*" is here a substantive or an adjective; but the substantive gives the stronger meaning.

227. "*ignoble ease*." Virgil's *ignobilis oti*, *Georg.* IV. 564 (Newton).

233. "*Chaos judge the strife*." It has been doubted whether the strife in which Chaos is here to act as judge is that just imagined between Fate and Chance, or that also imagined between the Almighty and the Fallen Angels. The former seems decidedly the true meaning. Chaos is the residence of Chance (see line 965 of this Book); and the victory of Chance over Fate would be the triumph of Chaos.

249. "*Let us not then pursue*." "Pursue" means here "to seek after," and the object of the sentence is "our state of splendid vassalage."

263—267. "*How oft amidst*," etc. Newton and Todd quote Ps. xviii. 2, Ps. xcvi. 2, and 1 Kings viii. 12.

278. "*The sensible of pain*": i.e. either the sensible property of pain (*τὸ sensible*, as Hume puts it), or the sensibility to pain.

282. "*Of what we are and where*." Such is the reading of the First Edition; but in the Second, Third, and subsequent editions, it is "*Of what we are and were*." Tickell (1720) restored "*where*."

285—290. "*as when hollow rocks*," etc. Hume compares Virgil, *Æn.* X. 98, and Todd compares Homer, *Iliad*, II. 144.

299—309. "*Which when Beelzebub perceived*," etc. Observe how, in the account of the Infernal Council, Milton reserves the decisive speech for the great angel, Beelzebub, not absolutely the chief of the host, but nearest to the chief, and in private possession of his plans. He does not speak till the subject has been discussed on different sides by three preceding speakers, and he can observe the state of feeling produced. Moloch, the fierce and defiant, has advised open war; he is reckless of all farther consequences, and would brave even annihilation. Belial, the plausible and effeminate, is for submission and passive endurance. Mere existence has charms for him; anything is better than annihilation; and he suggests that in the mere lapse of time changes for the better may occur, and that, at all events, there will be an accommodation to circumstances. Mammon, in the main, or in the negative part of his advice, agrees with Belial; but, being a more inventive and architectonic spirit, he throws a positive element into his counsel,—to wit, that, while accepting present circumstances, they should

make the best of them by industry and ingenuity, and so develop the material and economic resources of Hell. There can be no doubt that Milton, in these three speeches, had in view a kind of poetic representation of three very common types of human and national statesmanship,—types which he might have found about him in the political world of England while he was writing. In most emergencies men may be distinguished into three sorts: some taking the Moloch view of affairs, which recommends action at all hazards; others the Belial view, which recommends slothful epicureanism; and others the Mammon view, which recommends material thrift and the accumulation of wealth at whatever abandonment of antecedents, enterprises, and higher ends. It is while the infernal assembly are under the influence of Mammon's speech, and are clearly more disposed to go with him and Belial than with Moloch, that a greater statesman than all three rises,—greater in his very look of grave thought and majesty, and greater also in what he has actually cogitated and means to propose. For the proposition which Beelzebub rises to submit differs, it will be found, from the previous advices precisely in this, that it is *specific*,—a definite plan, adapted to the exigency. In its nature it is a compromise between Moloch's policy and the other; but it is so far on Moloch's side that it does contemplate action,—not, however, the blundering action into which that hot spirit would have rushed, but a course of action subtle and well considered.

310—340. "*Thrones and Imperial Powers*," etc. This part of Beelzebub's speech, and, indeed, the whole of it, so far as controversial, is mainly a reply to Mammon, whose counsel at that moment had met with general approbation. In the very act of opening his address to the Angels by their titles of dignity, Beelzebub grapples with the prevailing sentiment. "*Thrones and Imperial Powers, offspring of Heaven*," he begins, "or rather shall I now call you Princes of Hell, since so the vote seems to be going, and ye are pleased with Mammon's picture of the Empire that, by industry and art, ye may build up in Hell? O, doubtless! a fine vision, but for one little consideration which ye have not taken into account." He then goes on to show that Mammon's scheme proceeds on the supposition of a total disconnexion between the realm in which they now are and Heaven. But, that supposition being wrong,—Hell, though so far separated from Heaven, being still within Heaven's jurisdiction, and the Almighty not having given it up to the outcast Angels as a waste world of which they may make the best they can, unnoticed and unregulated, but meaning still to rule there with his iron sceptre, as in Heaven with his golden one,—Mammon's scheme is robbed of its feasibility. He wants to do what he likes with his own; but what if it be not his own?

332. "*voutsafed*." So the word is generally spelt by Milton, perhaps to avoid the disagreeable sound of *ch* before the *s*. See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 51, 52.

332—336. "*what peace . . . but custody severe . . . what peace . . . but hostility and hate*." Richardson notes the violent construction of *but* here, and quotes, as analogous, the phrase "*Ei liberorum, nisi divitiæ, nihil erat*," from the *Menachmi* of Plautus.

344—378. "*What if we find some easier enterprise? There is a place*," etc. Having disposed of Mammon's project, and having also glanced, but only slightly, at Moloch's blustering alternative, Beelzebub now develops his own practical proposition. The whole passage is an important one in the plan of the Poem.

351—353. "*so was His will*," etc. Heb. vi. 17; with a recollection also, as Hume noted, of *Iliad*, I. 528, and *Æn.* IX. 104.

367. "*puny*." Perhaps, as Newton suggested, in its etymological sense of *puisé*, after-born, or later-born (*post-natus*).

378—380. "*Thus Beelzebub pleaded his devilish counsel—first devised by Satan, and in part proposed*." See Book I. 650—656, and the note there. Milton, it will be seen, is careful to remind his readers that Beelzebub's proposition was not original on his part, but only a development of an idea which had been already suggested to all the Angels by their supreme chief on their first muster out of the Burning Lake. Beelzebub may have meanwhile ruminated the idea; or he and Satan may have discussed it between themselves, and the chief may have delegated the exposition of it to his minister, reserving his own appearance for the final act.

387. "*States*": i.e. Estates, as in the phrases "*States of the Realm*," "*Estates of Parliament*," "*the Third Estate*."

388, 389. "*with full assent they vote*." We must suppose here some brief act of voting, by gesture and acclamation, on the part of the whole assembly,—Beelzebub pausing in his speech to permit it to be made, but still standing.

390—416. "*Well have ye judged*," etc. Assuming that all are agreed and that the debate is now ended, Beelzebub, before he sits down, broaches the all-important matter that yet remains,—who shall go as emissary in search of the new World. We may suppose that here too Beelzebub speaks as had been arranged between him and Satan. He does not name Satan, and seems as ignorant as any who shall be chosen for the mission; but his representation of its difficulties and dangers is evidently calculated to discourage inconvenient volunteers.

395. "*with neighbouring arms*": i.e. with our forces then conveniently near.

402. "*her balm*": see note, Book I. 254.

410. "*The happy Isle*": i.e. "the Earth hanging in the sea of air," say the commentators, after Bishop Newton, who quotes an exactly similar expression for the terrestrial globe from Cicero. But this interpretation is wrong. The Angels know nothing as yet of the Earth or the nature of its environment; they know only vaguely of some kind of starry world then about to be created, and probably at that moment newly created in the central part of infinite space where Chaos adjoins Heaven. It is this world, which they cannot figure exactly, but which they can fancy insulated between Heaven and Chaos, that is "the happy isle." To a voyager arriving in it after toiling upward through Chaos it would indeed be an island or insulated world.

412. "*senteries*": i.e. *sentries*. The common derivation of this word and of its other form, *sentinel*, is from the Latin *sentire*, to perceive; but Wedgwood derives both from the old French *sente* (now *sentier*), a path, through its diminutives *senteret*, and *sentine* or *sentelle*, a little path. The sentry or sentinel is the man who walks up and down in a little path. The original is the Latin *semita*, path.

414. "*we now no less*": so spelt in the original edition; but there is a direction among the Errata to change "*we*" into "*wee*," showing that Milton meant the word to be pronounced emphatically here. See Essay on Milton's English, p. 42.

417, 418. "*expectation held his look suspense*": i.e. as he sat, he still kept his look ranging or suspended over the assembly, as if uncertain from what quarter there might be a response.

429. "*unmoved*": possibly "undisturbed by the dangers in prospect," but rather, I think, "unsolicited," "of his own accord."

432—444. "*Long is the way*," etc. In these twelve lines, we have, from Satan's lips, a farther general sketch of the Miltonic zones or divisions of infinite Space, taken in ascending series. First there is Hell, or the huge convex of fire in which the speaker and his hearers are; when that is burst and the adamantine gates overhead are passed, Chaos is reached; and somewhere over Chaos is "the unknown new Starry World." Milton is careful again and again to impress, as occasion offers, this distinct diagram of Universal Space as he requires the readers of his poem to conceive it.

434. "*convex*." The commentators suggest that *concave* would have been the proper word from Satan's point of view; but might he not be imagining Hell as it would be seen from outside itself?

439. "*unessential Night*": i.e. having no real substance or existence,—a kind of vast Non-entity or abortion of Being.

445. "*I should ill become*," etc. Hume compares Sarpedon's speech, *Iliad*, XII. 310, etc.

450—456. "*Wherefore do I assume . . . High-honoured sits?*" A sentence of very close and gnarled structure. "*Refusing to accept*" is equivalent to "were I to refuse to accept," or "were I one refusing to accept." "*Of hazard as of honour, due alike to him who reigns*," etc.: i.e. which two things are equally due to him who reigns. "*And so much more*," etc.: i.e. "as these two things are equally due to a ruler, there ought to be an increase of the one (hazard) assigned him in exact proportion to the amount he has of the other (honour)."

452. "*refusing*": i.e. if I should refuse.

457, 458. "*intend at home . . . what best*": i.e. "study" or "attend to,"—an old, but perfectly exact usage of the word "*intend*"; which means literally "to stretch or bend over."

482, 483. "*for neither do the Spirits damned lose all their virtue*." A remarkable saying, of which, as is well known, Milton claims ample benefit throughout his Poem. The connecting word "*neither*" is of some importance here, as showing that the poet, while describing the reverent demeanour of the Angels to Satan and their praises of his magnanimity and disinterestedness, is already thinking of similar traits of nobleness to be found in bad men. "Let not bad men," he says, "set much store by those casual acts of seeming nobleness to which glory or ambition may doubtless spur even the worst of them; for neither have that other class of evil beings, the irretrievably damned, lost such virtue as this."

486—495. "*Thus they . . . ended . . . as, when from mountain tops*," etc. The construction and meaning are intricate, but may be rendered thus:—"Thus they ended their consultations, which had begun so darkly, in a common feeling of joy and admiration of their chief; just as, at the end of a gloomy day,—when the dusky clouds, ascending from the mountain-tops during a lull of the North-wind, have overspread Heaven's cheerful face, [and] the lowering element has been scowling snow or shower over the darkened landscape,—if by chance the setting sun shoot a beam over the scene, then all brightens and revives." Thyer found the exact phrase, "Heaven's cheerful face," in Spenser (*F. Q.* II. 12, 34); and Newton and others find traces of *Iliad* v. 522—526 and other passages in the whole simile. Mr. Keightley quotes Spenser's 40th Sonnet.

491. "*Scowls o'er the darkened landskip snow or shower*." A bold metaphor; for, unless we enclose the words "snow or shower"

between two commas (which would violate the original pointing), we must understand the "louring element" to be "seowling snow or shower over the landscape." "*Landskip*," spelt "*lantskip*," in the original text.

496, 497. "*Devil with devil damned firm concord holds.*" Todd quotes from the *Contemplations* of Milton's great opponent, Bishop Hall (Book IV.), a very similar saying: "Even evil Spirits keep touch within themselves." Is this saying of the Bishop's also a metaphor from military drill, where all precision of corporate movement depends on each man "keeping the touch" with his individual neighbour? Milton might have borrowed the phrase. We shall find that he *had* the idea.

512. "*A globe of fiery Seraphim.*" This is explained to mean "a battalion in circle," and Bishop Newton quotes a passage from Virgil (*Æn.* X. 373) in which such is the sense of "*globus*." But here in Milton the globe may be a solid globe or sphere; for the Angels, unlike men, being capable of vertical motion as well as of horizontal, may form themselves in solids,—in cubes as well as squares, and in spheres as well as circles. See *Introd.* II. p. 79; and see *Par. Reg.* IV. 581-2.

513. "*horrent*": i.e. bristling.

517. "*sounding alchymy*": i.e. trumpet; this use of "*alchymy*" for any metal being not uncommon in poets.

518. "*By harald's voice explained.*" An official proclamation by voice follows the trumpet-blast, explaining its meaning.

527. "*his great Chief.*" So in the First Edition, but in the Second and others "*this great Chief.*"

530—532. "*As at the Olympian games,*" etc. Newton refers to *Iliad* II. 773; and Hume to *Æn.* VI. 642, as well as to the phrase "*metaque fervidis evitata rotis*" in Horace (*Od.* I. 1, 5), evidently recollected here by Milton.—*brigads*: see note, Book I. 675.

533—538. "*As when, to warn . . . welkin burns.*" Though printed in the original editions, and in most still, as a separate and complete sentence, these lines are, in syntax, but a prolongation of the foregoing. A comparison suggests itself, of the wheelings and brigadings of the Angels just spoken of to the Aurora Borealis; and then the poet pursues the description of that phenomenon for its own sake,—first the appearance of streamers or spears, shooting out singly, and again that of dense legions closing till there is a perfect flickering arch in the northern sky.

539. "*Typhaean.*" See note, Book I. 199.

542—546. "*As when Alcides . . . the Eubœic sea.*" Alcides is Hercules; and the allusions are to the legend of his death, as told by Ovid, *Metam.* IX. Returning from a victorious expedition into Cœchalia in the Peloponnesus, accompanied by Iole, daughter of the king of Cœchalia, Hercules goes to Cœta, a mountain between Thessaly and Macedonia, to sacrifice to Jupiter. His wife Dejanira sends him, by his servant Lichas, the poisoned shirt which she had received from the centaur Nessus, and which, if worn by her husband, was to have the effect, Nessus had made her believe, of recovering his lost affection. Hercules puts it on; then, in the agony of his pain, tears up pines, and hurls Lichas into the Eubœan sea, where he is changed into a rock; and finally, causing a funeral pile to be raised on Cœta, lays himself on it and is burnt to ashes. In the First Edition "Cœchalia" is mis-spelt "Cœalia"; but this is corrected in the Second Edition.

556. ("*For Eloquence the Soul, Song charms the Sense.*") A distinction is here drawn between Eloquence, or the free form of prose discourse, addressing itself to the intellect, and Song or Lyric Poetry, the effects of which are more purely sensuous.

570. "*Another part,*" etc. This is the fourth (or, if we count differently, the sixth) of the great divisions of the Angels whose divers recreations or modes of occupying themselves during Satan's absence Milton thinks fit to mention. One portion (subdivided into three) betake themselves to Games, military evolutions, and feats of strength; a second to Music and Song; a third to Oratory, Philosophy, and Metaphysics; and now a fourth, whose occupations are described more at large, devote themselves to adventure and expeditions of discovery. There can be no doubt that Milton, though it is the world of demons he is describing, had in view the ruling passions and chief pastimes of humanity.

577—581. "*Styx . . . Acheron . . . Cocytus . . . Phlegeton.*" In enumerating these four rivers of Hell, after the classic mythology, Milton gives the exact significance of their names severally in Greek: *Styx* being connected with a verb meaning "to hate," *Acheron* with a verb meaning "to grieve," *Cocytus* with one meaning "to lament," and *Phlegeton* with one meaning "to burn."

583. "*Lethe.*" This name means "Oblivion" in Greek.

589. "*dire hail.*" From Horace, *Od.* I. 2, 1-2, "*diræ grandinis,*" as Newton pointed out.

591. "*all else.*" This is the text in the original editions; but Todd prints "*or else,*" and later editors have followed him. The error almost spoils the meaning of the passage. Milton is here adding to his previous descriptions of Hell. We have already had

the Burning Lake, and the solid sulphury plain forming its shore, whereon, between the hill and the lake, Pandemonium has been built. But now we have an extension of the geographical view, if we may so call it, of the infernal world. "There are the four rivers flowing into the Lake; along the courses of which the four several bands of Angels pursue their exploring expeditions, from the lake upwards far beyond the horizon of the plain. Beyond even the regions so reached is the great river Lethe; on the other side of which is a frozen continent,—the nearer portion of which is beaten with perpetual storms of whirlwind and hail, while all else (*i.e.* all the impenetrable ulterior) is an Arctic solitude of deep snow and ice.

592, 593. "*that Serbonian bog betwixt Damietta and Mount Casius old.*" Damietta or Damietta is a town in Egypt close to the easternmost or Damietta mouth of the Nile; Mount Casius, now Cape Kareroon, is also on the coast of Egypt, farther to the east, towards Syria; and the Serbonian Bog is the ancient Lake Serbonis in that vicinity, which was said to be sometimes so thickened with sands blown upon it that whole armies marching upon it, and thinking it solid, were engulfed.

595. "*Burns froze*": *i.e.* "burns frozen"; *frore* being an old form of our "froze" or "frozen," German *frieren*, *gefroren*.

600—603. "*to starve in ice*," etc. The pain of intense cold seems to have entered most powerfully into the Northern conceptions of Hell, and figures much in the Scandinavian mythology: hence probably the Mediæval theologians allowed it to mingle freely with the more Oriental conception of Hell's torment as consisting in intense heat. Newton aptly quotes Shakespeare's lines in *Measure for Measure*:—

"And the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice."

617. "*Viewed first*": *i.e.* for the first time.

618. "*No rest.*" Dunster cites Matt. xii. 43.

631. "*toward*" in First Edition; "*towards*" in Second.

634. "*Now shaves with level wing the deep*": *i.e.* the surface of the Burning Lake and the mainland, forming the floor of Hell. Newton quotes from Virgil (*Æn.* V. 217), "*Radit iter liquidum*," etc.

638, 639. "*from Bengala, or the isles of Ternate and Tidore.*" Bengala, or Bengal, was not in Milton's time so familiar to his readers as now when it is part of the British Empire; Ternate and Tidore are two of the Moluccas, still retaining those names.

641, 642. "*Through the wide Ethiopian*": *i.e.* through the Indian Ocean on its African side; "*to the Cape*": *i.e.* to the Cape of

Good Hope; "ply stemming nightly toward the pole," i.e. towards the South Pole, till they round the Cape,—the word "nightly" suggesting the Southern Cross that would then be directing their course.

648—673. "Before the gates there sat on either side a formidable Shape. The one," etc. Here begins Milton's famous Allegory of Sin and Death, on which there has been so much comment. To some the introduction of such an Allegory at all, mixing merely Metaphysical Beings, or Personified Abstractions, with what may be called in a sense the Real or Historical persons of the Epic, has appeared in questionable taste; while some of the particulars of the Allegory in the sequel have seemed to not a few little short of disgusting. It may be said that Milton, for the action of his poem, required Sin and Death to be Personages, and had a view to the subsequent use of them as such; and also that, if they were to be so introduced and, to have corporeal form and a genealogy, the disgusting was inevitable and was even to be studied. Leaving such criticism, and accepting what Milton has given us as done deliberately in thorough poetic conviction, we may inquire with interest into the sources from which he drew particulars for his Allegory. The whole passage, as the commentators have pointed out, may be considered as a paraphrase of the Scriptural text (James i. 15), "Then, when Lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth Sin; and Sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth Death"; but in Milton Lust, as the Father of Sin, is identified with Satan, who thereafter, in union with his own daughter, Sin, begets Death: this confused relationship of the three Entities being still farther complicated by the marriage of Death with his mother Sin. The commentators also cite passages from previous poets which Milton may have had in view, and some of which (so close is the imitation) he *must* have had in view, in his description of Sin. See particularly Spenser's personification of Error in the *Faery Queene*, Book I. canto i., stanzas 14, 15, and Phineas Fletcher's description of Hamartia or Sin in the *Purple Island*, XII. 27. Here, as through all Milton's poetry, we see shreds and recollections of his varied readings rising accurately to his memory, and coming forth fused and incorporate with the stream of his own language.

654. "A cry of Hell-hounds," the word "cry" here meaning "pack." Todd quotes "a cry of hounds," in the same sense, from Sylvester's *Du Bartas*; and Mr. Keightley "You common cry of curs" from Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, III. 3.

659—661. "Far less abhorred" (i.e. "to be abhorred") "than these vexed Scylla." The legend, as told in Ovid, was that Circe, being jealous of the nymph Scylla, beloved by Glaucus, poured

poisonous juice into the waters where she bathed, so that, when the nymph touched them, all her body beneath the waist was changed into hideous barking dogs.—“*The sea that parts Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore.*” Scylla, after her metamorphosis, threw herself into the sea between the Calabrian coast of Italy and the island of Sicily, one of the names for which was Trinacria. Here she was changed into the famous rock bearing her name.

662—666. “*the night-hag,*” etc. Having given one simile from the Classic mythology, Milton gives another from the Scandinavian; in which night-hags, riding through the air, and requiring infants’ blood for their incantations, are common, and Lapland is their favourite region. “*Labouring moon*” is classical: “*lunæque labores*” for eclipses, Virgil, *Georg.* II. 478; and “*laboranti lunæ,*” Juvenal, *Sat.* VI. 443. Hume quotes this last. See also Milton’s Italian Sonnet, numbered as Sonnet V.

672. “*his head.*” See note, Book I. 254. Here, if anywhere, we might have expected Milton to use the rare form *its*, seeing that he has twice in the sentence used the nominative *it*, and seems to be purposely avoiding for the moment any distinct masculine name for the monster.

673. “*a kingly crown.*” Job xviii. 14; Rev. vi. 2.

678. “*God and his Son except,*” etc. A curious construction, inasmuch as, taken exactly, it would include God and his Son among “created things.” But there are examples of this sort of construction elsewhere in Milton, and in other poets.

692. “*the third part,*” etc. See note, Book I. 632-3.

693. “*Conjured*”: i.e. *conjuratos*, banded by oath.

709. “*Ophiuchus,*” called also Anguitenens, or Serpentarius (all which names mean “the serpent-bearer”), a large constellation in the northern heaven, stretching forty degrees.

715. “*Heaven’s artillery.*” Todd cites the phrase from Crawshaw, Habington, and Shakespeare (*Tam. of Shrew*, I. 2); but Hume had quoted substantially the same from Juvenal,—“*armamentaria cæli*” (*Sat.* XIII. 83).

716. “*Over the Caspian.*” This sea is chosen either merely for the sake of a name, or because it is “remarkably tempestuous.”

721, 722. “*For never but once more . . . so great a foe*”: i.e. Christ; who is to destroy both Death and the Devil (see 1 Cor. xv. 26, and Heb. ii. 14).

730. “*And know’st for whom*”: printed in some editions with a point of interrogation; but wrongly. Death did know for whom,

as his previous speech shows; and the meaning is "though thou knowest for whom." There is a semicolon only in the original editions.

752.—758. "*All on a sudden*," etc. An adaptation of the Grecian myth of the birth of Minerva or Athene; who was delivered, with birth-pains, from the head of Jupiter. The allegory here, if translated, would mean, that Sin first came into being in the mind of Satan when he conceived his rebellion,—the Universe till then having known no such thing.

795—802. "*These yelling monsters*," etc. So far as this part of the allegory is explicable, Mr. Keightley's explanation is certainly sound. He says, "These are the mental torments that are the consequences of sin, and they are rendered more grievous by the idea of death."

814. "*Save He*": an unusual construction.

830—837. The construction is intricate; and the passage may be pointed in different ways, each giving a consistent meaning. By the pointing I have adopted (which seems to be that suggested by the original text) the phrase "*a place foretold should be*" (i.e. foretold as about to be) is complete in itself, ending emphatically in the word "be"; and the words "*and, by concurring signs, ere now created vast and round*" are a parenthetical guess thrown in before further description of the place. But the parenthesis might end after the words "*ere now*"; in which case "*now*" would be emphatic, and "*should be*" would run on with "*created*." Still other readings might be proposed.

833. "*purlieu*": spelt "*pourlieuss*" in the original editions, and meaning "suburbs." *Purlieu* was originally the outskirt of a forest "free from trees," from *pouraller* (space to walk in), says Skelton, but altered to *purlieu* by confusion with F. *lieu*, a place.

842. "*buxom air*." "*Buxom*," now meaning "handsome," meant originally "flexible" or "easily bowed," and is from the A.-S. *heogan*, to bow. Hume quotes the exact phrase from Spenser (*P. Q. I. xi. 37*); and it is, as Mr. Keightley notes, a kind of translation of Horace's "*cedentem aera*" (*Sat. II. 2, 13*).

855. "*by living might*": so in the First Edition and the Second; but the Third (1678) reads "*wight*."

868. "*The gods who live at ease*." "Word for word from Homer, θεοὶ πάνα ἑσώτες."—Bentley.

880. "*With impetuous recoil and jarring sound*." A line of purposely anomalous metre. But in all this passage there is a studied harmony of sound with the thing signified.

881, 882. "*on their hinges grate harsh thunder*": "*great*" in the First Edition, corrected into "*grate*" in the Second.

891—916. "*the hoary Deep, a dark illimitable ocean,*" etc. Every part of this description of the Deep of Chaos, as seen upwards from Hell-gates, is minutely studied and considered. "*The hoary Deep*" is from Job (xli. 32). The denial to the contents of Chaos of bound, dimension, length, breadth, height, time and place, gives as it were a sudden wrench or shock to the imagination; inasmuch as, at the very moment when the poet is compelling his readers vividly to fancy the upward darkness as a vast material deep, he snatches from them those very qualities which are inseparable from the thought of matter, and which, by the structure of our minds, constitute conceivability. Then, in the phrase "*eldest Night and Chaos, ancestors of Nature,*" there is also a dense compost of difficult conceptions; for "*Nature*" here is used in the sense of "*Creation*" or "*the created Universe in all its parts,*" and there is a reference to Night and Chaos as preceding all Creation, and as being that out of the stuff and in the very body of which Creation, in its two then existing dominions (Hell beneath and the Starry Universe in the centre), had been cut or generated. Again, in the struggle of the four champions, Hot, Cold, Moist, and Dry, for the mastery of the atoms of Chaos, and in the momentary sovereignty of each, according to the momentary majority of his adherent atoms, there is a reference to the old Physical and Physiological system, which accounted for changes in nature and in the human body by the doctrine of four principles or humours,—Heat, Cold, Moisture, and Drought,—contending with each other and causing combinations. Farther on we have introduced, also from the obsolete schools of physical science, the four elements,—Sea (*i.e.* Water), Shore (*i.e.* Earth), Air, and Fire,—with the assertion, that Chaos did not consist of these or of any of them, but of the seeds or "*pregnant causes*" of them all intermixed. In the same sentence we have two additional suggestions, calculated to stun the mind, already perplexed enough: the one, that possibly the Creator may yet form more worlds out of the chaotic stuff, and so extend "*Nature*"; the other, that, as all Nature, extant or future, is from the womb of Chaos, so perhaps all will relapse into Chaos again. Altogether it would be difficult to quote a passage from any poet so rich in purposely accumulated perplexities, learned and poetical, or in which such care is taken, and so successfully, to compel the mind to a rackingly intense conception of sheer Inconceivability.

899. "*mastery*": in the original "*maistrie.*"

921, 922. ("*to compare great things with small.*") A phrase, as Hume noted, from Virgil, *Parvis componere magna* (Ec. i. 24).

922. "*Bellona*": the goddess of War.

924—927. "*or less than if this frame of heaven (i.e. the sky of our Universe) were falling, and these elements in mutiny (i.e. the four elements losing their balance) had,*" etc.

927. "*vans*": i.e. "fans," wings.

928—942. "*surging smoke . . . cloudy chair.*" We have already been told (888, 889) that, on the opening of Hell-gates, there was a sudden upward rush of flame and smoke into Chaos. On this gust Satan is for a while borne aloft vehemently. Its force spent, he begins to fall, till another explosion carries him again up. "*That fury stayed*": i.e. the force of this explosion ending,—"*quenched*" (a fit word for a fiery explosion) "*in a boggy Syrtis,*" etc.,—he is able by toil of wing and foot to continue the ascent. The Syrtes were two quicksands on the African coast of the Mediterranean.

934. "*fathom*": in the original "*fadom.*"

943—947. "*As when a gryphon . . . pursues the Arimasgian,*" etc. Explained by Newton as follows: "Gryphons are fabulous creatures, in the upper part like an eagle, in the lower resembling a lion, and are said to guard gold mines. The Arimaspians were a one-eyed people of Scythia, who adorned their hair with gold (see Lucan's *Pharsal*. III. 280). Herodotus and other authors relate that there were continual wars between the gryphons and the Arimaspians about gold; the gryphons guarding it, and the Arimaspians taking it whenever they had opportunity (see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VII. 2)."

944. "*moory dale*": in the original "*moarie.*"

956. "*the nethermost Abyss*": the lowest portion of the Abyss. Satan had already ascended far, and was now at least half through the Abyss (see lines 1007, 1008); but he may be supposed not to have known that.

959—967. "*the throne of Chaos,*" etc. Here we have another cluster of what may be called metaphysical Entities, placed by Milton in or near the heart of Chaos: *Chaos* himself, personified as King of the Abyss; his consort, *Night*; and around their throne *Orcus* and *Ades* (two vague names for Pluto, or his realm, among the ancients), *Rumour*, *Chance*, *Tumult*, *Confusion*, and *Discord*, together with "*the dreaded name of Demogorgon.*" This last awful personage, it is said, is first distinctly named in the Christian writer Lactantius, who lived in the beginning of the fourth century. But, in so naming him, Lactantius is believed to have broken the spell of a great mystery. For, though never named by the ancients, he was known

to them. "Lucan's famous witch Erectho," says Bentley, "threatens the Infernal Powers that were slow in their obedience to her, that she could call upon some being at whose name the Earth always trembled." Now, this being, of whose tremendous powers other ancient poets besides Lucan make mention, though they also abstain from the name, is supposed to be the Demogorgon of Lactantius. He is, accordingly, included among the ancient gods by later writers on Mythology; and Milton himself speaks of him in one of his Latin prose-writings as a primeval or ancestral god of the Classic mythology, probably the same as Chaos. Boccaccio mentions Demogorgon (and, indeed, Bentley supposes Boccaccio to have first coined the word); so do Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser. Thus Spenser, speaking of Night—

"O thou, most auncient Grandmother of all,
More old than Jove, whom thou at first didst breede,
Or that great house of Gods cæstiall;
Which wast begot in Dæmogorgons hall
And sawst the secrets of the world unmade."

F. Q. I. v. 22.

And again, of the three weird sisters—

"Downe in the bottome of the deepe Abyse,
Where Demogorgon, in dull darknesse pent,
Farre from the view of gods and heavens bliss,
The hideous Chaos keepes, their dreadfull dwelling is."

Ib. IV. ii. 47.

Milton, therefore, had good authority for placing Demogorgon in Chaos, and speaks of him properly as "the dreaded name."

969. "*this nethermost Abyss.*" See note on line 956.

972. "*The secrets of your realm.*" See the first of the two above-quoted passages from Spenser.

977—987. "*or, if some other place, from your dominion won . . . mine the revenge!*" The exact meaning of this passage is worth attending to. Satan asks Chaos and Night to direct him the nearest way to Heaven; or, if (as he surmises) the new Universe of which he is in search has by this time been cut or scooped out of the upper part of Chaos immediately under Heaven, then to direct him the nearest way thither. As this new Universe is a space seized and subtracted from the ancient dominion of Chaos,—a bit of upper Chaos, so to speak, forcibly reclaimed by the Deity, organised, and appended to Heaven,—Satan naturally appeals to the resentment of the Powers of Chaos, and promises them that, if they assist him, he will do his best to re-conquer the lost territory and reduce it back to Darkness.

984. "*To her original darkness.*" See note, Book I. 254.

998—1009. "*I upon my frontiers here,*" etc. Satan has judged rightly. The old Anarch, the lord of Chaos, is in a state of resentment. He is grieving over the recent curtailment of his ancient Empire,—nay, two successive acts of curtailment: first the conversion of the bottom of Chaos into the new Hell or Infernal World for Satan himself and his fellows; and, next, the excavation of "Heaven and Earth," or the new Starry Universe of Man, out of Chaos atop. [Notice that Heaven in the phrase "Heaven and Earth" in line 1004 is used in quite a different sense from that in which it has been chiefly used in the poem hitherto, and in which it is immediately afterwards used in line 1006,—the "Heaven and Earth" of the former line being actually hung, like a pendant, from the vaster "Heaven" of the latter.] These two excisions from his Empire, below and atop, have left him, he ruefully says, but little now to defend. To defend what is left, he is keeping residence on his "frontiers,"—i.e. on his upper frontier towards the new Universe; for, a few lines on (1007, 1008), he tells Satan that he has not now far to go. As, however, the excavation of the Starry Universe had cut down into Chaos on that side, the Court or residence of the Anarch, though now on the frontier of Chaos, may have been still near its original centre; and it may have been the not allowing for this encroachment upon Chaos atop (which had happened since the descent of the Angels through it) that made Satan suppose he was still not more than half through Chaos (see notes, lines 956 and 969) when he was really much farther up.

1001, 1002. "*Encroached on still through our intestine broils, weakening,*" etc. So in all the original editions; but Dr. Pearce (1732) proposed "*your*" instead of "*our*," and most subsequent editors have accepted the emendation as necessary. It is evident, they say, that "*our*" must have been a misprint, because the Anarch did not mean that Chaos was encroached upon through the broils of himself and his companions, but referred to the broils of Satan and the Angels. Notwithstanding this unanimity, I return to the old reading,—which I believe to have been Milton's own. It is really superior to the other. For it would have been not strictly correct, and more than polite, for the Anarch, in addressing Satan here, to have attributed the diminution of his own Empire to intestine broils among those Fallen Angels whom his hearer represented. There *were* no such broils. If, indeed, he spoke to Satan as representing *all* the Angels, celestial as well as fallen, he might then have used the phrase "*your intestine broils.*" But such a supposition is not needed. "My Empire is being weakened by these intestine broils going on among us" is what the Anarch said and might well say, using a form of speech which implicated all existing beings, and none particularly.

1013. "*like a pyramid of fire*": a magnificent simile, suggesting the dwindling radiance of the Angel's bulk as it shoots rapidly upward from the sight through what remains of Chaos.

1017—1020. "*than when Argo*": i.e. the ship in which Jason went to Colchis for the golden fleece, "*passed through Bosphorus*,"—i.e. through the straits into the Black Sea; "*betwixt the jussling rocks*,"—i.e. betwixt the Symplegades, two rocks at the entrance of the Black Sea; "*or when Ulysses on the larboard shunned Charybdis*,"—i.e. kept to the left of it, "*and by the other whirlpool steered*,"—i.e. by Scylla.

1023—1028. "*But, he once passed . . . a bridge of wondrous length*." The building of this bridge between Hell and the Human Universe is afterwards described at length Book X. 235 *et seq.*

1029, 1030. "*reaching the utmost Orb of this frail World*": i.e. not the outermost star or the star nearest Chaos, but the outermost boss or circle of the Starry World as a whole. This will be explained more clearly farther on. See Book III. 418—420, and note there.

1033. "*God and good Angels*." Todd quotes the phrase from Shakespeare (*Rich. III. V. 3*): "God and good angels fight on Richmond's side." Perhaps it was proverbial.

1034—1037. "*But now at last . . . from the walls of Heaven*," etc. Heaven is here used in its vaster sense, as implying not the heaven of our world, but the pre-existing Infinity of Light over Chaos. It is this that shoots down a glimmering influence through the upper part of the Darkness.

1037. "*Nature*." See note, lines 891—916.

1038. "*farthest verge*": in the original editions "*fardest*."

1041—1047. "*That (i.e. So that) Satan with less toil*," etc. Observe the gradual diminution of density in the element in which Satan is moving as he approaches the light. It is first "*a calmer wave*,"—i.e. still comparable to a liquid, though a liquid no longer in commotion; but, three lines on, it is "*the emptier (i.e. the more rarefied) waste, resembling air*."

1047. "*Empyrean*": so always accented in Milton, while the form *Empyræan*, whether as a substantive or as an adjective, is always accented on the penultimate.

1048. "*undetermined square or round*." The figure of Heaven cannot be determined even by the far-ranging eye of Satan ascending from Chaos; and this either because really it *has* no bounds (though the imagination, compelled to select some figure even for Infinity, generally thinks of it as a sphere); or because, Satan's eye being

directed straight upwards, it is but such an undefined portion of the overstretching dome that he sees as might be seen of *our* Heaven by a diver re-ascending through transparent water in mid-ocean.

1051. "*And, fast by,*"—i.e. fast by Heaven,—"*hanging in a golden chain*" (an adaptation, which the poet has already suggested in lines 1005, 1006, of Homer's metaphor of the golden chain fastened to the throne of Zeus, by which he "can draw up the gods and the earth and the sea and the whole universe" when he pleases), "*this pendent World,*" etc.—The reader must be careful not to misunderstand this passage. The "pendent World" is not our planet Earth; and it is not meant that what Satan saw was this planet of ours with the Moon by her side. This, on a hasty reading, might seem to be the meaning; and even Addison, in his celebrated criticism of *Paradise Lost*, fell into the error. He speaks of Satan's distant discovery "of the Earth that hung close by the Moon" as a "wonderfully beautiful and poetical" passage. But Milton's notion, in the passage, is very different. Satan as yet knows nothing of our Earth; nor, at the distance at which he yet is, has the Starry Universe resolved itself into its diversity of orbs. Besides, if the Earth was seen "*as a star of smallest magnitude,*" the Moon could not be seen along with her; and the pointing of the original requires the phrase "*as a star of smallest magnitude close by the moon*" to be read continuously and as a simile. The "*pendent World,*" in short, is the whole starry Universe as suspended from the Infinite or original Heaven over Chaos; and its proportions to the eye of Satan as yet are suggested by saying that, if Heaven were represented by the Moon's disc, the pendent Universe seemed but as a small star on the Moon's lower edge. Observe also that it is implied by this image that Satan was approaching the new Universe, and preparing to light upon it, not at its nadir or undermost part, which would have been the part reached first had his ascent from Hell been in a direct line, but somewhere on its upper hemisphere near the zenith, where it was hung from the Empyrean Heaven. This has indeed already been suggested in lines 1034—1039; where Satan is described as having arrived so near the walls of Heaven as to be able to perceive a glimmering dawn of light shooting down into Chaos and making it less turbid,—which would not have been the case unless he had by that time made a circuit round the lower half of the outmost shell of the Universe, and come into the angle made by its upper arc and the boundary-line of Heaven. But the present image makes the fact clearer. Only to such a *side-view* of the new Universe as would present it hanging totally clear of the Heaven to which it was mystically suspended would it appear like a star on the full-moon's edge; and, had Satan been approaching the Universe at or near its nadir, its rotundity would have been *between* him and

Heaven. That this observation is not unimportant will be seen in the sequel. The phrase "pendent World" occurs in Claudio's celebrated speech in *Measure for Measure* (III. 1); which, we have already seen, was familiar to Milton.

BOOK III.

1—55. "*Hail, holy Light,*" etc. "A noble passage, which will always be read with peculiar interest as containing Milton's grand lamentation on his blindness! But observe, at the same time, how fit is such an opening for the Third Book, and how, while forming a kind of lyric by itself, it also serves the purpose of the Epic at the point at which it has now arrived. The story having hitherto lain in Hell and in Chaos, it is but natural that the poet and his readers, following Satan in his flight upwards from those lurid and darksome regions, and emerging with him at last into the Upper Universe, brilliant with the light of Heaven, should, ere proceeding farther with the narrative in the new scenes now disclosing themselves, feel the novelty of the blaze, and be delayed by the strange sensation.

2, 3. "*Or of the Eternal coeternal beam may I express thee unblamed?*" i.e. may I rather, without blame, call thee the coeternal beam of the Eternal Himself?

3—5. "*since God is light, and never,*" etc. See, for Milton's warrant for these expressions, 1 John i. 5, and 1 Tim. vi. 16. (Hume.)

7—12. "*Or hear'st thou rather pure, Ethereal stream, whose,*" etc.: 12. "*dost thou rather prefer to be called the pure Ethereal stream, whose,*" etc.: a Latinism, of which there are other instances in Milton. "*Matutine Pater, seu Jane libentius audis?*" (Morning Father, or dost thou rather hear Janus? i.e. wouldst thou rather be called Janus?) is an example, cited by Bentley from Horace, *Sat.* II. vi. 20. Uncertain what to call Light, Milton gives the option of three names: the first-born of Heaven; or the eternal effluence and dwelling of Eternal Deity; or, finally, that pure ethereal stream whose origin is unknown, because (according to Genesis, chap. 1.) Light preceded our Heavens and the Sun. Hume quotes also Job xxxviii. 19.

11. "*The rising World of waters dark and deep.*" Newton quotes Spenser (*F. Q. I. i. 39*): "And through the world of waters wide and deep."

14—18. "*Escaped the Stygian Pool*" (i.e. Hell), "*though long detained in that obscure sojourn*" (i.e. in Chaos).—"Through utter and through middle Darkness borne": i.e. through the two stages of Chaos: the nethermost, before the court and throne of Chaos were reached; and the upper.—"*While . . . with other notes than to the Orphean lyre I sung,*" etc.: i.e. "while, under a different inspiration from that which taught Orpheus when he sang his 'Hymn to Night,' and also, as is said, of the creation of the World out of Chaos, I sung," etc.

19. "*Taught by the Heavenly Muse,*" etc. See Book I. 6, *et seq.*

25, 26. "*drop serene . . . or dim suffusion.*" Two phrases from the medical science of Milton's day, when diseases of the eye, as well as other diseases, were supposed to arise from affections of what were called "the humours." *Gutta serena*, or "the drop serene," was a form of total blindness which left the eyes perfectly clear or serene, without outward speck or blemish. Such was Milton's blindness (see his Sonnet to Cyriack Skinner); but, as he was not perfectly certain that his case was one of *gutta serena*, he brings in the other medical term, "dim suffusion."

29. "*Smit with the love,*" etc. Virgil, *Georg.* II. 476: "*percussus amore.*" (Hume.)

30. "*the flowery brooks beneath.*" Kidron and Siloah. See Book I. 10—12, and the note on that passage. In calling them "flowery brooks" Milton uses his fancy, rather than the strict truth, as to these Eastern scenes.

33—36. "*those other two . . . blind Thamyris and blind Mæonides, and Tiresias and Phineus.*" Instead of two, Milton gives us four of his great predecessors in blindness; but the "two" are the first two,—who were poets, whereas the other two were prophets. Mæonides is Homer himself, reputed by some to have been the son of Mæon. Thamyris, or Thamyras, was a mythical poet and musician of Thrace, of whom the story was that he challenged the Muses to a trial of skill, and was struck blind by them for his presumption: he is mentioned several times in Homer. Tiresias, the blind prophet of Thebes, was a great character in the legends of the Greeks, and figures as the oracle of his time in the "*Œdipus Tyrannus*" of Sophocles and in other celebrated dramas. Phineus, a blind king and prophet, is made by some a Thracian, by others an Arcadian, contemporary with the Argonauts. It is notable that Milton, even before his blindness, had a kind of fascination for the instances supplied by legend or history of men of noble intellect suffering under this calamity, and that, next perhaps to Homer, Tiresias was his favourite instance. See the Sixth of his Latin

Elegies (lines 67, 68), and his poem *De Ideâ Platonici* (lines 25, 26).

38, 39. "*the wakeful bird (the nightingale) sings darkling*": i.e. in the dark. On the word "*darkling*" Hume noted, "A word by our author coined, and which I have nowhere else met with." It occurs, however, in Shakespeare (*Lear*, I. 4),—"So out went the candle, and we were left darkling"; and Richardson, in his *Dict.*, quotes it from Milton's contemporary, Dr. Hammond,—"He is fain to go to bed darkling." According to Dr. Morris (*Hist. Outlines of English Accidence*), "there were some adverbs in Old English, originally dative feminine singular, ending in *inga*, *unga*, *linga*, *lunga*," and "a few of these, without the dative suffix," exist still under the form of *ling* or *long*: e.g. *sideling*, *sidelong*. *Darkling* is of the same group. In Scotch we have still *darklins*, "in the dark," *backlins*, "in a backward manner," and the like: and this genitive adverbial form, says Morris, is found also in the English of the 14th century.

40—50. "*Thus with the year Seasons return; but, not to me returns,*" etc. Compare the longer passage in Samson Agonistes (67—109), where Samson laments his blindness.

47—49. "*and, for the book of knowledge fair, presented with a universal blank of Nature's works, to me expunged and rased.*" The meaning is:—presented with a universal blank page or surface (*tabula rasa*) of Nature's works, instead of the matter or printed book. Nay, as "blank," in the original text, is spelt "blanc," there may be a reference to whiteness. For Milton himself tells us, in a letter written on the subject of his blindness (Epist. Fam. 15; *Leonardo Philaræ Atheniensi*), that the darkness in which he was involved seemed, in the earlier stages of his blindness, nearer to whitish or grayish in colour than to absolute blackness. Hume was puzzled by the passage, and suggested "*blot*" for "*blank*," but most needlessly.

50—55. "*So much the rather thou, Celestial Light,*" etc. As Milton, even before his blindness, had a fascination, as if by presentiment, for the subject of blindness, so a very familiar thought with him was of the increase of real insight, and the development of a higher and more prophetic vision, that might come to those to whom terrestrial vision was denied. When he himself became blind, the thought that it might be so in his own case became his constant consolation. See, in addition to the passages from his other works referred to in the immediately preceding notes, a long passage in his *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*, in which, in answer to the inhuman jests of his opponents to the effect that his blindness was a judgment upon him for his Regicide opinions, he discusses the

whole subject of blindness and its compensations, and enumerates, besides Tiresias and Phineus, many splendid historical examples of blindness undeserved by crime and ennobled by high intellectual and moral endowment.

59. "*His own works and their works*": i.e. "and the works, or proceedings, of those works."

62—64. "*on his right . . . his only Son*." See Heb. i. 2—9.

70—72. "*and Satan there*," etc.: i.e. still in the "gulf between," or Chaos, but now in the upper belt of it, coasting the wall of Heaven, on this side of Night or absolute Darkness, in a region as of dun or yellowish-brown air.

74. "*On the bare outside of this World, that seemed*," etc. The meaning here is that Satan was then just alighting on the outermost boss or shell of this Universe; which outermost boss, approached from Chaos, seemed like firm land,—only not land overhung, as that of our Earth is, by a firmament of stars, but land imbosomed in a gloomier element that might either be water or cloud. In short, let the reader fancy an opaque hollow shell, the interior of which consists of the vast azure space, or telescopic universe, in which all the stars and planets wheel, while its outside rests or moves in a turbid brown, or wine-coloured element, totally starless, and consisting of the matter of Chaos attenuated by approach to Light; and he will have the poet's idea at this point. Satan is on the outside of the huge sphere, as yet but coming up to it, and, as it were, feeling for it, as a fly or moth (let the distinctness of the illustration excuse its homeliness) may be seen striking against the glass globe of a lamp. Indeed, if we suppose a lamp-globe not transparent, but of some opaque or dull substance, so that, while there is a bright luminous sphere within, the room outside is dun or darkish, then the image will be exact.

81. "*our Adversary*." See note on Book I. 81, 82.

84. "*interrupt*": the past participle passive (*interruptus*), "thrown ruggedly between."

100, 101. "*Such I created all the Ethereal Powers*," etc.: i.e. in this respect there is an identity of constitution between these new creatures, Men, and their predecessors in existence, the Angels.

108. ("*Reason also is Choice*.") Bishop Newton here gives an apt quotation from Milton's *Areopagitica*: "Many there be that complain of Divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! When God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose; for reason is but choosing." In other words, as Stillingfleet points out, Reason is speculative, and Will is practical, choosing. In this whole passage Milton would seem to attach himself rather

to the Libertarian than to the Necessitarian side in the great metaphysical controversy.

129. "*The first sort*": i.e. the Angels.

153. "*With his own folly*——" The sentence here breaks off imperfect, by the figure of speech called Aposiopesis. What follows, to the end of line 164, may be considered as matter intercalated; and the connexion is resumed at line 165. In the original text, indeed, there is a point of interrogation after "*folly*"; with which the sentence may be read as complete. The reading which Milton intended, however, is, almost certainly, the other.

153—155. "*That be from thee far*," etc. See Gen. xviii. 25. (Newton.)

168—170. "*O Son*," etc. All the names for Christ here introduced are, as Bishop Newton points out, Scriptural: see Matt. iii. 17, John i. 18, Rev. xix. 13, 1 Cor. i. 24.

176. "*His lapsed powers*": a legal expression.

189. "*What may suffice*": i.e. as much as may suffice.

196. "*Light after light well used they shall attain*." The construction is "they shall attain to light after light well used"; and, in reading, this might be indicated by a slight pause before "after," and one after "used."

217. "*all the Heavenly Quire stood mute*." It is noted here, by Bishop Newton, as more than a coincidence, that so the Fallen Angels had "sat mute" in Hell, when the mission was proposed which Satan alone undertook (see Book II. 417 *et seq.*)

231. "*unprevented*": i.e. unanticipated.

247—265. "*Thou wilt not*," etc. Various Scriptural texts are embodied in this passage, e.g. Psalm xvi. 10, Acts ii. 20, 1 Cor. xv. 55, Psalm lxviii. 18, Coloss. ii. 15, 1 Cor. xv. 26.

281, 282. "*whom thou only canst redeem, their nature*," etc. The construction is "join to thy nature their nature (i.e. the nature of those) whom thou only," etc.

287—289. "*As in him perish*," etc. See 1 Cor. xv. 22. (Hume.)

317—343. "*All power I give thee*," etc. Another metrical coagulation of Scriptural texts. See Matt. xxviii. 18, Eph. i. 20, Phil. ii. 9, 1 Thess. iv. 16, Matt. xxiv. 30, 31, Rev. xx. 11, 1 Cor. xv. 51, 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13, Rev. xxi. 1, 1 Cor. xv. 24—28, Psalm xcvi. 7, John v. 23. It is worthy of remark that Milton, in these speeches of the Father and the Son, should have been thus careful to suppress his own invention absolutely, and to keep close to the words of the

Bible. This speech is tinged with many texts besides those here cited.

353. "*Immortal amarant*," etc. Amarant, which means in Greek "unfading," is the name given by Pliny to a flower, real or imaginary, of purple colour, described as preserving its bloom indefinitely after being plucked. Milton appropriates the name, but makes it that of no earthly flower. There is an *officer* of *Amarantacea* or Amaranth, in our present botany, to which "Love-lies-bleeding" and other garden flowers belong.

360. "*With these*": i.e. not with the "crowns" or the "amarant and gold" of line 352, but with the "Elysian flowers" mentioned since then.

362—364. "*Now in loose garlands . . . smiled*." The construction seems to be, "The bright pavement that shone like a sea of jasper" (i.e. of different colours, with green predominant) "smiled impurpled with celestial roses" (the red among the forementioned flowers), "now thrown off thick in loose garlands." But the syntax of this whole passage, from line 344 onwards, is very difficult; and it may be pointed several ways.

• 372—415. "*Thee, Father*," etc. These forty-four lines represent the choral hymn of the Angels, in honour first of the Father, and then of the Son. Parts of the passage, indeed,—particularly from line 384 or line 390 to line 415 inclusively,—might be put within inverted commas as the actual words of the Hymn. On the whole, however, it suits the wording and construction best to suppose the passage to be only Milton's report or imagination of the Hymn in his own person,—not an actual Chorus, as in the Greek dramas. The original editions do not settle the point for us, as inverted commas are not used in them for indicating the speeches. Among the texts of Scripture fused into the language of the Hymn the commentators have noted Isaiah vi. 2, Col. i. 15, 16, Rev. iv. 14, Heb. i. 3, John i. 9, Micah v. 15.

377. "*but when thou shad'st*": i.e. "except when," etc.

380. "*Dark with excessive bright*," etc. Burke points out that here Milton is scientifically exact. "Extreme light," he says, "by overcoming the organs of sight, obliterates all objects, so as in its effect exactly to resemble darkness." But exactness in all allusions to luminous effects, as well as a habit of recurring to such by way of imagery, was perhaps one of the results of Milton's blindness. See *Intro. II. pp. 103—108*.

383. "*Thee next they sang*." Here Milton uses what is now the ordinary conjugation of the verb, *sing, sang, sung*. But, in general, he makes *sung* the preterite tense, as well as the past participle; and

there is an instance only eleven lines back (line 372), "*Thee, Father, first they sung.*" His practice, I believe, varies in the same way with such similar verbs as *Sink, Ring, Drink, Begin*, etc. Our grammarians now point out that, if we were to be rigidly accurate in our use of such verbs according to Anglo-Saxon precedent, we should decline the preterite *sang* thus: "*I sang, Thou sungest, He sang; We sung, Ye sung, They sang*"; changing the *a* into *u* in the second pers. sing. and in all the persons plural,—seeing that this change took place in the Anglo-Saxon as an accompaniment to the terminal inflexions which these parts underwent (Thou *sunge*, We *sungon*, Ye *sungon*, They *sungon*). In reality, however, our best writers are guided by no such principle, but only by habit and ear. And I see no other principle that guided Milton. His habit was to say *sung* for the preterite; but sometimes, as here, he preferred *sang*.

394, 395. "*that shook Heaven's everlasting frame*": Todd quotes the exact phrase from Fairfax's *Tasso* (ii. 91): "Again to shake Heaven's everlasting frame."

413, 414. "*My song . . . my harp.*" Bentley, who treats the passage from line 372 to line 415 as a choral Hymn of all the Angels, points out that "our song" and "our harps" would have been fitter expressions, and thinks that here, as in other parts of the passage, either Milton or his scribe was careless. But the first person singular is frequently used in the Greek choruses, even when many are singing; and Milton might have had that in view. On the whole, however, as has been said, the entire structure of the passage is adverse to the idea of its being the direct chorus of the Angels; and hence we conceive "my song" and "my harp" to be expressions of Milton himself imagining the chorus so vividly as to join in it or feel its influence.—"*Shall be the copious matter of my song.*" So, as Todd pointed out, Dante (*Par.* i. 2): "*Sarà ora materia del mio canto.*" But Ovid, Spenser, and poets generally, have the phrase.

418—422. "*Meanwhile, upon the firm opacous globe . . . Satan, alighted walks.*" Satan had been left only approaching the "bare outside" of the World and ready to alight on it (lines 70—76, and note thereon); but now he *has* alighted. Farther descriptions and circumstances are accordingly brought in, to enable the reader to conceive this globose exterior surface of our Universe, on which he had his footing. It is firm and opacous; for it is the "first convex,"—*i.e.* the outermost shell,—of this round World; itself resting or turning in the starless gloom of Chaos, and holding enclosed within it "the luminous inferior Orbs,"—to wit, that succession of smaller astronomical spheres of which the luminous interior of the World consists. Note carefully that the word *Orb* is here again

used not in the sense of a single star or luminary, but as the name for one of those vast imaginary spheres of space,—one lying within another, as in the curious nests of ivory balls made by the Chinese,—by whose supposed motions, in part common and in part mutually independent, the ancient astronomers accounted for all the celestial phenomena. Respecting these Milton is to say more presently.

427—429. "*Save, on that side*" etc. Round the whole of that outer shell of the Cosmos, the globularity of which Satan could see as he approached it, but which, now that he is on it, seems a vast-stretching continent, Chaos blusters; but, naturally, the environment is milder on its upper boss, down upon which some glimmer from the overhanging Heaven or Empyrean may be supposed to descend. It is on this upper boss that Satan has alighted. See note, Book II. 1051 *et seq.*

430. "*Here walked the Fiend at large in spacious field*": i.e. on the outer surface of the Universe, as (to revert to our former homely image) a fly might walk on the outer surface of a thick and rather opaque lamp-globe, on the whole tending to the top, nearer the orifice of the light.

431—441. "*As when a vulture,*" etc. Milton's figure for the motions of the Fiend on the outside of the Universe is far more poetical than that just suggested; and its significance is more moral than physical, though still physical too. "*As when a vulture,*" he says, "*bred on Imaus (i.e. on the Himalayas, which word means "snowy countries"), leaving the remoter regions of Asia, makes for the springs of the Ganges or of the Hydaspes (i.e. the Jhelum, one of the tributaries of the Indus), in search of the prey to be found there, but, in his way, lights on the barren plains of Sericana (an indefinite tract east of India,—including part of what is now South-eastern Thibet and South-western China,—inhabited, according to the ancient geographers, by a nation called the Seres, from whom came "Sericum" or Silk); so the Fiend, coming from Hell and Chaos, and seeking to gain admission into the inside of the Starry Universe, where his prey is to be found, is detained for the present on its bleak outside.*" It has been pointed out that Milton's recollection of maps must have become hazy when he made Sericana or any part of China lie between Imaus and the springs of the Ganges and the Hydaspes. But it may be answered that, though he makes the vulture "*bred on Imaus,*" he does not necessarily make it *come* from Imaus in this flight. In any case, if his geography is wrong, the passage affords proof of his readings in geographical books. In the succinct Latin account of China and the Chinese accompanying the map of China in the pretty little Atlas of P. Bertius, with maps by Hondius, published at Amsterdam in 1616, the following sentence

occurs: "They have invented chariots which they drive over the plains with spread sails without the help of cattle"; and the same account is repeated in the *Cosmography* of Milton's contemporary, Heylin. Milton's accurate imagination, or his reading in some book where the account was more minute, suggested the phrase "their cany waggons light,"—which would so vividly bring the probable Chinese mechanism before us, even if we were not told by recent travellers that the mechanism still exists in China and that the waggons are of bamboo. The lightness of the waggons and their being driven by wind are circumstances that help out the analogy between barren Sericana and the bleak outside of the World.

440. "*this windy sea of land*": a phrase suggesting the struggle of three of the elements,—the globose shell itself firm, but like a sea in its immensity, and blown upon by winds from Chaos.

444—497. "*None yet; but store hereafter*," etc. These fifty-four lines form altogether one of the most extraordinary passages in the poem. It is extraordinary both for the wild vastness of the conception, and for the grim humour discernible through it:—Satan, walking up and down on the windy outside of this Universe, finds not a creature on it but himself. But this was not long to be the case. In the course of time, this outside of the World was to be turned to sufficient account, and was to receive an ample population both of men and things. For it is this comfortless outside of the World as a whole, rolling in Chaos and blown upon from Chaos, that is the true "Limbo of Vanity," or "Paradise of Fools." The Roman Catholic Church had recognised, under the name of "*Limbus Patrum*," or the "Limbo of the Fathers," a certain region on the edge or border of Hell (*limbus*, "a hem"), set apart for the souls of such of the patriarchal Israelites and of such of the virtuous Heathen as could not be admitted into Heaven on account of the false hopes to which they had trusted for salvation, but could not well be sent to Hell. Some had fancied, with Ariosto, that the Moon was such a Limbo, or receptacle of human delusions and fallacies, and of those who believed in them. But no! The beautiful satellite of our Earth had, perhaps, its inhabitants; but they must be Saints or Semi-Angelical beings, such as fitted those silver fields! The true "Limbo of Vanity," to which all the nonsense and vain enthusiasms of the Earth and of man tended, and where they would arrive at last, was not any place within the whole visible Starry World, but was actually the outside surface of that World,—the bleak outside shell of the Universe as bounded by Chaos. But how do vanities, false enthusiasms, and their believers arrive there from the Earth? This also Milton explains; and, in doing so, he necessarily gives, by anticipation, a sketch of the

interior constitution of that Universe the outside of which only is yet known to the Fiend of the story. Especial attention must be paid to this portion of the text, thus incidentally and almost parenthetically introduced (lines 463—497, and more particularly lines 481—489), as it involves Milton's Astronomical scheme of "Nature," or the organised Universe proper, as distinct from Infinite Heaven and Hell and Chaos. This is one of the passages, in short, in which Milton most explicitly avows that the Cosmology in which he believed, or which at least he had thought it proper to adopt for his poem, was not our present Cosmology, but the pre-Copernican, Ptolemaic, or Alphonsine Cosmology, which supposed our Universe to consist of a succession of spheres of space wheeling with various motions round our Earth as their stationary centre. See a detailed explanation of this Ptolemaic system in connexion with the scheme of *Paradise Lost* in the Introduction, II. pp. 87—95.

Observe how Milton uses the Ptolemaic doctrine in the passage under notice. Satan is on the outside of the Tenth Sphere or Primum Mobile; which is of firm opacous substance, though the inferior Orbs which it encloses are invisible or of transparent azure. There is nothing as yet on the outside of this shell of the Universe towards Chaos; but ere long it becomes the Limbo of Vanity for the Earth,—the suitable receptacle or lumber-room for all Earth's vain theories, vain enthusiasms, bubble-projects, utopias, and the authors and dupes of such after they are dead. But how do they arrive there? How do these productions of the Earth, which is the central ball of the Universe, reach this distant outside of the Universe's outmost sphere? In this manner, according to Milton:—Although the outmost Sphere is a firm opacous shell, there is one opening in it at least,—a break or round hole at that topmost point of the shell where it is in near contact with, and as it were hangs from, the Eternal or Empyrean Heaven. This point, of course, is exactly at the upper pole of the starry Universe, where its axis ends in the Empyrean; for, as the shell is rotating, only at the pole could an opening be constant at the same place. In other words, if we adapt the notion to our own vision, and the up and down of our maps, this open spot in the outer shell of our Universe, at which the whole hangs pendent from the Empyrean as if by a golden chain, and through which there is a communication between the Empyrean and all the azure sphere of stars and worlds, lies beyond and behind our north Pole-Star. Situated at that open termination of the axis of the Universe, vision would look down, as from the zenith, or an orifice in the dome, of all Nature, and behold all the stars and other luminaries performing their mazy courses in the azure sphere underneath, with the minute Earth exactly in the centre of all, right underneath the orifice. Whatever, therefore,

would reach the Empyrean Heaven from Earth must do so by ascension right upwards to this polar orifice in the *Primum Mobile*, so as to pass through it. By this way, as we shall see, pass the spirits of the Just, ascending to Heaven's Gate and the Eternal mansions. To the same orifice, and by the same mode so far of ascension from the Earth through the intermediate spheres, tend also the vain enthusiasms and aspirations of men, and the spirits that have been puffed up by them. For it is to be noted that the instances that Milton selects to illustrate the sort of men and things destined for his Limbo of Fools (lines 467—480) are all of men and things that sought to get to Heaven on false pretences: the giants before the Flood (Gen. vi. 1—4); the builders, after the Flood, of that tower of Babel on the plain of Shinar or Sennaar, whose top was to reach to Heaven (Gen. xi. 1—9); Empedocles, the Greek philosopher of Sicily, who was said to have thrown himself into the crater of *Ætna*, that by the disappearance of his body it might be thought he had been taken up as a god, and whose expectations in that respect were disappointed by the discovery of his iron sandal flung up from the crater; Cleombrotus, the Ambracian youth, who was so ravished by Plato's discourse on the immortality of the soul that he threw himself into the sea in his haste to realise the promised Elysium; and, lastly, the mediæval hermits, pilgrims to the Holy Land, etc., together with the Friars,—Carmelite, Dominican, and Franciscan,—whose pretensions to sanctity were such that at last it became a belief that even laymen, if they died in friars' robes, would be passed into Heaven. These, and all such, says Milton, ascend from the Earth in the direction of their wishes,—*i.e.* towards the orifice leading to the Empyrean. They pass the Planets seven; they pass the Fixed, *i.e.* the Firmament or the Sphere of the Fixed Stars; they pass the Ninth Sphere, "whose balance weighs the trepidation talked,"—*i.e.* the sphere whose libration or swaying motion accounts for the precession of the Equinoxes so much talked of,—here called also the "Crystalline" sphere in deference to the notion, which theologians had contributed to the Ptolemaic astronomy, that this Ninth Sphere must be the place of those "waters above the firmament" which God on the second day of creation (Gen. i. 6, 7) had divided from the "waters under the firmament"; nay, finally, they pass the outermost sphere, the *Primum Mobile*, "that first moved." Thus they are in the very gap or orifice pointing to the gate of the Empyrean. They think they see St. Peter at his wicket; they lift their feet to ascend the celestial stair leading to the wicket; when lo! cross gusts of those winds of Chaos which bluster all round the Universe, and do not cease even at this its axis towards the Empyrean, blow them, right and left, them and all their trumpery, "over the backside of the World," ten thousand leagues away, into the Limbo prepared for them.

There are Limbos in other poets,—in Dante, in Ariosto, etc.; but Milton's Limbo, which seems to be a conception of his own, beats them all. A grave humour, as we have said, runs through the whole passage. Meanwhile the Fiend is still on the outside of the Universe,—the fly on the dark lamp-globe.

498—539. "*All this dark globe the Fiend found . . . till at last a gleam of dawning light turned thitherward in haste (i.e. in the direction of the gleam) his travelled (perhaps travailed) steps.*" The meaning is that Satan, after much walking on the dark outside of the World, catches a glimpse of the light streaming down at the polar orifice described in the preceding note. He makes towards this spot, which is then more minutely described, in terms and with circumstances which fully bear out the anticipations in that note. In the wall of Heaven, or the Empyrean above, Heaven's Gate is visible; and ascending to this Gate is a structure of stairs or steps, each of mystic or symbolical meaning, like that which Jacob saw in his dream (Gen. xxviii. 10—19); which stairs are now let down as if to dare the Fiend, or aggravate him with the thought of his exclusion from Heaven; though sometimes they are drawn up out of sight. Underneath these stairs is a bright sea of jasper or pearl, which Saints from Earth, whether like the beggar Lazarus (Luke xvi. 22) or like the prophet Elijah (2 Kings ii. 11), have to cross on their way to glory; which sea,—as the poet in his Argument prefixed to this Book has identified it with "the waters above the firmament,"—must be supposed to be a segment or arc of the Ninth or Crystalline Sphere, visible through the orifice in the Primum Mobile. As to that orifice we are left in no doubt. It opens direct under or against the Gate of Heaven, and is continued in the direction of the axis of the Universe straight down to the Earth in the centre, over the seat of Paradise. This passage or shaft from the Empyrean down to Earth is wider far than that which afterwards opened into the Starry Heaven above God's holy mountain of Sion, or even than that over the whole Land of Palestine from Paneas (or Dan) to Beersheba, when the ether above all that sacred region rustled with the wings of Angels carrying God's messages to His favoured people; for now the whole Earth enjoyed those regards which were afterwards so concentrated. Finally, round the opening or passage bounds are set to Darkness or Chaos, which is there circularly shoved back.

555—563. "*Round he surveys,*" etc. This is the Fiend's first glimpse of the World he has come to ruin. He is standing on the lower stair of the flight ascending to the Gate of the Empyrean, and gazing down through the opening into the vast blue Universe of stars and rolling luminaries. As the circling canopy of Night does

not extend to where he is (by Night here is to be understood not Chaos, as in so many passages hitherto, but the ordinary Night of our Universe, or the moving shadow of the Earth cast by the Sun in his diurnal revolution), he can behold all at once. He takes two glances: one longitudinal, *i.e.* from East to West; or (as Milton particularly expresses it in language the astronomical accuracy of which will appear to any one who may consult a celestial globe) from the constellation Libra at one point of the celestial equator to that fleecy star Aries at the opposite point which seems to be drawing the neighbouring constellation Andromeda westward with it; the other in the direction of depth or latitude ("breadth"), *i.e.* from the pole at which he stands right through to the opposite pole. In the very act of taking the second glance he plunges down precipitate through the open shaft. Observe the poet's skill in making the plunge take place in the same sentence and clause with the downward glance,—nothing stronger than a comma between.

563—565. "*winds with ease through the pure marble air his oblique way amongst innumerable stars.*" Satan's first plunge was perpendicular. This perpendicular plunge has carried him right through the World's "first region," *i.e.* to within the Ninth or Crystalline sphere; but now that he has got to the Eighth sphere, or firmament of the fixed stars, he flies obliquely,—*i.e.* keeps in the arc of that sphere,—descending through the "marble" air (*i.e.* glistening air) towards the equator, but winding about among the stars, in case one of them should be his object. Though the Earth which he seeks is in the centre of the starry sphere, he does not yet know that; not in his glance from the pole aloft does he seem to have noticed the central ball at all,—probably from its minuteness at that distance. On the phrase "*amongst innumerable stars,*" Mr. Keightley notes: "He here seems to quit the Ptolemaic for the Copernican astronomy, for according to the former they were all fixed in the face of one sphere, so that he could not well be said to wind his way *among* them." But in the Ptolemaic system, or at least in the later form of it, the stars do not seem to have been supposed as all fixed in absolutely the outermost superficies of one sphere, and therefore at the same distance from the Earth, but to have been studded in banks in a spherical revolving shell of some thickness, some nearer the Earth and others more remote. See the diagram at p. 92 of Introduction, taken from an astronomical woodcut of 1610. Thus there would be plenty of room for Satan to wind his oblique way *amongst* the stars. Milton held his conceptions too firmly to make such a slip as is suggested.

571—573. "*above them all* ("above" in the sense of "more than," not in the sense of "overhead of") *the golden Sun . . . allured his eye.*"

Though the Sun in the old astronomical system was but one of the seven planets, yet it was supposed to be the luminary of greatest mass and splendour in the whole starry sphere. Thus Shakespeare speaks (*Troilus and Cressida*, I. 3) of "the glorious planet Sol"; and Milton, farther on in this poem, describes the Sun as containing embodied in his single globe a large proportion of the light of the Universe. Attracted by the Sun's surpassing splendour, Satan makes towards it.

574—576. ("but up or down, by centre or eccentric, hard to tell, or longitude.") Whether "up or down": one or other it would be, according as he had descended past the Sun's place or was still above it when he made for it; "by centre or eccentric," i.e., as we understand, by spiral motion round the centre or spiral motion inwards on one side of the centre; "or longitude," i.e. motion eastwards or westwards.

588—590. "a spot like which," etc. Spots on the Sun were first observed with the telescope by Galileo in 1611.

592. "metal." In the original editions this word is printed "med. l."

597. "to the twelve that shone in Aaron's breast-plate." "To the twelve" here seems to mean "and the rest of the twelve." For the twelve stones in Aaron's breast-plate, see Exod. xxviii. 17—20.

602, 603. "they bind volatile Hermes": i.e. solidify fluid mercury or quicksilver.

603, 604. "call up unbound . . . old Proteus . . . drained through a limbeck to his native form." Whoever wished to consult the oracular sea-god Proteus had great difficulty in fixing him in his native shape, as he would assume a hundred forms ere he could be bound (*Odys.* IV. 405 *et seq.*, and *George* IV. 444 *et seq.*) But Proteus here stands for the "elementary matter" or prime substance which the Alchemists sought in their transmutations. They tried to get at it by distilling substances in alembics or chemical vessels.

607, 608. "elixir pure . . . potable gold . . . the arch-chemic Sun." One of the quests of the Alchemists was after an *elixir vite*, or liquid to preserve and prolong life; and *aurum potable*, or potable gold, was an ideal form of this rarity, or something analogous. Newton quotes from Shakespeare (*King John*, III. 1):—

"The glorious Sun
Stays in his course, and plays the alchemist."

616—619. "But all sunshine, as when his beams at noon culminate from the equator, as they now shot upward still direct, whence," etc. The recurrence of the word "as" here makes some difficulty. The meaning is: "Where Satan was,—i.e. on the Sun itself,—all was

sunshine without visible shadow, just as, on Earth at the equator at noon, the Sun's beams striking vertically downwards, in the self-same manner that they were now shooting directly upwards, cause opaque objects to have no slanting shadow round them."

622. "*Saw within ken*," etc. At a good distance off from the point of the Sun's surface where he had landed, and, as it were, across a shining plain, Satan sees the glorious Angel.

623. "*The same whom John saw*." See Rev. xix. 17.

627. "*fledge with wings*": i.e. feathered or plumed with wings. We now use the form *fledged* (past part. of the verb *to fledge*, meaning either "to grow feathered" or "to feather"); but the adjective *fledge* is found in old writers: e.g. in Holland's *Pliny*, "the young cuckoo being once fledge" (Rich. *Dict.*) Skeat notes *flegge*, ready to fly, as the proper old English form. Milton repeats the word *fledge* in *Par. Lost*, VII. 420; and it occurs in his prose.

643. "*succinct*": girt up.

648—650. "*The Archangel Uriel—one of the seven*," etc. The Jews believed that there were seven Archangels, exalted in dignity above all the rest of the Heavenly Host; and there is a recognition of this belief in the Apocalypse (Rev. i. 4, v. 6, and viii. 2). Three of these seven, according to theological and poetical tradition, founded on passages of Scripture or of the Apocrypha, were Michael (Dan. x. 13, Jude 9, and Rev. xii. 7), Gabriel (Dan. viii. 16, ix. 21, and Luke i. 19 and 26), and Raphael (Book of Tobit, xii. 15). To these three poetic tradition has ascribed a kind of pre-eminence even among the Archangels. They are the three Archangels who sing the song of the Elements in the Prologue to Goethe's *Faust*. Uriel, whom Milton here makes one of the seven, is mentioned as an Archangel in the 2nd Book of Esdras, and recognised in Rabbinical writings as a fourth Archangel, standing, with the other three, near to the throne of Deity. Five other great Angels are specifically named by Milton, on his own or on Rabbinical authority, in the course of *Paradise Lost*,—Abdiel, Ithuriel, Zophiel, Uzziel, and Zephon; but which of these were the three Archangels remaining to make up the seven is not suggested. It seems to have been Milton's wish that his readers should consider Satan before his fall to have been an Archangel coequal with Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, if not even above them (see Book V. 658—661); and I am not quite sure but he means to hint (Book VI. 29—43) that Abdiel received promotion in Heaven after Satan's rebellion for his peculiar fidelity in the midst of it.

658. "*Where all his Sons thy embassy attend*." The meaning is that Uriel, as one of the greatest seven, was wont to hear the Deity's

will in the inmost Court of Heaven, and then to carry it to where (or to the more general Court where) the multitude of Angels waited to hear it announced.

668. "*these shining orbs.*" "Orbs" now used in our present sense.

690, 691. "*Uriel, though Regent of the Sun,*" etc. The name Uriel signifies in Hebrew, "God's light" or "God is my light," and Uriel was considered the Angel of Light. Hence he is Regent of the Sun in Milton; and hence the expectation that he in especial would be clear-sighted.

693. "*In his uprightness,*" etc. Todd quotes Job xxxiii. 3.

710, 711. "*Confusion heard his voice,*" etc. See Book II. 959—967.

712—721. "*at his second bidding,*" etc. : *i.e.* at the fiat "Let there be light"; which, in Genesis i. 1—5, may be read as a second bidding on the first Day of Creation.

716. "*this ethereal quintessence of Heaven*": *i.e.* Light; of which Milton here speaks, as some ancient philosophers did, as a fifth and purer existence, distinct from the four "cumbrous" or gross elements of Earth, Water, Air, and Fire. See Book VII. 243, 244.

721. "*the rest*": *i.e.* that residue of Light, or the Fifth Essence, which had not been coagulated into stars and other luminaries, but remained in a diffused state. As Newton remarked, there is a recollection here of Lucretius, V. 450—472; and the phrase in that passage "*magni mœnia mundi*" may have suggested the wording of this line.

730. "*her countenance triform*": *i.e.* crescent, full, and waning. Stillingfleet noted Horace, *Od.* III. 22, 4, "*Diva triformis.*"

733. "*That spot to which I point is Paradise.*" Paradise is to be conceived as a considerable tract, visible, where Uriel was, as a spot on the Earth's rotundity.

740. "*the ecliptic*": *i.e.*, as then understood, the Sun's orbit round the Earth.

741. "*Throws his steep flight in many an æry wheel.*" Thyer compares the description in Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* IV. 24) of the descent to Earth of the magician Atlante on his hippogriff:—

• "Accelerando il volator le penne
Con larghe ruote in terra a posar venne."

742. "*on Niphates' top he lights.*" Niphates, now Nimroud-Tagh, a mountain-range in Armenia, on the north-west bank of Lake Van, and between the Upper Tigris and one of the branches of the

Euphrates; hence near to the tract supposed to have been Paradise. The word Niphates implies "snowy range"; and the highest peaks reach 10,000 feet. Dunster notes that in the *Æneid* (IV. 252 *et seq.*) Mercury, when sent by Jupiter to Æneas at Carthage, alights first on Mount Atlas, and thence flies precipitant to the sea-coast, and that in Tasso (*Ger. Lib. I. 14, 15*) Gabriel similarly alights on Mount Libanus. Compare also Milton's account of Satan's flight through the air and descent on Rome in his Latin poem *In Quintum Novembris*, 48-53.

There are 742 lines in this Book of the Poem; but the numbering in the original edition gives 756 lines. This arises from a misnumbering at the ten after line 590, whereby the line that should have been numbered 600 is marked 610, and from a miscounting, by which eleven lines after line 720 (in the original called 730) are given as ten.

BOOK IV.

Argument: "Gabriel promises to find him ere morning": so in the Second Edition; the First has "to find him out."

1-5. "O for that warning voice, which he who saw the Apocalypse," etc. See Rev. xii. 7-12; which passage the poet has closely in view in these opening lines.

10. "The tempter, ere the accuser, of mankind." In the passage in the Apocalypse just cited, describing Satan's "second rout" from Heaven, he comes to Earth as "the accuser of the brethren" (Rev. xii. 10); but in the action of the poem he is the Tempter. The word Devil, from the Greek *Diabolos*, means "Slanderer" or "Accuser."

11. "To wreak": i.e. "to avenge" (A.-S. *wrecan*): hence, as Mr. Keightley remarks, our modern expression "to wreak vengeance" is incorrect. In the original editions the word is spelt "wreck."

20-23. "within him Hell he brings," etc. The idea here is an old one. Todd finds it in various authors, including Bede, who says of the Devils (*Ecl. Hist. Book V. chap. xv.*), "*Ubicunque, vel in aere volitant, vel in terris aut sub terris vagantur sive detinentur, suarum secum ferunt tormenta flammarum.*"

25. "Of what he was, what is," etc. Todd compares Ovid, *Trist. IV. 1, 99*, "*Dum vice mutata qui sim fuerimque recorder.*"

32-41. "O thou," etc. These ten lines were probably the first written of the whole poem. Milton's nephew Phillips remembered

having seen them as early as about 1642, when it was Milton's design that the poem should be a Tragedy. They were to be the opening lines of the Tragedy: see Introd. II. pp. 47-49.

39. "above thy sphere": i.e. above the sphere of the Sun in the Ptolemaic sense,—the fourth of the Spheres round the Earth.

50. "sdained": the Italian form (*sdegnare*) of our word "to disdain," used also by Spenser and others.

79. "O, then, at last relent," etc. Some suppose this speech to be addressed to the Deity; but it is more natural to take it as an address to Satan himself.

III—113. "Divided empire," etc. God ruling in Heaven, above Chaos, Satan, claiming to rule in Hell, under Chaos, might consider that he already divided empire with him; but, if the new Universe, cut out of Chaos, could be added to Hell, so as to belong to the same dominion of Evil, then Satan might claim to reign "more than half." Greenwood compares the line attributed to Virgil, "*Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet*."

114, 115. "each passion dimmed his face," etc. The meaning is, not, as usually interpreted, that Satan's face grew pale three times,—first with ire, then with envy, then with despair; but that a shadow or dim scowl of each of these passions in succession passed over his face, followed by paleness.

121. "Artificer of fraud." In the poem *In Quintum Novembris* (line 17) Milton calls Satan "*fraudum magister*."

126. "the Assyrian mount": i.e. Niphates, in Armenia, near the border of Assyria proper, but within the general region often named Assyria.

131—171. "So on he fares, and to the border comes of Eden, where delicious Paradise, now nearer, crowns," etc. Observe here the distinction between Eden and Paradise. Eden is the whole tract or district of Western Asia (the exact boundaries of which, as the poet fancied them, are given a little farther on) wherein the Creator had designed that men should first dwell; Paradise is the Happy Garden situated in one particular spot of this Eden,—on its eastern side, as the poet afterwards suggests, following one interpretation of the passage (Gen. ii. 8), "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden." Satan, descending from Mount Niphates, reaches the border of Eden, and obtains, from that distance, a nearer view of the Paradise lying within it. It is somewhat difficult to evolve out of Milton's language in the passage an exact representation to the eye of the scene described; but the following appears to be what is meant:—At some distance from that border of Eden at which the Fiend has

arrived he sees the beginning of a thick wilderness of underwood, mixed with lofty trees, ascending in terraces, so as to form a vast, shaggy, circular hill. On the "champaignhead" of this hill,—i.e. the level table-land on its summit,—is Paradise. It is ringed round by a verdurous or green wall of turf, higher than the highest of the trees on the slopes outside; and within the wall is seen a circle of fruit-trees, the trees of Paradise itself, over-topping even the wall and glowing in the sun. See subsequent notes on lines 208—210, and lines 210—214.

147, 148. "*loaden with fairest fruit, blossoms and fruits at once,*" etc. The phrase "*loaden with fairest fruit*" is repeated exactly *Par. Lost*, VIII. 307, and substantially *Par. Lost*, IX. 577. Mr. Browne notes here: "Milton, speaking of what hangs on the tree, calls it *fruit*; but, when plucked, *fruits*." He refers, in illustration, to lines 249 and 422 of the same Book, and to Book V. lines 341, 396, Book VIII. 307, and *Comus*, 396. Mr. Browne's remark, however, hardly expresses the fact,—which is that Milton, when he thinks of a mass of fruit, or of one piece of fruit, uses the singular; but, when he thinks of many individual fruits, or of various kinds of fruits, whether hanging or plucked, the plural. For example, in this very passage, the "fruits" of line 148 are the same as the "fruit" of line 147, still unplucked, but only thought of distributively. See also *Comus* 712; *Par. Lost*, V. 87, VIII. 44, 147, IX. 745, 996, X. 565, 603, 687.

151. "*Than in fair evening cloud.*" Bentley substituted *on* for *in*, and most editors have followed him,—quite unnecessarily.

153. "*landskip*," spelt "*lantskip*" in the original edition. The word occurs four times in Milton's poetry,—here, *P. L.* II. 491, V. 142, and *L'All.* 70,—and always as *lantskip*.

159—165. "*As, when to them who sail beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow Sabeian odours from the spicy shore of Araby the Blest,*" etc. The fact that the fragrance of spices from lands where they grow may be perceived far off at sea had been noted by many authors,—e.g. Diodorus Siculus, who mentions it more particularly with respect to that part of Arabia known to the ancients as Arabia Felix or Arabia Beata (Arabia the Happy or Blessed); of which Saba was a town. But, in imagining that sailors, who had rounded the Cape, and got as far in their northern voyage along the African coast as past Mozambique, could distinguish perfumes coming from Arabia,—and especially that such perfumes could be carried to them there by a north-east wind,—Milton seems, in his blindness, to have forgotten geographical distances and bearings. Mr. Keightley, in his *Life of Milton* (p. 430), has pointed out this in the following comment on the passage:

"What is here asserted is an impossibility. Any one who will look on a map of the world will see that, when a vessel going to India has passed Mozambic, the coast of Arabia is due north to her, and at an immense distance,* with a portion of the east coast of Africa interposed." In the maps of Africa in Milton's days, however (at least in one which I have of the date 1616), the east side of Africa trends away west from Cape Guardafui to the Cape of Good Hope so much more rapidly than in our present maps that a vessel off Mozambique in *them* would not be due south, but rather south-west of Arabia Felix. Hence, in the matter of bearing, Milton's recollection of his maps was not so incorrect as it must be admitted to have been in the matter of distance.

168—171. "*Than Asmodeus with the fishy fume,*" etc. See the story of the Evil Spirit Asmodeus in the Book of Tobit in the Apocrypha. In love with a Jewish maiden, Sara, living in the Median city Ecbatana, he destroys her husbands in succession, till at last, after her betrothal to Tobias, the son of Tobit, he is foiled by a device of the Angel Raphael. Instructed by Raphael, Tobias burns the heart and liver of a fish he had caught in the Tigris; "the which smell when the Evil Spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the Angel bound him" (Tobit viii.)—"with a vengeance sent": an early instance of the use of this phrase in its present somewhat whimsical sense of "most emphatically."

177. "*that passed*": a peculiar construction, for "that should have tried to pass."

178. "*One gate there only was, and that looked east on the other side.*" See subsequent note, lines 210—214.

181. "*At one slight bound high overleaped all bound.*" Todd, after Stevens, cites a similar play on the word "*bound*" from *Romeo and Juliet*, I. 4. Milton occasionally, though not so often as Shakespeare, indulges in this play on words. Mr. Browne instances lines 286 and 530 of this Book, and also IX. 11 and XI. 627.

193. "*So since into his Church lewd hirelings climb.*" See John x. 1—16, and compare *Lycidas*, 113—131. *Lewd* meant originally "laic," or belonging to the laity as distinct from the clergy (A.-S. *læwed*): hence "ignorant" or "illiterate"; hence "low," "base," "dissolute."

194, 195. "*and on the Tree of Life, the middle tree,*" etc. See Gen. ii. 9, and Rev. ii. 7.

200, 201. "*what, well used, had been the pledge of immortality.*" The commentators have been puzzled by this passage. Satan being immortal already, they say, did not need the pledge of immortality that would have been given by eating of the Tree of Life; and the

construction does not permit the "well used" to be applied to Adam and Eve. Mr. Ross, however, explains thus: "Milton does not expect us seriously to suppose that Satan could have 'well used' the Tree of Life, and thereby secured immortal happiness; but his imagination is struck by the mere proximity of the Fiend to the 'life-giving plant'; and, to make the reader vividly realise what he himself has vividly felt, he speaks of what only *seems* possible as if it really were so." Hume, noting the same difficulty in the passage, had long ago suggested that Milton must have had "some allegoric sense" in his mind, and was not sure but it might have been the conceit of Rupertus in his commentary on Gen. iii. 22,—to wit, that neither Adam nor the Devil himself knew anything of the Tree of Life in the garden or of its virtues. Adam, in the poem, certainly knows of the tree (see sequel, line 424); but, if Satan had known of it, then, Hume suggests, he might have made Adam and Eve eat of it after they had eaten of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and so doubled his malice by making them immortal in their sin and misery. This is supersubtle, but there may be something in it. Milton may have meant that Satan sat like a cormorant on the Tree of Life, using it for the mean purpose of prospect only, and little aware of its mysterious virtue, and of the higher uses to which it might have been turned even by himself.

208—210. "*for blissful Paradise of God the garden was, by him in the east of Eden planted.*" See note on lines 131—171. *Paradise* is, originally, a Persian word, signifying an enclosed park or pleasure-ground. It was adopted into Greek, and was used by the Septuagint translators for the garden in Eden; which word *Eden* is Hebrew, and means "Joy," or "Deliciousness."

210—214. "*Eden stretched her line from Auran eastward,*" etc. Volumes have been written as to the site of the true Eden of Scripture,—the recognition of which in our present Earth had, as the commentators supposed, become more difficult in consequence of the changes made by the Noachian deluge. By some the whole of Asia from the Ganges westward was understood as included in Eden; some theologians fixed the site as near the Persian Gulf; while other inquirers, not so much considering the Mosaic account as searching for the probable cradle of the human species on other grounds, have placed Eden in Cashmere and other parts of the East. What may be called the most orthodox hypothesis is that which Milton follows. It places Eden in Syria and Mesopotamia. Milton gives his own notion of the exact limits in one direction as being from Auran on the west (*i.e.* Hauran or Auranitis, a district in Syria lying south of Damascus, beyond the east frontier of the Holy Land, and recognisable in our modern maps by the name of the mountain Jebel-Hauran

still marking it) to Seleucia on the east,—the royal city of the Greek dynasty of the Seleucidæ, built on the Tigris about B.C. 300, in the district supposed to have borne long before that date the Scriptural name of Telassar (see Isaiah xxxvii. 12), and now near Baghdad. If the reader will refer to our present maps, he will find that the region thus indicated is about 450 miles wide from west to east, and that it was so situated with respect to Mount Niphates, or Nimroud-Tagh, in Armenia, that Satah, approaching it from that mountain, must have come upon its *northern* frontier, but at a spot much nearer to its eastern extremity (Telassar, where Seleucia afterwards was) than to its western extremity (Hauran). But this corresponds with the supposed site of Paradise in Eden. It was eastward in Eden (Gen. ii. 8),—*i.e.* it was in that part of the ancient Assyria, or the present Turkish government of Baghdad, where the Euphrates and the Tigris approach each other in flowing south. It will be observed that Milton, notwithstanding this partial definiteness, still leaves the geography of Eden partly indefinite. He does not, for example, give its boundaries north and south, but only east and west. So, also, though Satan must necessarily, according to the description, have come upon Eden by its northern frontier, we are somewhat confused by finding that he approaches the Hill of Paradise on its west side (see line 178),—the side opposite to that where was its only gate. We may suppose, if we choose, that the Fiend, after crossing the frontier of Eden, advances for a while due south, and then turns east, so as to attack Paradise on its west side. But here, too, there may be a haze in the poet's recollections of his maps.

223—246. "*Southward through Eden went a river large,*" etc. Milton has here closely in view the sequel of the passage in Genesis already cited: "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became four heads. The name of the first is Pison; that is that which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold. . . . And the name of the second river is Gihon; the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel (Tigris); that is it which goeth towards the east of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates" (Gen. ii. 10—14). It is impossible to identify this river-system of the Scriptural Eden with the existing river-system of the Syrian and Mesopotamian region supposed to be Eden in the poem. Much ingenuity has been spent on the attempt to do so; but many commentators have been content to suppose an alteration of the river-system of Western Asia by the Deluge. Milton, it will be seen, gets rid of the difficulty by adhering to the Scriptural account and yet adapting it to his own description of Paradise without naming the rivers. One large river flowing south through Eden (afterwards identified by him with the Tigris, Book IX. 71), he

supposes to pass, *engulfed in a subterranean channel*, right through or underneath the Hill or Mountain of Paradise,—the fertility of which, as of a vast mass of garden mould, was maintained by a fount thence sucked up and dispersed in rivulets above. This river, after thus passing through or underneath the hill, reappeared at the other side, and there received, in the form of cascades down the southern slope of the hill, the rills which it had lent in its passage. It then divided itself, in the plain south of Paradise, into four great streams: these streams thence pursued each its course through many a famous Asiatic land; but it is less necessary, he says, to follow *them* in their wanderings than to describe the effects of the fount from the subterranean parent stream in irrigating Paradise. He therefore abstains from further description of Eden at large, and goes on to describe the Happy Garden itself, within the verdurous wall, on the champaign mountainhead. It will be seen (lines 236—268) that this tableland of Paradise itself is of considerable extent, containing variety of hill and plain. But the reader must not forget the great river underneath it, and the concealed gulf through which it flows, as these are of importance afterwards.

224. "*his course.*" See note, Book I. line 254.

232 "*his darksome passage.*" See note, Book I. line 254.

250. "*Hung amiable,—Hesperian fables true, if true, here only*": i.e. hung lovely, realising the ancient fables of the gardens of the Hesperides,—fables, if true at all, true only here.

256. "*and without thorn the rose.*" One of the fancies of the Fathers was that, till after the Fall, the rose had no thorns,—a fancy alluded to by Herrick (1647) in these lines, quoted by Todd from one of his poems:—

"Before man's fall, the rose 'was born
(St. Ambrose says) without the thorn."

264. "*The birds their quire apply.*" So, as Bowle noted, Spenser, *F. Q.* III. i. 40:—

"Sweet birdes thereto applide
Their daintie layes."

268—272. "*Not that fair field of Enna,*" etc. Enna, where Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, was carried off by Pluto or Dis, was in the heart of Sicily.

272—274. "*nor that sweet grove of Daphne, by Orontes and the inspired Castalian spring.*" The famous Castaly or Castalian spring of the Greek poets was a stream of Mount Parnassus near the Arch of Apollo at Delphi in Phocis; but the one here meant was a spring which had borrowed the same name, near Apollo's sacred grove of

Daphne in Syria, where the Orontes flows into the Mediterranean not far from Antioch.

275—279. "*nor that Nyseian isle,*" etc. There were not a few places named Nysa in the ancient world; but the particular Nyseian isle here meant seems to be the island in the lake Tritonis, about the middle of the northern coast of Africa, where the river Triton flows from the lake into the lesser Syrtis. Here, according to the account adopted in the text,—but, according to other accounts, at Nysa in Ethiopia, to the south of Egypt,—the infant Bacchus (*Dionysos*) was educated. In the common mythology Bacchus is the son of Jupiter and the nymph Semele, and he is secretly brought up by the nymphs at Nysa, after his mother's death, to avoid the wrath of Juno. But Milton makes him here the son of Jupiter Ammon or Hammon (the Libyan Jupiter) and the nymph Amalthea; and it is from the wrath of Rhea, Saturn's wife and Jupiter's stepmother, that he is hid. So far as Milton has authority for this version of the legend, the commentators find it in Diodorus Siculus.

280—284. "*Nor, where Abassin kings their issue guard, Mount Amara,*" etc. Amara or Amhara is now the name of a large district or tract of high table-land in the middle of Abyssinia, east of Lake Tæan or Dembea, where the Blue Nile has its head. Lying as it does about half-way between the Tropic of Cancer and the Equator, it may be said to be "under the Ethiop line." In this district, in the old maps, sketching Abyssinia when it was less known than now, and was believed to contain the true head of the Nile as a whole, we find marked the single lofty mountain Amara, which was believed to be an important place in Abyssinian history. Here the sons of the Emperor of Abyssinia,—for such is the title that has been borne by the kings of that country since the fifth or sixth century, when they were of some consequence,—were said to be educated in strict seclusion. As showing the prevalence of this story in Milton's time, Todd quotes this passage from Heylin's *Microcosmus* (1627): "The hill of Amara is a day's journey high; on the top whereof are thirty-four palaces, in which the younger sons of the Emperor are continually enclosed, to avoid sedition. They enjoy there whatsoever is fit for delight or princely education. This mountain hath but one ascent up, which is impreguably fortified, and was destinate to this use anno 470 or thereabouts." The reader need hardly be reminded of the use made of this legend or tradition by Dr. Johnson in his story of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia. Such was said to be the delightfulness of the mountain and its neighbourhood that by some it was supposed to be the Scriptural Paradise.

285. "*From this Assyrian garden.*" Here, again, as in line 126, Milton uses the word Assyria in its largest extension.

293—295. "*Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure—severe, but in true filial freedom placed, whence true authority in men.*" By some this passage is pointed so as to make the "*whence*" refer to "*sanctitude severe and pure*," i.e. to imply that such sanctitude is the source of true authority in men. I conceive, however, that to make the "*whence*" refer to "*filial freedom*,"—i.e. make such freedom the source of true authority in men,—is more in accordance with Milton's mode of thought; and the original pointing seems to warrant this.

301. "*hyacinthine locks*": i.e. dark in colour, and curling naturally like the blossoms of the hyacinth. Hume compares Homer, *Od.* VI. 231; where Athene, to increase the beauty of Ulysses, gives him such hair:—

οὐλας ἦκε κόμης ἀκινθίνῳ ἀνθεὶ ὁμόλας.

Eve's hair, on the other hand, is golden and long.

307, 308. "*which implied subjection.*" See 1 Cor. xi. 9—15.

309, 310. "*And by her yielded, by him best received yielded, with coy submission,*" etc. The meaning is "by her yielded with coy submission, etc., and by him best received when so yielded."

323, 324. "*Adam the goodliest man*," etc. These two lines have been pointed out as containing a kind of double bull in language,—making Adam the goodliest of Adam's sons, and Eve the fairest of Eve's daughters. But in Greek and Latin such a construction was not uncommon; and Milton purposely adopts it here. There is a similar construction in Book II. 678: where see note.

337. "*gentle purpose*": i.e. conversation (*propos*). Thyer quotes Spenser, *F. Q.* III. viii. 14:—

"He gan make gentle purpose to his dame."

352. "*Or bedward ruminating*": i.e. chewing the cud as they walked slowly to their place of rest.

362. "*Little inferior*": Psalm viii. 2. (Newton.)

381—383. "*Hell shall unfold*," etc. See Isaiah xiv. 9. (Gillies.)

389. "*public reason just*": i.e. just polity or political expediency.

397—408. "*himself now one, now other . . . a lion now . . . then as a tiger*," etc. In Sylvester's *Du Bartas* ("The Imposture") Satan's successive transmutations of himself into different animals in Eden are thus described:—

c "Our freedom's felon, fountain of our sorrow,
Thinks now the beauty of a Horse to borrow; u
Anon to creep into a Heifer's side;
Then in a Cock or in a Dog to hide;
Then in a nimble Hart himself to shroud;
Then in the starred plumes of a Peacock proud."

408—410. "when Adam, first of men . . . turned him," etc. The construction is "when Adam, thus moving speech to Eve, turned him,—i.e. the Fiend,—all ear," etc.

449. "That day I oft remember," etc. It is implied here that, in Milton's imagination, Adam and Eve had already been together in Paradise for some time. See *Intro.* II. pp. 113, 114.

458—473. "to look into the clear smooth lake," etc. It was pointed out by Stillingfleet that Milton must, throughout this passage, have had in view Ovid's description (*Met.* III.) of Narcissus gazing at his own image in the water.

478. "Under a platane" i.e. a plane-tree.

483. "His flesh, his bone." See *Gen.* ii. 23.

486. "individual": i.e. not to be divided, inseparable (Lat. *individuus*). The word occurs twice besides in Milton's poetry (*Par. Lost*, V. 610, and *On Time*, 12), and both times in the same sense. He uses the word *dividual* twice (*Par. Lost*, VII. 382 and XII. 85) in exactly the opposite sense,—i.e. "separable" or "parted."

493. "unreproved": i.e. not to be reprov'd, blameless. Used once besides in the same sense (*L'All.* 40). See also *unremoved* in *Par. Lost*, IV. 987.

512, 513. "Yet let me not forget what I have gained from their own mouths." It was one of the fancies of the Jewish commentators on *Gen.* iii. that Satan first learnt the prohibition imposed on Adam as to the Tree of Knowledge by overhearing him conversing on the subject with Eve; and Milton has adopted this fancy.

539. "in utmost longitude": i.e. in the extreme west.

542, 543. "Against the eastern gate of Paradise levelled his evening rays." Mr. Keightley was the first to point out (*Life of Milton*, p. 431) that here Milton has possibly made a slip. The Sun, setting in the west, could not level his rays direct against the eastern gate of Paradise (its only gate, as Milton has told us, line 178, and facing towards the present Persia), unless it were against the inside of that gate. Milton may have meant this; but it is hardly likely, since in what follows he seems to be describing the gate from the outside.

549. "Gabriel sat." See note, III. 648—650.

555, 556. "Thither came Uriel, gliding," etc. See notes, III. 648—650, and 690, 691. If Uriel came on a beam from the setting Sun to the eastern gate of Paradise, he must have crossed Paradise, where Satan was still roaming, in order to reach that gate. See previous note, IV. 542, 543.

556. "*On a sunbeam, swift as a shooting star.*" One of the many lines in which Milton, by a beautiful fitness of metre and of component letters, makes the sound suggest the sense. Compare *Comus*, 80.

561. "*Gabriel, to thee thy course by lot hath given charge and strict watch,*" etc. It was observed by Callander that Milton probably "took the idea of the Angels performing their ministry by lot, and in different courses, from the priests among the Jews, who attended the altar, in several courses." See Luke i. 8, 9.

564. "*my sphere.*" See note, IV. 39.

569. "*But in the mount that lies from Eden north.*" See note, IV. 210—214.

590, 591. "*whose point now raised bore him,*" etc. While Uriel and Gabriel have been conversing, the Sun has fallen to the horizon, so that the sunbeam on which Uriel returns inclines from Paradise to the Sun.

592—597. "*whether the Prime Orb . . . had thither rolled . . . or this less volúbile Earth,*" etc. A curious passage, as showing the uncertain state of Milton's astronomical belief. In the main, as we have seen abundantly, it is the Ptolemaic system of astronomy that he follows in the scheme of the Universe assumed in his poem. According to this system, the setting of the Sun in the west *would* be caused by the revolution westward of the Prime Orb, or Primum Mobile,—i.e. the vast outward shell or sphere of space enclosing all the other spheres. But the astronomical system of Copernicus and Galileo,—according to which the setting of the Sun in the west is more simply explained by the rotation of the Earth itself eastward,—had by this time been pretty widely propagated. Milton had been impressed by this system, and was probably more of a convert to it than most of his contemporaries; and hence, though he retains for his general purposes the Ptolemaic system, he takes the precaution in this passage of suggesting, as perhaps more plausible scientifically, the Copernican alternative. See *Introductio*. II. pp. 90, 91, and note, VIII. 15 *et seq.*

603. "*her amorous descant.*" "Descant" is here used in its musical sense of "variation of theme."

605, 606. "*Hesperus, that led the starry host*": the evening star. Bowle quotes Spenser's *Epithalamium*, where the Evening Star is addressed:—

"Fayre childe of beauty, glorious lampe of love,
That all the host of heaven in ranks dost lead."

627. "*Our walk at noon*": so in the Second and subsequent editions; but in the First "*walks.*"

628. "*our scant manuring*": not in our present sense of the word "manure," but, in the original sense of "tending with the hand" (*manœuvre*), cultivating. Richardson in his *Dict.* quotes this passage from Sir Thomas Smith's *Commonwealth* (1583), where *manure* means simply to *manage*: "It [the Commonwealth of England] is governed, administered, and manured, by three sorts of persons"; but he quotes also a passage from Hall's *Satires* (1598), which shows that the word had by that time acquired also its present sense:—

"Though many a load of marle and manure laid
Revived his barren leas, that erst lay dead."

640. "*All seasons*": not seasons of the year, but of the day.

642. "*With charm of earliest birds*": "charm" in its original sense of "song" (*carmen*).

661. "*Those have*," etc. In most editions "these" is substituted for "those," which is the reading in Milton's own editions. I see no good ground for the change.

671. "*Their stellar virtue*": a phrase embodying the astrological notion of an actual physical influence of the stars on terrestrial beings.

680—684. "*How often . . . have we heard*." See note, IV.

449. Dunster compares *Tempest*, III. 2: "The isle is full of noises," etc.

688. "*Divide the night*": into watches, like the bugles or trumpets of soldiers relieving guard. "*Dividere noctem*" was the Latin phrase for this; and Richardson quotes Silius Italicus, *Pun.* VII. 154: "Cum buccina noctem divideret."

695—703. "*on either side Acanthus*," etc. Compare this description of Eve's bower with the similar enumeration of flowers for the bier of Lycidas (*Lycidas*, 134—151). Beautiful as this is, it falls short of that in richness and exquisiteness of colour. • Was it that, after years of blindness, Milton's recollections of flowers and of the minutiae of colour had grown dim? See *Intro.* II. pp. 106, 107.

703. "*Of costliest emblem*": i.e. mosaic pattern.

716, 717. "*the unwise son of Japhet*": i.e. Epimetheus, the brother of Prometheus. In the ancient myth, Jupiter, to be avenged upon the wise Titan, Prometheus, the son of Iapetus, who had stolen the sacred fire from heaven, caused a woman to be created,—the first mortal female that ever lived. All the gods vied in equipping her with graces and gifts; and hence her name Pandora ("the all-gifted"). She was sent to Earth under the conduct of Hermes or Mercury, carrying with her a box, which she was to present to whoever married her. Prometheus would have nothing to say to her; but his less wise brother Epimetheus was captivated. He married

her; and, when the box was opened, out flew all the ills that flesh has since been heir to. Only Hope remained at the bottom of the box,—the lid having been closed in time.

719. "*stole*": so in the original; though "*stolen*" would suit our present grammar, and also the ear, better.

722. "*both*." Dunster objected to this third repetition of the word "*both*" in the course of three lines as weak and unpoetical; and Landor objected to it as ungrammatical, inasmuch as "*both*" can apply but to two objects, while here there are six. Both objections might be obviated by supposing that Milton meant a stop after "*both*" in this line, in which case the word would designate Adam and Eve again, and the meaning would be, "They adored the God that made them both, and that made also Sky, Air, Earth, etc." There is, however, no comma after "*both*" in Milton's editions; and the use of "*both*" with reference to more objects than two occurs elsewhere in Milton: e.g. "*both, matter, form, and style*" (Sonnet XI.)

735. "*thy gift of sleep*." Todd quotes Psalm cxxvii. 2.

744—762. "*Whatever hypocrites austere talk*," etc. It has been suggested by Mr. Keightley that in this passage Milton had in view not merely the general discouragement of the married state by the Roman Catholic advocates of monasticism, but also the opinion of some theologians that in the state of innocence there was no exercise of marriage-rights. In combating either view, or both, Milton refers to Scriptural texts: Gen. i. 28; 1 Cor. vii. 28 and 36; 1 Tim. iv. 1—3; Heb. xiv. 4; etc.

751. "*propriety*": i.e. property.

762. "*Present, or past, as saints and patriarchs used*." I am not sure but here Milton introduces a touch of his peculiar views of marriage. He seems to mean "whether in our present form of the institution, or in that known to saints and patriarchs in the old dispensation."

768. "*Mixed dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball*." The general Paritanism of this passage is obvious; but it is to be remembered that Milton had seen masques acted, and had himself written two of a peculiar kind, both acted,—*Arcades* and *Comus*.

769. "*Or serenate*." The Italian word is *serenata*, from *Sera*, "Evening."

776, 777. "*Now had Night measured with her shadowy cone half way up-hill this vast sublunar vault*." Night is really the shadow of the Earth cast by the Sun; which shadow, could it be seen in its totality, would appear as a cone of darkness or gloom shot into the vault of space. Jean Paul, in a descriptive passage in one of his

tales, realises this fact very accurately to the imagination in these words: "The high shadow of the Earth, which reaches beyond the Moon, and which is our Night." Milton, using a somewhat less correct phraseology, speaks as if the shadow extended only into the "sublunar vault,"—i.e. as if the apex of the shadowy cone fell short of the Moon, or only just reached it. Either way, and whether on the supposition that the alternation of Day and Night is caused by the rotation of the Earth itself, or on the old assumption that it is caused by the revolution of the Sun round the Earth, the progress of Night, as regards the inhabitants of the Earth, may be represented as the motion of the Earth's shadow round the circle of the starry heavens from east to west, exactly as the hour-hand of a twenty-four hours clock would move round the dial-plate. This sublime image is before Milton. The clock by which he measures the hours as they passed in Paradise, while our first parents slept, is that vast astronomical clock of which the great circle of the starry heavens was the dial-plate and the Earth's shadowy cone the moving hour-hand. At sunset in Paradise (which we are to suppose to have been about six o'clock, not only because of the geographical position of Eden, but also because there is evidence in the poem that the season of the year is assumed to have been Spring) the Earth's shadow would point to the eastern horizon; as the night advanced, it would mount in the heavens; at midnight, when the Sun was shining full on the opposite hemisphere, it would have clomb to its height, like the hour-hand of a clock pointing to twelve; and from midnight to sunrise it would descend the other quadrant to the western horizon. The time of night indicated in the present passage of the poem, accordingly,—when the shadow had gone half-way up the sublunar vault,—is midway between sunset and midnight. To be prosaic and precise, Milton means to say that it was about nine o'clock. By that early hour our first parents, after their evening walk to their bower and their conversation and adoration under the starry canopy, were already asleep. Milton himself, in his later days, or about the time when he wrote *Paradise Lost*, "went to bed about nine." So we learn from Aubrey.

778. "*And from their ivory port the Cherubim forth issuing, at the accustomed hour,*" etc. This must mean that, at nine o'clock, with military precision, those Angels or Cherubim who, under the command of Gabriel, were entrusted with the guard of Paradise (see lines 550—554), issued *not* out at the eastern gate of Paradise, so as to be beyond the walls, but only from one of the inner ports of that gate into a space *within* the walls, ready for the duties of the night-watch. They stand at arms, as in a courtyard, to receive Gabriel's orders. Gabriel has waited for this hour to take the measures suggested by Uriel's information at sunset.

782—784. "*Uzziel, half these draw off,*" etc. The meaning of Gabriel's order is that his second in command, Uzziel (this name means "the Strength of God": see note, III. 648—650), should lead half of the armed Angels round the walls of Paradise on the inside, taking the southern circuit from the eastern gate, while he himself, with the remaining half, would make the northern circuit inside from the same gate (observe that, as Satan had approached Eden by the northern frontier, Gabriel reserves the more important circuit for himself). They would thus meet at the west, or at the point of the circumference of Paradise exactly opposite the gate from which they set out.

784, 785. "*As flame they part, half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear,*"—i.e. half to the left and half to the right,—the shield being on the soldier's left arm, and the spear in his right hand. The phrase is a Latin one: "*Declinare ad hastam, vel ad scutum*" ("to turn to the spear or the shield") occurring in Livy, as Hume notes, exactly in the sense of our "Right or Left wheel." The Greeks had a similar phrase.

786. "*From these (i.e. from those that had wheeled right) two strong and subtle Spirits he (i.e. Gabriel) called.*" Milton is singularly accurate in his military allusions. He here makes Gabriel take command of what would be called the right subdivision, while Uzziel, as his lieutenant, takes command of the left; which is what would take place with real troops in the circumstances. As the right subdivision was to take the northern circuit, and the left the southern circuit of Paradise, it is also suggested that, when the Angels were originally drawn up in parade, before they received the order to wheel in subdivisions right and left, they stood in line fronting Paradise, with their backs to the eastern gate. But this is not essential.

788. "*Ithuriel and Zephon.*" See note, III. 648—650. Ithuriel, in Hebrew, means "Search-of-God"; Zephon, "Searcher."

797. "*So saying, on he led his radiant files.*" Here again we have military accuracy. Gabriel's subdivision of the Angels, going their round on the north side of Paradise, within the walls, march in *file*,—i.e. two and two, behind each other, in a long string.

798. "*these*": i.e. Ithuriel and Zephon; who, while the other Angels are marching in file round Paradise, go, as special searchers, into the interior,—straight to the bower of Adam and Eve.

804. "*inspiring venom.*" Richardson quotes *Æneid*, VIII. 351: "*Vipeream inspirans animam.*"

813. "*Of force to its own likeness.*" See note, Book I. line 254, and account of the word *Its* in Essay on Milton's English, pp. 56—71.

814—819. "*As, when a spark lights on a heap of nitrous powder,*" etc. This is one instance, out of many in the poem, of an image drawn from the luminous effects of fire. See remarks on the effects of Milton's blindness on his poetry, *Introd. II. pp. 101—108.*

835, 836. "*Think not . . . thy shape the same, or undiminished brightness, to be known.*" The construction is somewhat difficult; but the meaning seems to be, "Think not thy shape the same, or thy brightness undiminished, so as to be known."

847—849. "*saw Virtue in her shape how lovely—saw, and pined his loss*": a distinct recollection, with almost literal translation, of Persius, *Sat. III. 35—38*:—

"Magne pater divum, sævos punire tyrannos
Haud aliâ ratione velis, cum dira libido
Moverit ingenium, ferventi tincta veneno,
Virtutem videant, intabescantque relictâ."

This appropriation, pointed out first by Hume, has been mentioned to me by Professor Seeley as one of the most striking instances of Milton's fitting of flakes from the classics into his own text.

861—864. "*Now drew they nigh the western point,*" etc. Here again Milton keeps military exactness in his description. Gabriel's subdivision of the Angels and Uzziel's subdivision, marching each in file and each its half round of Paradise,—the one on the north side and the other on the south,—have by this time met, as was appointed (line 784), at the west point of the circuit, opposite the eastern gate, whence they had set out. The subdivisions have joined (by the military act known as *closing*), and are standing in line, as before, facing Paradise, Gabriel in front, when Ithuriel and Zephon arrive with their prisoner.

866—874. "*O friends, I hear, etc. . . . He scarce had ended, when,*" etc. The commentators have marked the similarity here to the passage in the *Iliad* (X. 533 *et seq.*) describing Nestor receiving Ulysses and Diomedes on their return from the Trojan camp.

885—901. "*To whom thus Satan,*" etc. There is a strain of courtesy throughout this speech of Satan to Gabriel, as of a coequal to a coequal whom he has not seen for some time; but, as it is spoken "with contemptuous brow" (line 885) and "in scorn" (902), the courtesy must be supposed ironical.

894. "*Dole with delight.*" Todd quotes *Hamlet*, I. 2, "In equal scale weighing delight and dole."

904, 905. "*O loss of one in Heaven to judge of wise, since Satan fell.*" Said ironically by Gabriel, and meaning "O the loss that there has been in Heaven, since Satan fell, of one able to judge what wisdom is."

906. "*And now returns him.*" Mr. Keightley suggests that "Satan," not "folly," is the nom. to "returns."

911. "*However*": i.e. in whatever manner.

927. "*Thy fiercest*": understand "enēmy."

928. "*The blasting*": so in First Edition; changed, perhaps by misprint, into "Thy blasting" in Second and Third.

945. "*practised distances to cringe*": i.e. to cringe, going backwards, at practised distances from the throne, like Oriental courtiers. Todd compares the taunt of Prometheus, *Prom. Vinc.* 945.

949, 950. "*Argues no leader . . . and couldst thou 'faithful' add?*" Gabriel here retorts sarcastically on Satan's phrase in line 933.

953—956. "*Army of fiends*," etc. In these four lines Gabriel apostrophises the absent host of Rebel Angels; in line 957 he reverts to Satan personally.

962. "*axeed*": i.e. "advise" or "decree for." Originally the word meant to divine, to guess, to interpret, to read a riddle.

966. "*And seal thee*," etc. Rev. xx. 3. (Hume.)

972. "*Proud limitary Cherub.*" In Latin "*milites limitanei*" are soldiers in garrison on a frontier for the purpose of guarding it; and it is suggested that Milton formed the word "limitary" in this sense. Gabriel having (line 964) referred to the "hallowed limits" he was set to guard, Satan retorts sneeringly "Proud limitary Cherub." It is as if he said "Proud Cherub of those limits you speak so much of."

977—979. "*the angelic squadron bright turned fiery red, sharpening in moonèd horns their phalanx.*" Another instance is here furnished of what has already been noticed (note, lines 814—819),—the frequency with which Milton, probably because of his blindness, draws his descriptive images from the mere effects of light. See *Introd.* II. pp. 104—108.

980. "*with ported spears.*" Another instance of Milton's correct use of military terms. See *ante*, I. 565, 618, IV. 784, 786, 797, 861, and notes there. "Port arms" is still one of the words of command in our army. On receiving this command the soldier brings his weapon,—i.e. the rifle with the bayonet attached,—to a slanting position across his body, holding it with both hands, so that the barrel and the bayonet are in a line crossing the point of the left shoulder. He is thus in a position to attack an enemy; for, on receiving a farther word of command, an easy movement from this position enables him to bring down his weapon firmly to the "charge," i.e. with its point turned out horizontally or nearly so against whoever might meet it. In Milton's time, before bayonets were invented, the drill or manoeuvre

exercise for pikes or spears was not greatly different from that now in use for the rifle and bayonet; and a body of men "with ported spears" meant, therefore, not (as most of the editors have fancied in their notes on this passage) a body of men with their spears thrust straight out against an enemy, but a body of men with their spears held in their hands across their breasts and slanting beyond the left shoulder, ready to be brought down to the "charge" if necessary. The Angels have not the points of their spears turned to Satan; they have them only grasped in the position preparatory to turning them against him. This explains the subsequent image; for a series of spears so "ported" over the left shoulders of a body of men, being parallel to each other and *aslant*, would resemble, to a spectator, cornstalks in a field blown all one way by the wind.

985. "*alarmed*": i.e. "on his guard": fear is not implied.

986. "*dilated stood*": i.e. actually expanded in bulk to a vast degree. Ithuriel had caught him shrunk to the dimensions of a toad; touched by Ithuriel's spear, he had resumed the ordinary angelic stature; but now he towers to his utmost.

987. "*unremoved*": incapable of being removed. See note, IV. 492.

988, 989. "*on his crest sat Horror plumed.*" A personification terrible in its very vagueness. The poet, imagining Satan, sees as it were the plumed crest of his helmet, but gives only this visionary metaphor of it, of which Hume says: "*Sat Horror plumed* has something in it *quod nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum.*" Horror has been frequently personified by the poets. Thus Spenser (*F. Q.* II. vii. 23) :-

"And over them sad Horreur with grim hew
Did alwaies soar beating his iron wings."

Shakespeare has "Victory sits on our helms" (*Rich. III.*, V. 3), and similar phrases.

990. "*What seemed both spear and shield.*" Dunster and others after him object to the hesitancy here as spoiling the picture. "The intimation that Satan's arms were a mere semblance," says Dunster, "has a bad effect"; and Mr. Browne supposes that Milton here yielded to a sudden feeling that he was too *material* in his representations of spiritual beings. Nothing of the sort. Satan has just shot up to such vast stature that it is impossible to give precise visual descriptions of his helmet (see last note) or his arms. That is the true reason for the vague "what seemed."

992, 993. "*the starry cope of Heaven perhaps, or all the Elements at least, had gone to wrack.*" Milton distinguishes here between the distant sphere of the fixed stars and the elements of fire, air, earth,

and water, employed in the composition of the terrestrial world.

997, 998. "*Hung forth in Heaven his golden scales,*" etc. Milton, as Hume noted, must here have had in view the passage in Homer (*Iliad*, VIII. 69) where Jupiter weighs the issues of uncertain events in golden scales, and that in Virgil (*Æneid*, XII. 725) where there is a similar image. But Milton makes the balance the actual constellation *Libra*, and in other respects he makes the image entirely his own.

999—1002. "*Wherein all things created first he weighed,*" etc. Hume cites Isaiah xl. 12, Job xxviii. 25 and xxxvii. 16; and Newton adds Daniel v. 26, 27.—"*ponders,*" in the literal sense of "weighs."

1003. "*The sequel each of parting and of fight.*" The word "sequel" here has puzzled commentators, and Bentley proposed to read "signal." But the meaning is plain enough, if we take "sequel" in its ordinary sense of "consequence": one weight is or represents the consequence, or result, or advantage to Satan of "parting" or abstaining from the combat; the other represents the consequence to him of actually engaging in the fight. The scales are hung out, not to show, as between Satan and Gabriel, which will win, but to show to Satan himself which will be the better for him of two courses of action. As the scale in which the sequel, or result, or advantage of fighting was placed proved the lighter and kicked the beam, this showed him that that course of action was the less desirable for him.

1010—1014. "*To trample thee as mire*" (Isaiah x. 6). "*For proof look up . . . His mounted scale aloft.*" Although the poet at first imagines the scales as weighing for Satan the "sequel" or consequence of one course of action against the "sequel" or consequence of another, yet now, by a very natural variation of thought, not involving an inconsistency, he speaks of Satan's whole power as being the thing weighed. *His* scale mounts,—i.e. his whole power is light in comparison with what is opposed to it.

BOOK V.

2. "*Sowed the earth with orient pearl*": i.e. with dewdrops. Lucretius says of the sun (II. 211) "*Lumine conserit arva*" (Newton.)

3—5. "*his sleep was aery light, from pure digestion bred, and temperate vapours bland, which,*" etc.: i.e. his sleep was light, being produced by pure digestion, and by the bland temperate cloudiness

(not the cloudiness of excess) consequently rising to the brain, which, etc. Newton and subsequent commentators make "sleep" the antecedent of "which"; but it seems more natural, and more consistent with the subsequent image, to take "*temperate vapours bland*" as the antecedent.

5. "*the only sound*": i.e. the sound alone, no other being heard. Thyer quotes the phrase from Spenser (*F. Q. V. xi. 30*), "As if the onely sound thereof she feard."

6. "*fuming rills*": i.e. either, as Hume interpreted, rills purling as if angry, or perhaps, as Newton suggested, rills literally fuming, with the morning mists rising from them.

7, 8. "*the shrill matin song of birds on every bough*." Hume quotes *Æneid*, VIII. 456:

"Evandrum ex humili lecto lux suscitât alma,
Et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus."

17—25. "*Awake, my fairest*," etc. There may be a recollection here of the Song of Solomon, ii. 10—13.

22. "*our tended plants*": so in the original text; but corrupted in later editions into "*tender*."

44. "*Heaven wakes with all his eyes*." See note, Book I. line 254. Milton generally uses the feminine possessive form *her* along with Heaven. Thus Book VII. 205, 206, "*Heaven opened wide her ever-during gates*"; and, again, lines 574, 575, "*Heaven that opened wide her blazing portals*." In the present instance, however, there is a fitness in the masculine form,—if it be the masculine by personification, and not simply the old neuter *his*. The eyes of Heaven wake to behold Eve; to have said "*her eyes*," therefore, would not have been in keeping. From the same instinct it may be that the poet, in the preceding lines 40, 41, has made the nightingale masculine,—"*his love-laboured song*,"—whereas he usually makes this bird (though it is the male that sings) feminine. Thus Book III. 40, "*tunes her nocturnal note*"; Book IV. 602, 603, "*the tuneful nightingale: she all night long her amorous descant sung*," etc. Todd fancies that Milton in this passage may have remembered Giles Fletcher's lines (*Christ's Victory*, stanza 78):—

"Heaven awakèd all his eyes
To see another sun at midnight rise."

64. "*with venturous arm*." In the original text "*ventrous*."

100—110. "*But know that in the soul are many lesser faculties*," etc. It may be interesting to compare this little bit of Milton's psychology, introduced in explanation of Dreaming, with the corresponding parts of Sir John Davies's philosophical poem on the Soul

(1599). In that poem, after describing the Five organs of Sense, Davies proceeds :—

“ These are the outward instruments of sense ;
 These are the guards which everything does pass,
 Ere it approach the mind's intelligence,
 Or touch the Fantasy, Wit's looking-glass.
 And yet these porters, which all things admit,
 Themselves perceive not, nor discern the things :
 One common power doth in the forehead sit
 Which all their proper forms together brings.”

The function of this common power, or recipient and percipient of the informations of the various senses, is to transmit them to a still higher region of the brain,

“ Where Fantasy, near handmaid to the mind,
 Sits and beholds, and doth discern them all ;
 Compounds in one things different in their kind ;
 Compares the black and white, the great and small. . . .
 This busy power is working day and night ;
 For, when the outward senses rest do take,
 A thousand dreams, fantastical and light,
 With fluttering wings do keep her still awake.”

Next are described Memory, and the Passions of Sense, or beginnings of active Will ; after which comes the supreme faculty of Wit, taking such various names as Reason, Understanding, Opinion, Judgment, Wisdom :—

“ The Wit, the pupil of the Soul's clear eye,
 And in man's world the only shining star,
 Looks in the mirror of the Fantasy,
 Where all the gatherings of the Senses are.
 From thence this power the shapes of things abstracts,
 And,” etc.

Milton's psychology, it will be seen, is very much that of the foregoing passages, and in some points word for word. Doubtless, it was a common doctrine of the day.—*Fancy*, *Phantasy*, and *Imagination* were synonymous, or nearly so, in Milton's time. The differencing of *Fancy* from *Imagination* is a later habit. The word “*represent*” in line 105 is used in its original sense of “making to reappear,” and not in the derivative sense of “standing for.”

110—113. “*Of, in her (i.e. Reason's) absence, mimic Fancy wakes,*” etc. Compare Tennyson's beautiful expression, in *Maud*, of the same often-observed fact in dreaming :—

“ And now by this my love has closed her sight,
 And given false death her hand, and stolen away
 To dreamful wastes where footless fancies dwell
 Among the fragments of the golden day.”

117. “*Evil into the mind of God or Man.*” Here, as frequently,

Milton uses the word "*God*" generally for "Angel" or "superhuman being."

138. "*so unapproved*": corrupted, in some late editions, into "*so unreprieved*." By "*so*" is meant either "in this manner," referring to Eve's dream, or "if so be that it is." The former construction seems the more natural.

137—144. "*But first, from under shady arborous roof soon as they forth were come . . . lowly they bowed, adoring.*" The construction becomes clearer by the omission, as here, of the intervening descriptive clauses. It is marred in the original text by a comma inadvertently placed after "*roof*," the effect of which is to suggest that the adoration took place in the bower, whereas it was in the open air after they had come forth from the bower.

142. "*landskip*." See note, IV. 153.

144—152. "*Lowly they bowed, adoring . . . to add more sweetness.*" In the whole of this passage there is more than a hint of Milton's sympathy with the Puritans in their objection to Liturgies and set forms of worship. Thus "*each morning duly paid in various style*," and, again, "*or sung unmeditated*." Nay, in lines 150—152, is there not (what would be stranger from Milton) a reflection on instrumental music in worship? Bishop Newton's note on the passage may be quoted. "As it is very well known," he says, "that our author was no friend to set forms of prayer, it is no wonder that he ascribes extemporary effusions to our first parents; but, even whilst he attributes strains unmeditated to them, he himself emulates the Psalmist." Bishop Newton means that the splendid outburst which follows is a recollection of Psalm cxlviii. Milton, however, in his prose-discussions of the subject, takes full account of such forms. Observe, however, that he distinctly makes Adam and Eve turn to the East in praying. They face the rising sun (139—143).

150. "*numerous verse*": i.e. musical, rhythmical, or full of "numbers" in the poetic sense, as in the phrase "to lisp in numbers."

160—165. "*Speak, ye who best can tell, ye Sons of Light*," etc. The word "ye" is sometimes spelt in Milton as we now spell it, with one *e*; but sometimes thus, "*yee*." So with similar words. It has been supposed that he had a rule in this, according as he meant the word to be less or more emphatic. But, if so, the present passage is rather puzzling. The word "ye" occurs in it five times. In the First Edition the spelling "yee" is adopted in two of these cases (Nos. 4 and 5)—to wit, in lines 163, 164, thus—

" . . . yee in Heav'n,

On Earth joyn all yee creatures . . . "

We can conceive that Milton intended an emphasis upon the word

"ye" in both these cases; though, perhaps, hardly that he intended a greater emphasis than on the first "ye" in line 160. But, if we get over this (and it seems to improve the sense to make the word "*ye*," peculiarly emphatic in the two cases where it is spelt "yee"), how happens it that in the Second and Third Editions there is a variation?

162. "*day without night*." Rev. xxi. 25. (Dunster.)

165. "*Him first, him last*," etc. Rev. xxii. 13.

166—170. "*Fairest of Stars*," etc.: i.e. the planet Venus; which, when she is to the west of the Sun, rises and sets before him, and is then called Phosphorus, Lucifer, or the Morning-star, but, when she is to the east of the Sun, rises and sets after him, and is then called Hesperus, or the Evening-star. It is as Phosphorus or the Morning-star that she is here addressed,—"*sure pledge of day*," etc.; but the phrase "*fairest of stars*" is, as Hume noted, precisely Homer's (*Iliad*, XXII. 318):

"Ἑσπερος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴσταιται ἀστήρ."

Donne, in his *Progress of the Soul*, describing the passage of the disembodied soul through space, says:—

"Venus retards her not, to enquire how she
Can, being one star, Hesper and Vesper be."

169. "*in thy sphere*": i.e. in that one of the astronomical spheres to which the planet belonged.

171. "*Thou Sun, of this great World both eye and soul*." Hume quotes from Ovid (*Met.* IV. 228) the phrase "*mundi oculus*" for the Sun, and Newton finds him called "*animus mundi*" in Pliny.

176. "*fixed in their orb that flies*." Orb means here astronomical sphere in the old or Ptolemaic system. The orb or sphere of the fixed stars was the eighth from the Earth.

177—201. "*And ye*," etc. See note, ante 160—165. But in these twenty-five lines the alternation of the spelling between "ye" and "yee" in the original edition does accord very exactly with the notion that Milton meant to indicate emphasis by the spelling "yee." The word occurs eleven times in the passage, and in the original edition the spelling "yee" is given in four cases out of the eleven,—Nos. 1, 6, 10, and 11,—precisely the cases where, in reading the passage, the word has to be pronounced strongly. And the arrangement is preserved to the Third Edition.

177. "*five other wandering Fires*." As the poet has already invoked Venus, the Sun, and the Moon, there remain to be invoked only "*four other*" of the seven bodies known in the astronomy of Milton's time as the planets or "*wandering fires*,"—to wit, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Hence Bentley reads "*four*"

here for "*five*." It *may* be a slip on Milton's part; or he may have meant to re-include Venus. Adam is afterwards instructed that the Earth *may* be a planet (VIII. 128); but not yet.

178. "*not without song*": "the music of the spheres," one of Milton's most favourite ideas.

181. "*in quaternion run*": i.e. in fourfold combination, as Air, Earth, Water, and Fire.

195: "*warble, as ye flow*," etc. Mr. Browne refers to III. 31.

198. "*That, singing, up to Heaven-gate ascend*." Newton cites the song in *Cymbeline* (II. 3), "Hark! hark! the lark at Heaven's gate sings"; and there is nearly the same phrase in Shakespeare's Sonnet XXIX.

202—204. "*Witness if I be silent . . . by my song*." We should have expected here the plural pronouns *we* and *our*, since Adam and Eve are both engaged in the adoration. Bentley, who takes any liberty he likes with Milton's text, actually makes the change. But it has been suggested that Milton had the practice of the ancient Greek choruses in view, where, though many are singing, the first pronoun singular is used. Likelier perhaps is it that he thought of Adam as the sole speaker in the act of worship, Eve listening. One even thinks of the poet himself as, by substitution, the speaker here.

214. "*pampered boughs*." Richardson's *Dict.* thus defines the word *Pamper*:—"Fr. *Pamprer*; Lat. *Pampinus*, a vine-leaf; Fr. *Pamprer*, to fill, furnish, or cover with vine-leaves; and hence to train or nurse into luxuriant growth." The word in English is as old as Chaucer; but Skeat's derivation of it is different. Defining *pamper* "as to glut," he connects it with the Low-German *pampen*, to cram, and *pampe*, broth,—nasalised from *pappe*, pap, food for infants.

215—217. "*the vine to wed her elm*," etc. The twining of vines round the elm and the poplar, for support, and also, as was thought, for the bettering of the grapes, is frequently spoken of in the classic poets as the *marriage* of the vine: e.g. Horace, *Epod.* II. 9, Ovid's *Met.* XIV. 661 *et seq.*

218, 219. "*the adopted clusters*," etc. Dunster quotes Buchanan, *Maia Cal.* 66:—

"Pampinus appositæ complexus brachia sylvæ
Vestit adoptivis robora nuda comis."

220—223. "*and to him called Raphael, the sociable Spirit, that deigned to travel with Tobias*," etc. Stillingfleet perceives a recollection here of the employment of Hermes by Zeus on a similar errand

and for the same reason (*Il* XXIV. 334).—This is the second reference in the poem to the story of Tobit in the Apocrypha (see IV. 162—171 and note there). Mr. Keightley thinks Milton fond of that story.—*Raphael* in Hebrew means “Health of God” or “The Divine Healer.”

224—228. “‘*Raphael*,’ said he, ‘thou hear’st,” etc. Thyer saw an imitation here, and in the sequel, of Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* IX. 58; where God calls Michael and sends him to help the Christians:—

“ Chiama egli a se Michele, il qual nell’ armi
Di lucido diamante arde e lampeggia;
E dice lui: Non vedi or come s’armi
Contra la mia fedel diletta ^{reggia}
L’empia schiera d’Averno?” etc.

249. “*celestial Ardours*.” The word “Ardours” is but a fine translation of the Hebrew word “Seraphim,” which is from a verb meaning “to burn.”

257—261. “*From hence—no cloud, or . . . star interposed, however small—he sees*,” etc. From confused pointing in the original, there has been some difference as to the reading of this passage. Newton and Todd construe as follows:—“From hence, no cloud or star being interposed to obstruct his sight, he sees the Earth, however small at that distance, not unlike other shining globes,” etc. They point the passage accordingly. But this construction seems not only unnatural, but absurd; for the poet goes on to speak of the “Garden of God” and the “cedars” as being cloudily visible to the Angel on the Earth’s disc,—whence it is clear that the “however small” has to be connected with the previous word “star,” as it is by our pointing.

261, 262. “*the glass of Galileo*”: the second mention of Galileo in the poem (see I. 288, and note), and the third of the “optic glass” or telescope (see also III. 590, and note). The telescope is again mentioned, by that name, in *Par. Reg.* IV. 40—42.

264—266. “*Or pilot from amidst the Cyclades Delos or Samos first appearing kens, a cloudy spot*,” The construction is “or pilot kens Delos or Samos first appearing from amidst the Cyclades as a cloudy spot.” Mr. Keightley pointed out (*Life of Milton*, p. 430) that Milton has here, by a slip of memory, fallen into a geographical error,—Samos not being one of the Cyclades, but one of the Asiatic group at a distance from them in the same archipelago. Nor will this error be obviated by the reading which would interpret as follows:—“or pilot, coming from amidst the Cyclades, kens Delos or Samos first appearing as a cloudy spot”; for, though that might suit for Samos, it would not for Delos, which *is* one of the Cyclades.

The only reconciliation would be by supposing that Milton used the name Cyclades generally for all the islands of the archipelago.

270. "buxom air." See II. 842, and note.

272—274. "*A phoenix, gazed by all*—(i.e. gazed at by all)—*as that sole (i.e. unique) bird, when,*" etc. The allusion is to the ancient fable of the marvellous Arabian bird, the Phoenix, of which only one was alive at a time, and which, every 500 years, came from Arabia to Heliopolis in Egypt to bury the relics of its father, the preceding Phoenix (or, according to another version, to leave its own relics), in the Temple of the Sun there (Herod. ii. 73; Ovid, *Met.* XV., etc.) Milton substitutes Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt, for Heliopolis in Lower Egypt.

277—285. "*Six wings he wore,*" etc. In this passage Milton remembers the description of the Seraphim in Isaiah vi. 2: "Each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly."

285. "*Sky-tinctured grain.*" There is a long and interesting dissertation on the etymology of this word "grain," and on the use of the word by the older English poets, and especially by Milton, in Mr. George P. Marsh's "Lectures on the English Language" (First Series: Fourth American Edition, 1861: pp. 65—75). According to Mr. Marsh, the true meaning of this word in Milton and in the older poets has been lost sight of. We now generally use the word as equivalent to "texture," "structure," "fibre," or "material,"—speaking of wood or stone as being "hard in grain," and understanding by such a phrase as "a rogue in grain" one who is a rogue in his very fibre. But this meaning, Mr. Marsh contends, is a derivative one. Originally "grain" implied colour,—of which, indeed, we have a recollection still along with the other usage. Thus, in reading Milton's invocation of Melancholy in his *Pensere*—

"Come, pensive Nun, devout and pure,
Sober, steadfast, and demure,
All in a robe of darkest grain
Flowing with majestic train,"

we do interpret "grain" to mean colour rather than texture. We understand, in fact, that the goddess is garbed in a robe of black or dark gray colour. But here, according to Mr. Marsh, we are wrong, or not sufficiently right. "Grain" meant not colour in general, but one particular colour or range of colours. It was a term derived from the Latin "*granum*," a seed or kernel, or grain in the sense of "grain of corn,"—which word "*granum*" had come, in later Latin times, to be applied specifically to the *coccum*, a peculiar dye-stuff, consisting of the dried, granular, or seed-like bodies of insects of the genus *Coccus*, collected in large quantities from trees in Spain and

other Mediterranean countries. But that dye was distinctly red. Another name for it, and for the insect producing it, was *kermes* (borrowed from the Persian and Arabic, where *kermes*, radically identical with the Latin *vermis* and our word *worm*, had come to be the name of this coccus insect in particular),—whence our words “carmine” and “crimson.” “Grain” therefore meant a dye of such red, or of one or other such shades of red, as might be produced by the use of kermes or coccum. The classic “purple,” which included evidently a wider range of hues than our “purple,” might nearly correspond. Melancholy’s “robe of darkest grain” in the *Penseroso* means a robe of the darkest shade of this colour,—i.e. a purple gloomed to deep violet. But there were brighter hues of “grain,” and these the more usual. Chaucer (*Nonnes Preestes Tale*)—

“ Him needeth not his colour for to dien
With Brasil, ne with grain of Portingale.”

Again, in *Paradise Lost*, Book XI. 240—244, in the description of the Archangel Michael—

“ Over his lucid arms
A military vest of purple flowed,
Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain
Of Sarra, worn by kings and heroes old
In time of truce; Iris had dipped the woof.”

Here “grain of Sarra” is Tyrian purple (Sarra being a name for Tyre),—which, however, was procured not from the coccus insect, but from a shell-fish; and the colour suggested is something like scarlet. So, in the passage now under notice, “sky-tinctured grain” means cærulean purple, or purple dipped in the colours of the sky. “Those who remember,” says Mr. Marsh, “the hues which the painters of the sixteenth century give to the wings of angels will be at no loss to understand the epithet *sky-tinctured* which here qualifies *grain*. Sky-tinctured is not necessarily azure; for sky, in old English and the cognate languages, meant clouds, and Milton does not confine its application to the concave blue, but embraces in the epithet all the brighter tints which belong to meteoric phenomena.” In fact he means to suggest that, while the Archangel’s middle pair of wings were mainly of a radiant gold-colour, his third pair, covering his feet, were more of a varied or cloudy violet.—But how came “grain,” thus meaning originally the red or purple dye of the kermes, to lose that meaning? How it should have come to mean colour in general instead of the precise colour of the kermes dye, is not difficult to understand,—such generalisations being not unfrequent in the history of language. But how came it to signify not colour at all, but texture or material? “The colour obtained from kermes or grain,” says Mr. Marsh, “was a peculiarly durable, or, as it is technically called, a *fast* or *fixed* dye. When, then, a merchant recommended

his purple stuffs as being *dyled in grain*, he generally meant that they were dyed with *kermes* and would wear well." Thus the phrase "in ~~grain~~" came to imply durability; and such occasional expressions as "scarlet-en-grayn" in Chaucer and "your purple-in-grain beard" in Shakespeare (*Mid. Night's Dr.* I. 2) were interpreted accordingly. When, in the *Comedy of Errors* (III. 2), to the remark of Antipholus, "That's a fault that water will mend," Dromio replies, "No, sir, 'tis in grain; Noah's flood could not do it," it is easy to see how the true notion "No, sir, 'tis in the eye of kermes" (or in a fast colour) should give way to the notion "No, sir, 'tis in the very fibre." Indeed, we now speak of *ingrained* vice, *ingrained* folly, etc., and we have the phrases "cross-grained," "against the grain," etc.—So far we have in the main followed Mr. Marsh. His exposition, however, appears to leave not a little still in doubt. Had we not, for example, the word "grain" in its original generic sense of seed or corn at the same time that we were using it also in its secondary sense of "the grain or dye of the coccus," and may not the notion of "grain," therefore, as implying granular structure, and thence texture, be of at least equal antiquity as the notion of it as implying red colour? May not the two notions have become identified, that of structure as the stronger absorbing the other? Or, after all, may not the notion of "grain" as meaning structure be derived from quite another root than the Latin *granum*? Mr. Marsh himself cites such a possible root in the Scandinavian word *gren*, meaning a branch or twig; and other etymologists recognise our word "grain," in the sense of direction of the fibres in wood, as of Teutonic derivation. This sense of "grain" in English is certainly an old one: e.g. Skelton, as quoted in Rich. *Dict.*: "Her skin loose and slack, grained like a sack." At this day, curiously enough, there is a combination of the two meanings in the word *to grain* or *graining* as employed by house-painters. • It means to colour in imitation of the texture of wood.

285—287. "*Like Maia's son he stood*," etc.: i.e. like Mercury. Todd quotes *Hamlet*, III. 4—

"like the herald Mercury
New-lighted on a Heaven-kissing hill."

294, 295. "*Nature here wantoned as in her prime*": a common idea with Poets. Todd quotes the exact phrase "While Nature wantons in her prime" from Thomas Watson's *Italian Madrigals Englished* (1590).

297. "*enormous bliss*": not only in the derivative sense of "very large," but also in the sense of "out of rule."

299. "*as in the door he sat*." See Genesis xviii. 1. Milton has this chapter in view in what follows.

321, 322. "Adam, Earth's hallowed mould, of God inspired": Gen. ii. 7. The name *Adam* implies derivation from the earth.

334—336. "What order so contrived as not to mix^h tastes, not well joined, inelegant, but bring taste after taste," etc. One may choose here among several constructions. One, and perhaps the simplest, would regard "inelegant" as standing for "inelegantly," and would read "so contrived as not inelegantly to mix tastes not well joined, but," etc. Another would make the meaning "so contrived as not to mix tastes (which, when not well joined, are inelegant), but," etc.; and there might be still a third. According to the reading adopted, the pointing, which I have kept as in the original, might be varied.

339. "middle shore": i.e. the Mediterranean lands, including Western Asia (represented here by Pontus in Asia Minor), Southern Europe, and Africa (represented by the Punic or Carthaginian) coast.

340, 341. "where Alcinoüs reigned" i.e. Phæacia, afterwards Corcyra or Corfu, where King Alcinoüs had his gardens (*Odys.* VII.)

341, 342. "fruit of all kinds, in coat rough or smooth rined, or bearded husk, or shell." The reading in most of the editions is "*rind*," and the construction "fruit of all kinds, in rough coat, or smooth rind, or bearded husk, or shell." But in the First, Second, and Third Editions the lines stand thus:—

"fruit of all kinds, in coat,
Rough, or smooth rin'd, or bearded husk, or shell."

From the spelling of "*rin'd*" here it appears that Milton intended the word for an adjective "*rined*," equivalent to "*rinded*"; and Mr. Keightley quotes from Spenser the expression "the grey moss marred his rine," containing the substantive "rine" from which such an adjective might be formed. If we are to read "*rined*" in this sense, one construction of the passage would be "fruit of all kinds, rined in coat rough or smooth, or in bearded husk, or in shell." This is awkward in itself, and does not agree with the pointing. It is probable that Milton meant the construction to be "fruit of all kinds,—in coat, whether rough coat or coat smooth-rined, or in bearded husk," etc.; though this agreement of the adjective "*rined*" with "coat," instead of with "fruit," hardly accords with usage.

345. "inoffensive must": spelt "*moust*" in the original. "*Inoffensive*": i.e. not yet intoxicating: *must* being new or unfermented wine (Lat. *mustus*, "fresh").—*Meaths*, sweet juices (specially, in the form of *mead*, a liquor made from honey),—Greek μέθυ, "wine."

349. "odours from the shrub unfumed" means either "odours unfumed (i.e. not yet exhaled) from the shrub," or "odours from the unfumed (i.e. unburnt or natural) shrub." Mr. Browne notes:

"Fire was unknown in Paradise (IX. 392), at least till after the Fall (X. 1073)."

351—353. "*without more train accompanied than with his own complete perfections.*" A curious licence of syntax, which provoked from Bentley this note: "*Without more than with* is a solecism. It should be *without more than his*, etc., *with* being expunged." As the verse does not permit this, Bentley supposed that Milton dictated *with no more train than with*. The liberties and flexibilities of seventeenth-century English were unknown in Bentley's grammar.

365. "*to want*": i.e. to be without.—"*vouchsafe*": spelt "*vout-safe*" in the original editions. So at line 312. See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 51, 52.

383, 384. "*no veil she needed.*" That Milton intended the word "*she*" to be emphatic here is proved by the spelling "*shee*" in the original.

386, 387. "*the holy salutation used . . . to blest Mary*": Luke i. 28.

391. "*grassy turf*": in the original "*terf*." See Essay on Milton's English, p. 51.

399. "*All perfect good*": spelt "*perfet*" in the original editions. See Essay on Milton's English, p. 44.

409. "*As doth*": "*doth*" where we should now say "*do*,"—a relic of the older grammar.

413. "*And corporeal*": might almost be pronounced "*corporéal*"; which would strengthen the contrast with "*incorporeal*" following.

416—418. "*Earth the Sea*," etc. "*Nam ex terrâ, aqua; ex aquâ oritur aer; ex aere æther*," etc.: Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 33. (Hume.) Parts of this treatise of Cicero's are in the poet's recollection throughout this passage.

419. "*Whence in her visage round those spots*," etc. Newton quotes a passage from Pliny where the spots on the moon are said to be "nothing else than the mud of the earth sucked up with the moisture."

422. "*her moist continent*." Shakespeare, as Todd noted, calls the moon "the moist star" (*Hamlet*, I. 1).

430. "*pearly grain*." Manna seems to be meant.

434—436. "*nor seemingly the Angel, nor in mist—the common gloss of theologians—but with*," etc. The construction is, "Nor did the Angel eat only seemingly, or as in a mist,—the common gloss, etc.—but," etc. Commenting on this passage, Bishop Newton says, "Several of the Fathers and ancient Doctors were of opinion that

the Angels did not really eat, but only seemed to do so; and they ground that opinion principally upon what the Angel Raphael says in the Book of Tobit, xii. 19."

440. "*the empiric alchemist*": i.e. "the experimenting alchemist," not "the quack alchemist," as the phrase would now be interpreted.

442. "*perfect gold*": again spelt "*perfet*" in the original. See note to line 399.

445. "*crowned*": filled to the brim,—a metaphor from the classics.

447. "*the Sons of God*." See Genesis vi. 2.

469—490. "*O Adam*," etc. As in a previous passage (lines 414—426) we have had a sketch of Milton's system of Physical Cosmology, so here we have a sketch of his Metaphysical System. It is that system of Pantheistic Materialism, or Materialistic Pantheism, which he seems to have worked out for himself in his later life, and of which there is a more articulate exposition in his Latin *Treatise of Christian Doctrine*, left in manuscript at his death in 1674, but not recovered till 1823, and not published till 1825. See Memoir of Milton in this edition, I. pp. 65-67, where a summary account is given of Milton's peculiar doctrines in that Treatise, and of his metaphysical theory of Pantheistic Materialism or Materialistic Pantheism in particular. What is there said, especially some sentences in p. 66, may be referred to by the reader at this point, as having anticipated the essence of any commentary I could now offer on the present passage. But the passage itself may be studied in detail. It contains, though under a haze of metre, the exact metaphysical doctrine of the Latin Prose Treatise, but with some interesting special corollaries. Asserting metrically the main notion of the Prose Treatise,—to wit that all created Being, whether called soul or body, consists of but one primordial matter, a direct efflux from the very substance of the Eternal and Infinite Spirit,—it lays stress on the fact that there are graduated varieties or sorts of this first material efflux from Deity, all radically one, but differentiated into an ascending series of forms, from the *inorganic* as the lowest, up to the *vegetable*, thence to the *animal*, thence to the *human*, and so to the *angelic*, or nearest in nature to the Divine original. Difficult of interpretation as the passage may be, there is no doubt that it expresses a cardinal tenet of Milton's Theology and Philosophy in his latest years.

488. "*Discursive, or Intuitive*." The distinction is an old one in psychology, and is still kept up by many psychologists. "Discursive Reason [or Understanding] is that act of our minds by which, after previous perception and judgment, made by comparing and

distinguishing anything under our inquiry with and from others better known, we form more certain notions and conclusions called *discursus* (Lat. *a discurrendo*), from a metaphorical *motion* in our minds, *running* as it were from one notion to another, and hunting out our imperfect knowledge." So Shakespeare has the phrase "discourse of reason" (*Ham.* I. 2). On the other hand "Intuitive Reason is that more refined, sudden, and satisfactory *insight* [Lat. *intueor*, I look into], that pure Spirits and illuminated Angels have into the nature of things, without all the trouble of comparing, distinguishing, hesitating, etc., but at first glance, *uno mentis ictu*, grasping the truth."—The quoted phrases are from Milton's earliest commentator, Hume.

509. "*the scale of Nature set*," etc.: i.e. "planted that ladder (*scala*, a ladder), or fixed that gradation, of Nature, from its centre to its circumference, on which," etc.

514. "*Can we want obedience, then*." "We" spelt "*wee*" in the original edition, and therefore emphatic.

524. "*perfect*": spelt "*perfet*," as before.

557. "*Worthy of sacred silence to be heard*." Literally, as Richardson noted, from Horace (*Od.* II. xiii. 29)—

"sacro digna silentio

• *Mirantur umbræ dicere.*"

563—576. "*High matter thou enjoin'st*," etc. A recollection of the way in which episodic or retrospective narrations are introduced in the classic Epics: see *Æneid*, II. 3. But Milton in this passage desires also to anticipate the objection that was sure to be made, and that has actually been made, to great portions of his poem: to wit that, in trying to describe things in their nature indescribable, he has had to resort to all kinds of physical and anthropomorphic shifts and suggestions. Through Raphael he hints beforehand that it must be so,—that, in describing the wars in Heaven, he *must* use such symbols and analogies as may serve to flash, not the transcendental reality, but a representative something, upon the imagination. But what, he concludes, if there is more of identity between the seen and the unseen than is thought,—if Earth be but sacramental and symbolical of Heaven? This idea, characteristic as it is of Milton's mind, may be found, in various forms, in the philosophy of many thinkers—long before Berkeley, in whose system it was so essential. Newton cites a passage in illustration from the "Discourses" of Mede, and Todd another from Cicero (*Frag. Timæus*), ending "*Ex quo efficitur ut sit necesse hunc quem cernimus mundum simulacrum esse alicujus æterni.*"

568. "*And perfect*": again "*perfet*" in the original.

576. "*more than on Earth is thought.*" In these words, and in the passage in which they appear, "*what if Earth,*" etc., one rather sees Milton himself speaking to his contemporaries than Raphael speaking at a time when there were only two human beings on the Earth to have opinions.

577. "*As yet this World was not,*" etc. At this point we have the true chronological beginning of the whole poem. See Intro. II. p. 78.

578. "*these heavens*": i.e. not the great or upper Heaven of Deity and the Angels (which then existed as one half of Infinity, Chaos being the other half), but *these* heavens over and around the Earth. The word "Heaven" or "Heavens" occurs in both these senses throughout the poem.

579—583. "*on a day . . . on such day as Heaven's great year brings forth.*" Here, at the outset, Milton's, or Raphael's, plan of narrating the events of the eternal or transcendental world so as to make them analogically conceivable by the human mind involves him in a daring image, with a perplexing theological consequence. There are grand measures of time by motion in Heaven, as on Earth. Heaven has its "great year,"—perhaps that "great year of the Heavens" imagined by Plato, which is measured by one complete revolution of all the spheres, so that all are brought back to the exact condition of mutual arrangement from which they set out, and are ready to begin a new repetition of their vast courses. Well, on a day such as this great year brings forth,—the first day of one such enormous Heavenly revolution,—there was an assembling of the Heavenly hierarchies, by summons, to hear a grand new announcement of the will of the Infinite Father. It was that on that day had been begotten the only Son, and that he was constituted and anointed Head and Lord over all things. Now, as the Angelic hosts were assembled to hear this decree, it seems to be intimated that they had indefinitely pre-existed the day so splendidly marked, and that it came as a kind of interruption or new epoch in their existence. And this seems farther hinted in a subsequent speech of Satan (lines 853—863), where it is implied that, in Satan's view at least, the Angels had come into being at the beginning of a *previous* great year or natural cycle of the Heavens. Now, though Milton was an Arian, and though his Arianism was inferred by Voltaire and others from various passages of his *Paradise Lost* before the discovery of his posthumous Latin "*Treatise of Christian Doctrine*," yet his Arianism, as avowed in that treatise, was not of the kind that would have been content with imagining the ascendancy of the Son as subsequent to the creation of the Angels. According to Bishop Sumner's summary of the portion of the treatise referring to this subject, Milton asserted that

"the Son of God existed in the beginning and was the first of the whole creation," and that "by his delegated power all things were made in Heaven and in earth." There would seem to be an inconsistency between this and what is suggested in the poem. But see the speech of Abdiel (lines 835—840), where the seeming inconsistency is provided for by the assertion that, albeit the Son had been begotten on that day, of the assembling of the Angels, yet by Him originally had all things, including the Angels themselves, been made. It seems unavoidable to suppose that Milton drew a distinction between the absolute existence and power of the Son and "his being begotten as the Son,"—dating the first as from the beginning, or at least from before all Creation and all Angels, but placing the last within the limits of created time and of the angelic history, and so denying what theologians call "the Eternal Sonship." But, in all, he keeps a sacred reserve; and, though his Arianism may be found in such passages of the *Paradise Lost*, yet it does not strongly obtrude itself,—the rather because the poet, walking amid such difficult mysteries, thinks it best, as on other such occasions, to keep close to the language of Scripture, and in every possible case to use the exact words of some Scriptural text, leaving the texts conjointly to produce their own total impression. See, first of all, Job i. 6, 1 Kings xxii. 19, Daniel vii. 10.

589. "*gonfalon*." A *gonfalon*, as distinct from an ordinary standard, was a flag at the end of a lance. The Pope's standard was such a *gonfalon*. An older English form of the word was *gonfanon*, identified by Skeat with the Middle High German *gundfano*, *battle-flag*, from *gund*, battle, and *fano*, flag.

594—596. "*in orbs of circuit inexpressible . . . orb within orb*." Orb may here mean "circle"; but perhaps it still may mean "solid sphere." See note, Book II. 512.

601. "*Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers*." A gradation of rank seems implied here, as if the "throned Angels" were highest, next those with "dominations," and so on.

602—609. The texts here coagulated are Psalms ii. 67, cx. 1; Eph. iv. 15; Genesis xxii. 16; Isaiah xlv. 23; Philipp. ii. 10, 11; Heb. i. 5.

612. "*Me disobey*": spelt "*mee*" in the original, and therefore emphatic.

625—627. "*And in their motions harmony divine*," etc. There was no notion more delightful or habitual to Milton than the Pythagorean one of "the music of the spheres." It often occurs in his writings. He must have been familiar with all the references to it among the ancients, including the interesting passage which Todd

quotes from Philo Judæus : 'Ο δὲ οὐρανὸς αἰὲ μελωδεῖ, κατὰ τὰς κινήσεις τῶν ὄντων ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν πάμμουσον ἁρμονίαν ἀποτελῶν.

627. "*Evening now approached.*" The word *now* omitted in First Edition, inserted in Second.

628. "*For we have also our evening and our morn.*" The metre of this line is irregular.

636—641. "*On flowers reposed . . . rejoicing in their joy.*" Instead of these six lines, which appear thus in the Second Edition, the First Edition has only these three :

" They eat, they drink, and with refection sweet
Are fill'd, before th' all bounteous King, who showrd
With copious hand, rejoicing in thir joy."

In Pickering's eight-volume Edition of Milton's works the passage is inadvertently given in its more meagre form, the First Edition having been followed. Consequently there, as in the First Edition, Book V. of the poem contains only 904 lines, instead of 907.

642. "*ambrosial Night.*" A Homeric expression, 'as Hume noted : ἀμβροσίην διὰ νύκτα (*Iliad*, II. 57).

650—652. See Rev. vii. 17 (Todd), and xxii. 1 (Keightley).

658—661. "*Satan—so call him now,*" etc. See note, Book I. 361—375.

671. "*his next subordinate*": i.e. Beelzebub. See note, I. 80—85.

673. "*Sleep'st thou, companion dear?*" Compare with this the passage in Milton's Latin Poem "*In Quintum Novembris*," 92.

685—693. "*Tell them that, by command,*" etc. Bishop Newton has pointed out that it is in keeping that the Father of Lies should be made to begin his revolt with a falsehood.

688, 689. "*where we possess the quarters of the North.*" It is by no means necessary to suppose with some that Milton intended here a reflection on Scotland, as the headquarters of Presbyterianism and Royalist obstinacy. The notion of the north parts of Heaven as the seat of the angelic rebellion was a theologico-poetic tradition, founded perhaps on Isaiah xiv. 12, 13, "How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning . . . For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into Heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north." Various authorities for the tradition are quoted by Newton, Warton, and Todd,—as St. Augustine, Sannazaro, Tasso, etc. Nay, in Shakespeare (*Henry VI. V.* 3) Satan is "the lordly Monarch of the North."

696. "*He together calls*": i.e. His associate calls. The spelling is "*Hee*" in the original edition, to mark the emphasis.

710. "*the third part of Heaven's host*." Rev. xii. 3, 4. (Hume.)

713. "*from within the golden lamps*," etc. Rev. iv. 5. (Hume.)

718. "*smiling*": an important word here, indicating that the speech following is in a continued strain of irony.

719. "*Son, thou in whom*," etc. Heb. i. 2. (Hume.)

734. "*Lightening divine*." As the word is spelt "*lightning*" in the original edition, we take it as a participle, meaning "*gleaming*," or "*lightening up*"; but some read it as a substantive, and quote Daniel x. 6 in illustration.

736, 737. "*hast in derision . . . laugh'st*." Psalm ii. 4. (Hume.)

744. "*an host*": so in the original text, and not "*a host*," as in most of the editions.

753, 754. "*from one entire globose stretched into longitude*": i.e. conceived as extended or rolled out from its globose form into a plane continuous in one direction, like that of longitude in the maps.

766. "*The Mountain of the Congregation called*." Isaiah xiv. 13.

782. "*Knee-tribute*." Todd quotes Shakespeare, *Richard II.* I. 4, "the tribute of his supple knee."

790, 791. "*possessed before by none*." This phrase refers to "Heaven," and not to "natives and sons." Satan makes the Angels aborigines of Heaven. See previous note, lines 578—583.

799. "*Much less for this to be our Lord*." A difficult passage to construe. In the first place, if, as in the original text, we suppose the interrogation continued as far as to the word "*serve*" in line 802, the phrase "*much less*" seems out of place. "*Much more*" would be the natural phrase in that case. But, if we stop the interrogation at "*err not*," and suppose an ellipsis, this difficulty vanishes. In the second place, to what does "*for this*" refer? Some understand it to be a contemptuous reference to the Messiah,—"*for this person to be our Lord*"; others understand "*for this*" to refer to the previous phrase, "*if in power and splendour less*," and the meaning consequently to be "*much less assume, on account of our being less in power and splendour, to be our Lord*." Bentley, according to his bold and easy method, proposes to read "*forethink*" for "*for this*." The most feasible supposition seems to be Warburton's,—which is that "*for this*" refers to "*introduce law and edict*," and that the meaning is "*Who can introduce law and edict on us? etc. Much less can any one assume, towards this end, or because of so doing, to be our Lord*," etc.

804, 805. "*among the Seraphim, Abdiel.*" The name Abdiel means "Servant of God."

805. "*than whom.*" Here, as in other cases, Milton writes "*than whom*" when "*than who*" would, in our modern syntax, be more correct. Thus, if we resolve the phrase, it becomes "Abdiel—none with more zeal adored than he." But, whether because of Milton's practice, or because of a soundness in that tradition which makes the words *me, him, etc.*, stand as nominatives in spite of the dictates of modern grammar, we certainly feel "*than whom*" to be the less awkward form.

809. "*blasphemous*": to be pronounced "blasphémous."

822—825. "*Shalt thou give law to God?*" etc. Rom. ix. 20. (Gillies.)

835—841. "*by whom, as by his Word,*" etc. See Colossians i. 16, 17. (Newton.)

842, 843. "*since he, the head,*" etc. The meaning is "since he, by becoming our head, deigns to become one of us, and we consequently participate in all that is his."

859—863. "*We know no time,*" etc. See previous note, 579—583.

862. "*his full orb.*" A remarkable instance of "*his*" where we should now say "*its*." It is impossible to suppose personification in the case of so neutral an entity as "fatal course"; and, indeed, seeing that it was Satan's intention to shut out the idea that living personality of any kind had been concerned in the genesis of the Angels, one is rather surprised that Milton did not instinctively use the form "*its*" here. See, on the word *Its*, Essay on Milton's English, pp. 56—71.

864, 865. "*Our puissance,*" etc. Psalm xii. 4, and Psalm xlv. 4. (Hume.)

869. "*Beseeking or besieging.*" This is referred to as one of those "jingles" in Milton which a modern taste would reject. Perhaps modern taste is too self-confident.

872—874. "*as the sound of waters,*" etc. Rev. xix. 6. (Newton.)

884. "*vouchsafed*": in the original "*voutsafed.*" See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 51, 52.

907. "*swift destruction.*" 2 Pet. ii. 1. (Keightley.)

BOOK VI.

2—4. “till Morn, waked by the circling Hours, with rosy hand unbarred the gates of Light.” A recollection of Homer’s phrase *ροδοδάκτυλος Ἥως*; perhaps also of *Iliad*, V. 749; certainly, as Hume pointed out, of Ovid, *Met.* II. 112.

7—11. “Lodge and dislodge by turns,” etc. Newton refers to Hesiod, *Theog.* 748.

19. “war in procinct”: i.e. in readiness. A Roman army, ready for battle, was said *stare in procinctu* (from *procingere*, “to gird tight in front”), the soldiers having then their garments girt tight round them.

29—43. “Servant of God,” etc. This is the meaning of the name Abdiel: see note, 804-5, Book V. In the speech to Abdiel there is a recollection of Matt. xxv. 21, 1 Tim. vi. 12, Ps. lxii. 7, 2 Tim. ii. 15.

44—55. “Go, Michael,” etc. Milton’s authority for making Michael the chief leader of the Heavenly armies is Rev. xii. 7, 8: “And there was war in Heaven; Michael and his Angels fought against the Dragon,” etc. It has been remarked, by Dunster and Landor, as an inconsistency in the poem that the order given to Michael in this passage remains unexecuted. The rebels are driven out at last, not by Michael, but by the Messiah in person.

49. “Equal in number,” etc. As the rebel Angels were one-third of the Heavenly Host, this implies that half of the remainder only were detached to meet them.

57, 58. “to roll,” etc.: spelt “rowl” in the original. (See Essay on Milton’s English, pp. 45—47.) The construction is “to roll reluctant flames in dusky wreaths,” the word “reluctant” being used not in our usual sense of “unwilling,” but in that of “struggling to break forth.”

60. “gan blow.” *Gan* is the preterite of the old verb *gin* (for *begin*), and sometimes means *began*, but very often, in old poets, stands merely for *did*. Only in the second case, say some, is the sign of the infinitive to properly omitted. Either sense will suit here.

62. “in mighty quadrate joined.” “Quadrate” has been explained as meaning square or rectangle; but Milton may here use it for “cube.” He is true throughout to his notion of the Angels as not subject to gravitation (as, indeed, whither *could* they gravitate

in Heaven?), but capable of motion at will in all directions. Hence their armies in Heaven are more frequently solids than plane figures. See *Intro.* II. p. 79, and subsequent note, 399.

63—68. "*moved on in silence their bright legions to the sound,*" etc. Compare I. 549—562.

69—71. "*nor obvious hill,*" etc. : imitated, thinks Todd, from Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* i. 75 ; and Keightley quotes a parallel passage from the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (381 *et seq.*), the more interesting, he says, because Milton could not have seen it. But, in fact, Milton did not need to see it, or any similar passage. He was imagining for himself, and could not imagine the thing otherwise.

81. "*and, nearer view*" : i.e. "and, when it was nearer view."

84. "*argument*" : i.e. "carved or painted design" : in which sense Milton uses the Latin word "*argumentum*" in his *Epitaphium Damonis*, 185.

90. "*form*" : in its old sense of "foolish."

93. "*hosting*." Said by Todd to have been a word in use among the Anglo-Irish, and found in Spenser's *View of Ireland*, and in Strafford's Letters.

100. "*sun-bright*." The epithet is found in Spenser, Drayton, and other old poets.

101. "*Idol of*" : i.e. false image of.

111. "*Abdiel that sight endured not*." Newton quotes *Æn.* II. 407 : "Non tulit hanc speciem furiatâ mente Chorcebus."

115. "*reality*." The word may stand for "reality," or it may be "réalty," meaning "loyalty," from the Italian "*reale*."

127. "*So pondering,*" etc. The reader is here reminded that Abdiel has not yet been speaking aloud, but only thinking to himself,—"*exploring his own heart,*" as was intimated in line 113.

147. "*my Sect*." It is impossible to avoid feeling that, in this phrase, and throughout the passage, Milton has a secondary reference to himself, and his position in England, at the time when the poem was written.

148. "*How few,*" etc. : meaning either "how it is possible for a few sometimes to be right where," etc., or "what a small number may sometimes be right where," etc.

167, 168. "*Ministering Spirits . . . the minstrelsy of Heaven*." Conceive both the words "ministering" and "minstrelsy" pronounced with ironical emphasis. *Minstrel* is from the Latin *ministralis*, a servant or retainer. The phrase "ministering Spirits" is from Heb. i. 14.

169. "*Servility*." "A word coined by our author," says Hume, "to express the extreme meanness and baseness of slaves." But Hume is wrong here. The word occurs in Shakespeare, 1 *Henry VI*. V. 3: "a slave in base servility."

170. "*both their deeds*": an unusual construction, for the deeds of both of them (*i.e.* of "servility" or the loyal angels, and "freedom" or the rebel angels).

203. "*the vast of Heaven*." Todd quotes "that vast of night" from Shakespeare, *Tempest*, I. 2.

207 *et seq.* "In the following battle," says Keightley, "the mind of the poet was evidently filled with that of the Kronids and Titans in the *Theogony* of Hesiod (676 *et seq.*)"

216. "*Both battles main*": *i.e.* both the main bodies.

222. "*These elements*": *i.e.* the elements of the terrestrial world amid which Raphael was speaking to Adam; the word *these* emphatic.

236. "*the ridges*": *i.e.* rows or ranks, as in a ploughed field.

239. "*moment*": *i.e.* impelling force, *momentum*.

262—264. "*Author of Evil*," etc. The meaning of the passage is "Author of Evil,—a thing unknown till thy revolt and without even a name in Heaven, but now as plentiful as thou seest these acts," etc.

288. "*Err not*": *i.e.* do not erroneously imagine.

313. "*aspect malign*." A phrase from astrology. See note, X. 657 *et seq.*

321. "*the armoury of God*." Jerem. i. 25. (Todd.)

323—330. "*it met the sword of Satan*," etc. The various commentators have quoted various passages from Spenser, which Milton may have had in mind in this account of Michael's sword and its effects on Satan: *e.g.* *F. Q.* V. i. 10, III. v. 20, IV. iv. 24, V. viii. 34. Knowledge of the broadsword exercise and its terms is shown in the passage,—Mr. Keightley's explanation being that "Michael's sword with the down-stroke cut that of Satan in two, and then with an up-stroke (*coup de revers*) it 'shared' his side." *Shared* (326) is *cut, divided, shred*: etymologically the same as *sheer* in line 325.

329. "*griding*." *Gird* in Old English meant to strike, smite, or cut through (from *yard*, a rod): *gride*, another form of the same word, had the last meaning.

332. "*nectarous humour*": *i.e.* the *ichor* of the gods, as in Homer, *Iliad*, V. 340, which Milton must have had in mind:

ιχώρ, οὗτος πέρ τε πέει μάκαρεςσι θεοῖσιν.

335. "*to his aid was run*": a Latinism, *cursum est*.

365. "*Andramelech and Asmadai*." Here we have two more of the names of the rebel Angels, in addition to those mentioned in Book I. 376—521, and like them taken from the mythologies of the ancient Polytheisms or false religions. Adramelech ("splendid king") is mentioned, 2 Kings xvii. 31, as one of the gods of the Sepharvites, worshipped by that nation in Samaria when they had been planted there by the king of Assyria. "Asmadai is the lustful and destroying Angel, Asmodeus, mentioned in Tobit iii. 8." (Hume.)

371, 372. "*Ariel . . . Arioch . . . Ramiel*." Three more names of rebel Angels. Ariel ("Lion of God") is a name occurring in the Old Testament once or twice,—Ezra viii. 16, Isaiah xxix. 1,—but not as that of a false god. Arioch ("lion-like") similarly occurs,—Dan. ii. 14,—as the proper name of a man. Ramiel does not occur in Scripture. Milton has helped himself to the names from mere tradition.

373—380. "*I might relate*," etc. Compare I. 361—375, and note on that passage.

390. "*Charioter*": so spelt in original editions. See Essay on Milton's English, p. 51.

399. "*In cubic phalanx*." Interpreted by Todd, Keightley, and all the commentators, as meaning only "four-square"; but, in the poet's imagination, as I believe, meaning literally "cubical" in the ordinary geometrical sense. Milton's notion, maintained consistently throughout, is that the Angels are not subject to the law of gravitation, as men are (gravitation, indeed, having no existence in Heaven, or till terrestrial masses were created), but move vertically at will, as well as horizontally. It is a consequence of this that, whereas armies of Men can form only squares, circles, or other plane figures, armies of Angels may act as cubes, spheres, or other solid masses. Read previous lines 344—353; and see Introd. II. p. 79.

406—410. "*Now Night*," etc. Keightley notes a recollection here of the end of Book VIII. and the beginning of Book IX. of the *Iliad*; and Newton quotes Horace, *Sat. I. 5-9*—

"Jam Nox inducere teris
Umbras et cœlo diffundere signa parabat."

410. "*foughten*": an old form, found in Shakespeare and others.

429. "*Of future*" may mean either "In future we may deem him fallible," or "we may deem him fallible as respects the future."

441, 442. "*Or equal . . . In nature none*." The meaning is

"or equal that, whatever it was, which made the odds between us, —an odds not existing so far as our constitution is concerned."

447. "*Nisroch*." The poet here avails himself of the name of that Assyrian god in whose temple at Nineveh Sennacherib was slain (2 Kings xix. 37). The meaning of *Nisroch* is doubtful: perhaps "great eagle."

467, 468. "*to me deserves*," etc. The meaning is, "In my opinion, deserves no less than what we already owe to Satan for our general deliverance from bondage."

470—491. "*Not uninvented*," etc. In this passage, ascribing the invention of gunpowder and artillery to Satan, Milton but follows Ariosto, Spenser, and preceding poets. See *Faery Queene*, I. vii. 13. Compare also Milton's Latin poems on the Gunpowder Plot for similarities of expression.

484. "*hollow*": in the original text spelt "hallow."

496. "*cheer*": aspect, countenance: from old Fr. *chere*, face or countenance. Hence *to cheer*, to put in good countenance, to hearten; and hence *cherish*.

519. "*inventive reed*": i.e. the match or touchwood.

520. "*pernicious*." It has been suggested that, along with the common meaning of this word, Milton may have had in his mind the Latin *pernix*, meaning "quick." Hence "destructively sensitive" would be about the equivalent.

521. "*conscious Night*." Hume quotes Ovid, *Met.* XIII. 15: "quorum nox conscia sola est."

532. "*In motion or in halt*." I have not seen it noticed by any editor that in the original text the word is not "*halt*" but "*alt*," and that this spelling "*alt*" remains in the Second and Third Editions. Is it to be accounted an undetected error? See XI. 210.

535. "*Zophiel*." A name probably invented by Milton. It does not occur in Scripture. It would mean in Hebrew "Spy of God."

536. "*Came flying*," etc. A line of unusual metre, the word "flying" occurring where a single strong syllable is common, so that the first half of the line has to be pronounced in a manner which represents the act described.

541. "*Sgd*": i.e. "serious," "steady," in which sense the word is used by Chaucer and Spenser. Todd quotes from Chaucer (*Clerkes Tale*, V. 8923) the line—

"And she aye sad and constant as a wall."

544. "*Borne even or high*": i.e. held either straight out from the body, or high to protect the head.

547. "*warned he them, aware themselves.*" Todd quotes Lucretius (III. 1053), "*Admonuit memorem*"; but that reading is doubtful.

550. "*move.*" So in First and Second Editions: converted into *moved* in most modern editions, without reason.

552. "*hollow cube.*" See note to line 399.

553. "*Training,*" etc.: drawing in train. Compare Spenser, *F. Q. I. vii. 13.*

558—567. "*Vanguard, to right and left,*" etc. The reader will notice the irony of this speech of Satan, and the string of puns it contains,—"*our overture,*" "*discharge our part,*" "*do as you have in charge,*" "*briefly touch,*" etc. Newton notes similar jesting in Homer, in a speech of Æneas and one of Patroclus, in *Iliad XVI.*

572—578. "*A triple mounted row,*" etc. It has been suggested that this must mean that there were three rows of cannon, one behind the other. But the poet seems clearly to imagine the rows one over another vertically, as they might be in a ship's side, and such an arrangement of the cannon is consistent with the notion of the rebel host as forming a hollow cube. The van of this cube having been wheeled to right and left, the triple row of cannon would be unmasked in the interior hollow.—The construction of the passage is rendered very intricate by the parenthesis. It seems to be this: "*discovered to our eyes a new and strange sight,—what we should have taken to be a triple-mounted row of pillars, brass, iron, or of stony substance, laid on wheels (for they seemed most like to pillars, or hollowed trunks of oak or fir from which the branches had been lopped), but that their open mouths gaping on us convinced us they could not be pillars.*" Mr. Keightley thinks the reference to felled trees an anachronism here, as, while Raphael was speaking, the felling of trees can hardly be supposed to have been begun on Earth.

578. "*Portending hollow truce.*" Even Raphael puns.

579—581. "*A Seraph stood . . . a reed stood waving . . . collected stood.*" Bishop Newton not unnaturally supposes that this repetition of "*stood*" is an awkwardness which escaped Milton's notice. The difficulty is with the second "*stood.*" If "*Seraph*" is the nominative to it, as one would naturally read, then the passage runs thus, "*At each a Seraph stood, and stood waving in his hand a reed, etc., while we stood collected.*" But Mr. Keightley proposes to make "*reed*" the nominative to the second "*stood*"; in which case "*waving*" would become a neater verb, and the passage would

run thus, "At each stood a Seraph, and a reed stood waving in his hand," etc. Either reading seems awkward. Bentley, as usual, mends the passage by at once supposing a misprint, and substituting "held" for the second "stood."

595—599. "*Unarmed, they might,*" etc. Here we seem to have an afterthought of Milton, correcting his prevalent notion of the power of the spirits to dilate or contract themselves at will (see notes, I. 429 and 789). Remembering this notion, and yet resolved to keep his representation of the effect of the cannon on the Angelic host, he resorts to the imagination that the arms of the Angels, not being of the Angelic substance, but of more ordinary matter, hung about them and impeded the exercise of their elasticity. This is one of the shifts to which Milton is driven by the nature of his subject, and is perhaps hardly consistent with other passages in the poem. Is it consistent, for example, with the description of the assembly of the fallen Angels in Pandemonium, I. 777 *et seq.*? There the Angels are armed, and yet they contract themselves into the smallest bulk with ease.

599. "*serried files.*" See note, I. 548.

609—619. "*O friends,*" etc. In this speech of Satan we have more ironical punning—"open front," "terms of *composition*," "proposals *heard*," etc.

621—627. Belial's puns in this speech outdo Satan's.

656—661. "*Their armour helped their harm,*" etc. See note to lines 595—599. There is an advance in this passage on the supposition made in the other. In the case of the *rebel* Angels not only does the armour impede the exercise of the spiritual elasticity, but, crushed in upon the bodies of the spirits, it causes pain. This difference of the rebel from the loyal Angels is accounted for by the deterioration of the being of the former caused by their sin.—Observe the jingle *armour* and *harm*.

664—667. "*So hills . . . infernal noise!*" The meaning is "Hills encountered hills amid the air so (to such an extent) that the Angels were actually fighting *underground*, in a darkness that was dismal and a noise that might properly be called *infernal*, as being roofed over by the flying masses of earth."

673. "*Consulting on the sum of things.*" Almost a translation of an expression of Milton's own in his Academic Latin Poem *Naturam non pati Senium*, where (lines 33, 34) he says—

"At Pater omnipotens, fundatis fortius astris,
Consuluit rerum summæ."

681, 682. "*in whose face invisible is beheld visibly, what by Deity*

I am": i.e. "in whose face a thing in its own nature invisible,—to wit, what by my Deity I am,—is beheld visibly."

691, 692. "*which yet hath wrought insensibly.*" The most probable meaning is, "The indecisiveness of the fight as yet has arisen from the equality of the original constitutions of the Angels on the two sides. This equality has been somewhat disturbed to the disadvantage of the rebel Angels by the impairing effects of sin upon them, causing them to feel pain, etc.; which (i.e. which disturbance to the disadvantage of the rebel Angels) has as yet produced no very sensible effect on the state of the battle." In this reading the antecedent to "which" is the whole clause "what sin hath impaired" (i.e. the amount of injury to one side done by sin). But there may be another, and obvious, reading of the passage, if the single word "sin" is made the antecedent. I prefer the former reading.

698. "*the main*": i.e. the total Universe, of which the Emphyrean Heaven is the half.

709. "*By sacred unction.*" See Psalm xlv. 7. (Newton.)

714. "*Gird on,*" etc. See Psalm xlv. 3: "Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty," etc. (Newton.)

723—745. "*O Father, O Supreme,*" etc. In this speech of the Son, as in other such speeches of the Divine Persons, Milton is careful to avail himself exactly of the language of Scriptural texts. Among the texts involved are John xvii. 4, 5, Matthew xvii. 5, 1 Cor. xv. 28, John xvii. 21, Psalm cxxxix. 21, 2 Peter ii. 4, Isaiah lxvi. 24, Mark ix. 44. The merit of tracing these texts, and the others that follow to the end of the book, belongs to various commentators; but it is needless to name each.

748. "*the third sacred morn.*" It has been supposed that in making the Messiah's triumph take place on the third day Milton may have had the Resurrection in view.

750—759. "*The chariot of Paternal Deity . . . showery arch.*" In this description Milton has in view throughout the first chapter of Ezekiel; which see. Mr. Keightley has a special little dissertation in connexion with this passage and the chapter of Ezekiel. It is appended to his *Life of Milton* under the title of "Cherubic Car of Jehovah."

760, 761. "*in celestial panoply all armed of radiant Urim.*" Ephes. vi. 11, and Exod. xxviii. 15—30. *Urim* means lights or flashing jewels.

765. "*rolled*": in original "*rowld*." See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 45—47.

766. "*bickering*": i.e. struggling. "To bicker, connected with *peak*,

a sharp point, and *peck*, is to fight irregularly and incessantly, as with a succession of pecks or sharp blows. It is still used provincially in that sense. A "bicker" in Scotland is a fight of schoolboys, with stones for missiles.

767—770. "*ten thousand thousand Saints . . . twenty thousand . . . chariots.*" Jude xiv. ; and Psalm lxviii. 17 : "The chariots of God are twenty thousand."

771. "*He on the wings of Cherub,*" etc. Psalm xviii. 10. Cherub is used here for the plural, Cherubim.

776. "*his sign in Heaven.*" Matthew xxiv. 30. (Gillies.)

781—784. "*At his command,*" etc. Habak. iii. 6. (Todd.)

788. "*In Heavenly Spirits could such perverseness dwell?*" Hume quotes Virgil's words (*Æn.* I. 11), "*Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?*"

801. "*Stand still,*" etc. See Exod. xiv. 13, 14. (Gillies.)

808. "*Vengeance is his.*" Deut. xxxii. 35, and Rom. xii. 19.

812, 813. "*By me,*" etc. "Me," being used emphatically three times in these two lines, is in each case spelt "mee" in the original texts, according to Milton's practice ; and the same spelling is kept up throughout the rest of the passage.

826. "*wrath*" : spelt "*wrauth*" in the original text.

829. "*rolled*" : "*rowld*" in the original. See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 45—47.

842. "*That wished,*" etc. Rev. vi. 16. (Newton.)

862. "*Deep*" : *i.e.* Chaos.

862—866. "*The monstrous sight . . . bottomless pit.*" The rebel Angels, it is to be noted, do not fall from Heaven in our sense of "fell." They were not subject to gravitation, and there was no proper element towards which they could gravitate. The passage recollects this, and makes the angels "*urged*" or *driven* from Heaven, down through Chaos,—forced down and still down by the fire of the Divine wrath burning after them.

866. "*Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.*" A verse of strikingly unusual construction, introduced purposely to suggest the thing described.

867—869. "*Hell heard,*" etc. See Book II. 993.

871. "*Nine days they fell*" : as the Titans do in Hesiod (*Theog.* 722).

882—892. "*To meet him all his Saints,*" etc. Rev. xii. 10, iv. 11, 1 Tim. iii. 16, Heb. i. 3.

893. "*Thus, measuring things in Heaven by things on Earth.*" Milton evidently feels the necessity, *after* his description of the wars in Heaven, of making Raphael repeat his caution that *such things* could only be described symbolically. See Book V. 563 *et seq.*

900. "*he who envies.*" Strict syntax would require "*him*" instead of "*he*," unless we were to read "*he who*" as elliptical for "*he it is who.*" In the original text the spelling is "*hee*," for emphasis.

909. "*Thy weaker*": *i.e.* Eve. *l*

912. "*Yet fell*," etc. The metre of the line is peculiar, but winds up the Book very fitly.

BOOK VII.

1, 2. "*Urania, by that name if rightly thou art called*," etc. Urania, as the name itself implies, is the same "Heavenly Muse" whom he had invoked at the beginning of the poem (Book I. line 6). But, as the name is also that of one of the nine Grecian Muses, and as his flight has been into higher regions than the Olympus of Greek poetry, he doubts whether Urania is altogether the fit name for his Muse. It is the *meaning* ("Heavenly"), he goes on to say, and not the mere *name* (as that of one of the Muses), that he calls.

8—11. "*Before the hills appeared*," etc. Proverbs viii. 24—30. (Newton.)

15. "*Thy tempering*": *i.e.* "tempered or made fit for my earthly constitution by thee." Bentley, utterly incapable of the Miltonic idiom, thinks "*thy*" a printer's error for "*thee*."

17—20. "*from this flying steed unreined (as once Bellerophon)*," etc. By "this flying steed" Milton means *his* Pegasus,—soaring much higher than that Pegasus from which, according to the fable, Bellerophon fell in his attempt to reach Heaven. Falling from the winged horse, Bellerophon wandered all the rest of his life in the Aleian fields,—which name means the Fields of Error.

22. "*the visible Diurnal Sphere*": *i.e.* the Astronomical Universe of Man, which appears to revolve round the Earth daily in twenty-four hours.

23. "*the pole*": *i.e.* that topmost point of the Astronomical Universe where, according to Milton's cosmology in the poem, it hangs from the eternal and unimaginable Heaven in which most of the history has as yet been laid.

24—28. "*unchanged to hoarse or mute, though fallen on evil days . . . and solitude.*" Note the touching reference to Milton's personal condition after the Restoration,—solitary, blind, and calumniated, while all that he thought worst was now in the ascendancy in England. Yet his voice, he says, is changed neither to hoarse nor to mute: *i.e.* he can still make himself heard, and in a clear strain.

31. "*fit audience find, though few.*" Newton quotes Horace, *Sat.* I. x. 74:—

"Contentus paucis lectoribus."

32—38. "*But drive far off,*" etc. An evident allusion to the dissolute courtiers of Charles II., from whom he might expect a fate not unlike that of Orpheus, the son of the muse Calliope. He was torn to pieces by the Bacchanalians in Rhodope, a mountain of Thrace, where his song had charmed the woods and rocks.—Milton recollects here lines 549, 550 of his own *Comus*; and the phrase "*barbarous dissonance*" is repeated from that passage.

39. "*thou art heavenly, she an empty dream.*" "Thou" is Urania, Milton's muse; "she" is Calliope.

50. "*consorted.*" Mr. Keightley notes, "He coins this participle, for *consort* is a neuter verb." Not so. *Consort* was an active verb in Milton's time, and the form *consorted* is found in Spenser and in Donne:—

"For all that pleasing is to living eare
Was there consorted in one harmonie."

F. Q. II. xii. 70.

"Leave me; and in this standing wooden chest,
Consorted with these few books, let me lie."

DONNE, *Sat.* I.

94. "*Absolved*": finished.

97. "*to magnify his works.*" Job xxxvi. 24. (Gillies.)

103. "*unapparent Deep*": *i.e.* Chaos, surrounding the natural Universe, but not visible from it.

116, 117. "*infer thee*": "make thee by consequence," "bring thee on."

122. "*the invisible King.*" 1 Tim. i. 17. (Newton.)

123. "*suppressed in night*": a recollection, as Thyer observed, of Horace, *Od.* III. xxix. 29, 30:—

"Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosâ nocte premit Deus."

125. "*enough*": spelt "anough" in the original.

126—130. "*But Knowledge . . . needs no less her temperance,*"

etc. Mr. Keightley quotes a curiously parallel passage from Davenant's *Gondibert*, published in 1651:—

"For, though books serve as diet of the mind,
If knowledge early got self-value breeds,
By false digestion it is turned to wind,
And what should nourish on the eater feeds."

131. "*Lucifer . . . (so call him.)*" The name *Lucifer* (in Greek Φωσφόρος) means "Lightbringer," and was the classic name for the morning-star, i.e. the planet Venus when seen before sunrise. The name occurs in Isaiah xiv. 12, "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!" where the application is to the King of Babylon. The application of the name to Satan in his fall dates, it is said, from St. Jerome.

134, 135. "*Fell . . . into his place.*" Newton quotes Acts i. 25.

142. "*us dispossessed.*" The sound has led Milton to prefer this to the more usual construction "we dispossessed." He wants something like the Latin ablative absolute.

144. "*whom their place knows here no more.*" Job vii. 10. (Newton.)

145, 146. "*have kept . . . their station.*" Jude 6. (Todd.)

154, 155. "*in a moment will create another world.*" See note on line 176.

162. "*inhabit lax*": dwell at large or expansively. "*Habitare laxè voluit*," as Dunster observed, is a phrase of Cicero's.

165. "*My overshadowing Spirit.*" Luke i. 35. (Hume.)

167. "*heaven and earth.*" The word heaven is here used in a restricted sense, meaning the heaven of our Universe, cut out of the bosom of Chaos, not the Empyrean Heaven, where so much of the action of the poem has taken place.

168, 169. "*Boundless the Deep . . . nor vacuous.*" The meaning is, "Chaos is boundless, because I am boundless who fill infinitude; nor is Chaos empty of my presence, though I, in a manner, hold myself retired from it and inhabit more peculiarly Heaven."

176. "*Immediate are the acts of God.*" By this phrase, as by that in lines 154, 155, Milton, it has been supposed, meant to favour the opinion of some theologians that the creation of the Universe was really instantaneous, though, for the purposes of human apprehension, it is represented as a work of six days. Hume first suggested this, and Newton repeats it.

182. "*Glory they sung,*" etc. Luke ii. 14. (Newton.)

192. "*So sang.*" Observe the poet's preference, on musical

grounds, here for the preterite form "*sang*," instead of "*sung*," which he generally uses, and has used immediately before, line 182. See previous note, Book III. line 383.

201. "*between two brazen mountains lodged.*" Hume cites the text which has been the poet's authority here. It is Zech. vi. 1: "And behold there came four chariots out from between two mountains; and the mountains were mountains of brass."

208. "*The King of Glory.*" Psalm xxiv. 7. (Hume.)

214. "*And surging waves.*" For and Newton proposed to read *an*.

224. "*the fervid wheels.*" A phrase from Horace, *Od.* I. i. 4. "Metaque fervidis evitata rotis." (Hume.)

225—231. "*the golden compasses,*" etc. Prov. viii. 27. Nothing could be grander, and at the same time more distinct, than this image of the golden compasses, one point fixed, and the other slowly circling so as to mark out from the body of Chaos the limits of the great sphere of the new Universe.

232. "*Thus God,*" etc. From this point onwards Milton keeps closely in view the Mosaic account of creation in Genesis.

235. "*His brooding wings.*" See Book I. line 21, and note.

236—242. "*And vital virtue infused . . . centre hung.*" There is some difficulty in tracing the order and nature of the creative actions as they are imagined in this passage. First there is the infusion of vital warmth and virtue by God's Spirit into that vast spherical portion of Chaos which the golden compasses had marked out, and the purging of it by the same agency from its more noxious dregs,—these descending into the body of Chaos underneath the sphere of the new Universe. This is clear enough; but the rest of the passage, beginning "then founded," is not so clear. As it stands, the most natural construction would give this meaning,—that, the space of the new Universe having been warmed, vitalised, and purged of its dregs, there ensued, first, the process described as the "founding and conglobing of like things to like" (i.e. the formation of the elements by the fixing and rolling together of their previously confused particles), and then the farther process described as the "disparting of *the rest* to their several place, the spinning out of the air between," etc. But to this there is the objection that in that case there would be nothing to which the words "the rest" could properly refer. After all like things had been united like to like, what could possibly be imagined as "the rest"? It seems, therefore, that we must seek another reading of the passage. Perhaps the construction in Milton's mind was one which meant but

one process, and not two, to be described in the series of clauses from "then founded" to "hung." The space of the new Universe having been cleared of its cold and tartarean dregs, the poet may have meant to describe what was done with *the rest*,—i.e. with all that remained within the vast sphere that had been cut out of Chaos and consecrated for the new purpose. Suppose then the construction be this: "Downward purged the black, tartareous, cold, infernal dregs, adverse of life; then disparted the rest,—like things having been founded and conglobed to like,—to several place," etc. Such a construction is quite Miltonic, and it may be owing only to the difficulty of indicating it by the punctuation that it has been missed. This difficulty arises from the recurrence of the "then." Compare with the whole passage the similar description, Book III. 709—719.

242. "*Earth, self-balanced, on her centre hung.*" ("Hung" is here the active verb, "hung Earth, self-balanced, on her centre.") Milton, as Hume observed, had Ovid's lines in view, *Met.* I. 12 :

Nec circumfuso pendebat in aëre tellus
Ponderibus librata suis."

243, 244. "*Light ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure.*" Here, as in Book III. 716, Milton makes Light a quintessence, or fifth essence, distinct from the four grosser elements. These already existed in the space of the new Universe, and had only to be founded, conglobed, and separated; but Light has to be introduced from without. *Introduced* is the proper word, for it is not of the *creation* of Light that we have here an account. Light, according to the poet, was "the first of things," always filling Heaven, if not eternally coexisting with the Father (see Book III. 1—6); and all that takes place now is the invoking of Light, which had hitherto been absent from Chaos, into the portion of Chaos which was to contain the new Creation.

245—249. "*Sprung from the Deep,*" etc. One would have imagined rather the *gushing down* of Light from Heaven into the new Universe; but there are reasons why Milton rather makes Light come in, as it were, at one *side* of the new Universe, springing from the Deep at that side, and slowly traversing, like a radiant cloud, the space till now in gloom. The difficulty of describing Light apart from the Sun or any other luminary has perhaps hardly been overcome in this passage.

250. "*by the hemisphere*": i.e. hemispherically: one-half of the sphere of the Universe being in darkness while the other is in light.

253—260. "*Nor passed uncelebrated,*" etc. Job xxxviii. 4—7. (Newton.)

261—275. "*Let there be firmament,*" etc. Different interpreta-

tions have been given of the Scriptural word "firmament" as used in the passage (Gen. i. 6) which Milton here paraphrases. Milton adopts the interpretation which makes "firmament" mean the expanse of transparent ether or space between Earth and the uttermost boundaries of the visible Cosmos. Following the Biblical cosmology, and reconciling it with the Ptolemaic system, he supposes the creative work of the second day to have been the establishing of this firmament, and the separation by it of the waters till then diffused throughout the Universe into two great aggregations: first, those clinging to the body of the Earth and flowing round it; and, next, those removed to the outside of the whole visible Universe, and forming the Ninth or Crystalline sphere of the pre-Copernican astronomy, separated from Chaos only by the Tenth sphere or Primum Mobile. See note, Book III. 444—497.

• 274. "*Heaven he named the Firmament*": i.e. the whole expanse of space visible from the Earth was named Heaven after that greater eternal or Empyrean Heaven which it was to typify to Man.

311, 312. "*after her kind, whose seed is in herself*." A distinct instance of "*her*" where we should say *its*; and Milton here deviates from the authorised text, which is (Gen. i. 11), "the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself."

321. "*the swelling gourd*." So in the original text; but Bentley proposed "*swelling*," and the reading has been generally adopted.

321, 322. "*up stood the corny reed embattled in her field*." The corn-stalks are standing thick together like the ranks of an army.

322. "*add the humble shrub*." I restore this reading from the First and Second Editions; the Third has "*and the humble shrub*," which reading has consequently slipped into all the later copies. That it is a mere printer's error of the Third Edition is the more likely because the pointing is not altered there to correspond. Besides, "*up stood*" would not be so applicable to the "humble shrub" and the "bush" as to the "corny reed."

323. "*implicit*": i.e. "implicated" in the literal sense; "entwined." (Lat. *implico*.)

325, 326. "*gemmed their blossoms*." In Lat. *gemma* means primitively "a bud," and only derivatively "a gem" in the sense of "jewel"; and *gemmare* is "to bud" or "to put forth blossoms."

328. "*That Earth now*." As in the original text "*that*" begins a new sentence, it is possible that Milton meant it to be the pronoun emphatic, and the sense to be, "*That Earth, so covered with vegetation, now seemed very different from what the Earth till then had been—seemed like to Heaven*," etc. But in late editions only

a comma or a semicolon precedes the "*that*"; which, by linking the phrase "that Earth now seemed like to Heaven" with the preceding, rather converts the "*that*" into a conjunction, and gives it the sense of "so that."

334—337. "*and each plant of the field . . . God made,*" etc. Milton here follows the Authorised Version (Gen. ii. 5); which, however, Mr. Keightley says, is indubitably incorrect. It ought, he says, to be, "And no plant of the field was as yet on the earth." The Revised Version confirms his remark.

359—361. "*Of Light by far the greater part he took,*" etc.: *i.e.* he took the greater part of that Light which had been moving through the Universe as yet as a widely-diffused cloud, and concentrated it in the Sun's body. A discrepancy has been noted by Mr. Keightley between this account of the creation of the heavenly luminaries and the previous account, Book III. 716 *et seq.*, where they are represented as made at once of Light.

366. "*her horns.*" So in the Second Edition; but in the First it was "*his horns.*" As Venus is meant, the change is for the better.

367, 368. "*they augment their small peculiar.*" All the light of the Universe not having been concentrated in the Sun's body, but only the greater part of it, the other heavenly bodies have each their "small peculiar," their own little property, of light; but this they augment by "tincture" (absorption) from the Sun, or by reflection of his light.

372, 373. "*jocund to run his longitude*": *i.e.* path from east to west. "Longitude" is a favourite word with Milton in this sense of distance in the direction of the equatorial line of the Universe as distinct from distance between the poles. See III. 576. Hume cites Psalm xix. 5.

375. "*Shedding sweet influence.*" From Job xxxviii. 31: "the sweet influence of the Pleiades." (Hume.)

382. "*dividual*": "divided," a word, from the Latin *dividuus*, used again by Milton, Book XII. 85, and already used by him in his *Arcopagitica*: "a dividual moveable."

388. "*Reptile*": here used in the sense of creeping or moving things of the waters,—*i.e.* fishes of all kinds. See Psalm civ. 25.—"*living soul.*" The phrase, inserted at this point, calls attention to the fact that these sea-creatures were the first of animals.

402. "*sculls.*" This is really the same word as "shoals"; but, that word having been already used, Milton makes the other form do duty as a distinct word. Todd says the phrase "a scull of

"herrings" is used in Norfolk and Suffolk. Both *shoal* and *scull* are forms of *school*, this last suggesting *troop* or *large number*.

409. "*on smooth*": i.e. on the smooth surface.

410. "*bended dolphins*." Ovid, *Fasti*, II. 113: "*tergo delphina recurvo*" (Hume). The fish meant is now called the porpoise.

415, 416. "*at his gills draws in*," etc. Ovid, *Met.* III. 686: "*Et acceptum patulis mare naribus efflant*." (Newton.)

420. "*callow . . . fledge*." *Callow* is featherless, or, covered only with soft down (A.-S. *calu*, Lat. *calvus*, bald). For *fledge*, see note, III. 627.

421. "*summed their pens*": completed the growth of their wings. It has been pointed out that the word "summed," in something like this sense, was a term in Falconry.

422, 423. "*under a cloud in prospect*": i.e. the ground which would have appeared to any one looking to be under a cloud, so great was the flight of the birds.

427. "*Intelligent of seasons*." Jerem. viii. 7. (Newton.)

429, 430. "*with mutual wing easing their flight*": i.e. facilitating the flight of the whole body by each in turn becoming the point of the wedge. Du Bartas has a longish passage on the Crane in his "Fifth Day," including these lines:—

"For, when her troops of wandering cranes forsake
Frost-firmèd Strymon, and in autumn take
Truce with the northern Dwarfs, to seek adventure
In southern climates for a milder winter,
Afront each band a forward captain flies,
Whose pointed bill cuts passage through the skies;
Two skilful sergeants keep the ranks aright,
And with their voice hasten their tardy flight."

439. "*mantling proudly*" It is the wings that *mantle*,—i.e. rise a little from the sides, outspread like a mantle. It is a term in Falconry.

440. "*Her state*": i.e. her canopy, as in a state-*barge*.

451. "*soul living*." In the original editions "*Fowle*" stands for "soul." It must be a misprint.

457. "*wons*": an old word for "dwells."

461. "*those*": the wild beasts; "*these*": the cattle.

466. "*brinded*": i.e. striped or streaked. See *Comus*, 443. Another form is "*brindled*"; and the word is connected with "*brand*," a piece of burning wood. Shakespeare (*Macb.* IV. 1) has "the brinded cat."

467. "*libbard*": i.e. leopard. Spenser has the form.

471. "*Behemoth*": here used for the Elephant, as Leviathan has been used for the Whale (line 412). In Job (xl. 15, xli. 1) Behemoth means the hippopotamus and Leviathan the crocodile. Todd refers to 2 Esdras vi. 49.

476. "*limber*": i.e. limp or pliant. "With long and limber oar" occurs in the old poet Turberville.

478. "*decked*," not the participle here, but the preterite active, governing "lineaments."

482. "*Minims*": i.e. *minima*, smallest creatures.

485—489. "*the parsimonious emmet*," etc. Proverbs vi. 6; but Hume notes that Milton has borrowed from Horace's description of the ant (*Sat.* I. i. 35), "*Haud ignara ac non incauta futuri*," and also from Virgil's line about the bee (*Georg.* IV. 83), "*Ingentes animos angusto in pectore versant*." In illustration of the phrase "*pattern of just equality perhaps hereafter*," Bishop Newton quotes a passage from Milton's prose pamphlet published early in 1660 under the title *The Ready and Easy way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*. Quoting in that passage the text from Proverbs, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard," etc., Milton adds: "which evidently shows us that they who think the nation undone without a king, though they look grave or haughty, have not so much true spirit and understanding in them as a pismire. Neither are these diligent creatures hence concluded to live in lawless anarchy, or that commended, but are set the examples to imprudent and ungoverned men of a frugal or self-governing Democracy or Commonwealth."

490. "*the female bee*," etc. Milton here adopts the notion, common in his day, that the working-bees were females.

505—513. "*There wanted yet the master-work*," etc. There is, as Hume noted, a distinct use by Milton here of the corresponding passage in Ovid *Met.* I. 76—86):—

"Sanctius his animal, mentisque capacious altæ
Deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cætera posset . . .
Finxit in effigiem moderantùm cuncta deorum.
Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri
Iussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus."

517, 518. "*(for where is not He present?)*." Inasmuch as the acts of creation are being done by the Son within what had hitherto been part of the body of Chaos, and the Father might be thought of as having remained in Heaven, this parenthesis reminding the reader of the Father's omnipresence was not unnecessary. For Milton, as usual, adhering to the sacred text, is about to quote the words from Genesis i. 26, where Deity, speaking in the plural, says, "Let us make man," etc.

535—538. "*Wherever thus created . . . he brought thee into this delicious grove, this Garden.*" It is here implied that the creation of Man did not take place within Paradise, but somewhere out of it; and this is in accordance with Gen. ii. 8 and 15. Todd quotes also 2 Esdras iii. 6.

563. "*stations*": so in First Edition, but *station* in Second. The former is clearly the better reading.

565. "*Open, ye everlasting gates!*" etc. Psalm xxiv. 7.

577. "*A broad and ample road,*" etc. Milton had here in view, as I believe, that gate or orifice of junction between Heaven and the newly-formed telescopic Universe of which we have already heard (note, III. 498); but he makes the description vague.

581. "*Powdered with stars.*" This phrase occurs in Sylvester's translation of the *Divine Weeks* of Du Bartas. Indeed, there is particular interest in comparing the whole of Milton's succinct account of the Creation in the present Book of his epic with Du Bartas's much longer account in that portion of his poem which is devoted to "the First Week, or Birth of the World." It is divided into seven Books, or Days, entitled respectively *The Chaos*; *The Elements*; *The Sea and Earth*; *The Heavens, Sun, Moon, etc.*; *The Fishes and Fowls*; *The Beasts and Man*; *The Sabbath*. The seven Books or Days together fill (in the edition of 1613) 195 quarto pages, and are a most minute and elaborate Natural History in metre.

588—591. "*for He also went . . . yet stayed . . . and the work ordained,*" etc. The meaning is obscure, but seems to be, "For He also—i.e. the Father—had invisibly accompanied the Son on his creative mission into Chaos (see *ante*, line 517), and yet had stayed in Heaven and ordained thence what was elsewhere going on." Yet, as in the original text the word is "*he*," and not "*hee*,"—which it would probably have been for emphasis if the foregoing had been the meaning intended,—it is possible that "*he*" refers to the Son; in which case the passage might be cited as strongly orthodox in a matter in which Milton's orthodoxy has been suspected.

596. "*all organs of sweet stop*": i.e. wind-instruments.

597. "*all sounds on fret*," etc. "On the finger-board of a bass-viol, for instance," says Richardson, "are divisions athwart, by which the sound is regulated and varied: these divisions are called *frets*." The derivation of the word *fret* (bar or grating) is perhaps from A.S. *fretan*, "to gnaw," "corrode" (whence our word *fret*, "to vex"), which again is connected with *fretwian*, "to adorn" (as in "*fret-work*," "*fretted with golden fires*"). Shakespeare (*T. of Shrew*, II. 1) has the word in its musical sense:—

"I did but tell her she mistook her frets,
And bowed her hand to teach her fingering."

607. "*created to destroy*": i.e. to destroy what is created.

617. "*another Heaven, from Heaven-gate not far, founded in view on the clear hyaline.*" The song being in Heaven, the Angels are supposed to be looking down through Heaven's opening and beholding the new Universe as a miniature Heaven suspended from the main one. They see it founded on the "clear hyaline": i.e. on the Crystalline or Ninth Sphere which encloses it. *Hyaline* is Greek (*ὑαλίνος*) for "crystalline" or glassy. Καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου θάλασσα ὑαλίνη ὁμοία χρυστάλλῳ: "And before the Throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal" (Rev. iv. 6).

624. "*her nether ocean*": i.e. the "waters under the firmament" clinging round the earth itself, as distinct from "the clear hyaline," or those above the firmament. See note, lines 261—275.

631, 632. "*th ice happy, if they know their happiness.*" Clearly, as Newton notes, from Virgil's well-known line (*Georg.* II. 458):—

"O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint"

640. "*Aught, not surpassing human measure, say.*" In the original edition of the poem, in Ten Books, Book VII. does not end with this 640th line, but goes on, including the whole of the present Eighth Book.

BOOK VIII.

1—4 "*The Angel ended . . . replied.*" In the First Edition, where the present Seventh and Eighth Books of the poem were conjoined in one as Book VII., the lines 639—642 of that Book ran as follows:—

" . . . if else thou seekst
Aught, not surpassing human measure, say.
To whom thus *Adam* gratefully repl'd.
What thanks sufficient," etc.

In the Second Edition, closing Book VII. with the second of these lines (line 640), Milton inserts, to form the opening of Book VIII., three new lines. He also modifies what had formerly been line 641 of Book VII. into the present line 4 of Book VIII.

15. "*When I behold this goodly frame,*" etc. The discussion which begins here and is extended to line 178 is of singular interest as showing the uncertainty of Milton's astronomical creed. Although the scheme of the Universe which he has adopted throughout the

poem is that known as the Ptolemaic, which supposes the Earth at rest as the centre of a series of Orbs or Spheres of Space performing vast revolutions at different rates around her, yet it is clear, from this and other passages (see Book IV. 592—597, and note), that he was not sure but the alternative or Copernican scheme might be the scientifically true one. Here, for example, he makes Adam arrive almost by intuition at the Copernican theory, or at least question the Angel whether there was not something *a priori* preposterous in the Ptolemaic system; and, though the Angel, in his reply, suggests reasons why the Ptolemaic system might not be so preposterous as it appeared at first sight, and even hints that it was probably impossible to come to a conclusion on the subject, and that it was of no great practical consequence whether one could come to a conclusion or not, yet, on the whole, the balance of his remarks is in favour of the Copernican theory. See *Introd.* II. pp. 90, 91.—Todd notes the similarity of the expression in this line to Shakespeare's "this goodly frame, the earth" (*Ham.* II. 2).

19. "*numbered stars*": i.e. numerous; but there may be a reference, as Hume observed, to Ps. cxlvii. 4, "He telleth the number of the stars."

* 23. "*punctual spot*": i.e. point-like spot, from *punctum*, a point.

30. "*their Orbs*": not the bodies of the luminaries, but the spheres, in the Ptolemaic sense, to which they respectively belong.

40—57. "*which Eve perceiving . . . rose*," etc. One may perhaps discern in this whole passage something characteristic of Milton's ideal of woman in her relations to man.

61. "*pomp*": train, escort, procession (*πομπή*). So in *L'All.* 127.

70, 71. "*This to attain, whether . . . imports not*." The meaning is, "In order to attain to this learning that I spoke of,—the learning of God's seasons,—it matters not whether Heaven move or Earth." Another construction of the passage has been given, less consistent with the original pointing.

81, 82. "*build, unbuild, contrive, to save appearances*." A very exact description of the growth of the Ptolemaic system to its complete state,—addition of orb after orb having been made, and ingenious suppositions respecting each orb resorted to, as each new set of appearances presented themselves for explanation.

82—84. "gird the Sphere
With Centric and Eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and Epicycle, Orb in Orb."

The fundamental notion of the ancient astronomers was that all the

motions of the heavenly bodies were in circles, the strictly circular motion being the most perfect kind. The simplest and most primitive system of celestial mechanics, therefore, was that which imagined the eight successive spheres of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the Fixed Stars, revolving variously round the Earth as their common centre; and this system, with the addition of the two extra spheres, called the Crystalline or Ninth and the Primum Mobile or Tenth, remained substantially in force, and affected both scientific and popular speech, till it was superseded by the Copernican. (Introd. II. pp. 81—95.) From very remote antiquity, however, it had been perceived that the simple circular motions of eight or even ten spheres round the Earth, with whatever variety of rates and times among themselves, would not account for all the observed phenomena of the heavens,—would not account, for example, for the fact that the motion of the Sun is faster or slower according to the season (acceleration and retardation), or for the fact that the motions of the planets are sometimes direct, or in the order of the signs of the Zodiac, and sometimes retrograde (progression and regression). To remedy this defect, “to save these appearances,” two devices had been introduced, that of the *Eccentric*, and that of the *Epicycle*. Let it be supposed that, while the Earth is the centre of the Primum Mobile and consequently of the whole mundane system, the inclosed planetary spheres, or at all events that of the Sun, need not be strictly *concentric*, i.e. need not strictly have this centre, but may be *eccentric*, i.e. may revolve round a point somewhat to the side of the Earth; then, as the Earth would sometimes be nearer to the moving body, and sometimes farther off, the acceleration or retardation of the motion would be sufficiently accounted for. Again, let it be supposed that the body of a planet is not fixed strictly in its *cycle*, or the circumference of its wheeling sphere, but moves flylike in an *epicycle*, or small circle revolving round a fixed point in that wheeling circumference; then, according as the planet was in that part of its epicycle which is *beyond*, or in that part which is *within*, its cycle, its motion would for the time be progressive, i.e. *with* its cycle, or retrograde, i.e. *against* its cycle. Actually, by a complicated use of these two devices, in aid of the simpler and earlier device of mere multiplication of general orbs, the Ptolemaic astronomers had contrived, with a tolerable approach to completeness, to account for all the phenomena of the solar and planetary motions, but only by such a dizzying intricacy of conceived wheels within wheels (“*centric and eccentric*”) and wheels upon wheels (“*cycle and epicycle*”) as Milton describes. Observe how exactly his language hits off the three devices of the Ptolemaists for meeting all difficulties consistently with their axiom of perfectly circular motions in the Universe. They “gird the Sphere” (i.e. belt in the total round of the Cosmos from the

Empyrean and Chaos), having previously, in their maps of its interior, scribbled it over (1) with "centric and eccentric" (*i.e.* inner circles, some concentric with the outermost, others not quite concentric) and (2) with "cycle and epicycle" (*i.e.* some of the said circles not burdened with any subordinate circles on their circumferences, but others carrying such little ornaments),—all the while, however, faithful on the whole (3) to that primitive notion of "orb in orb" (*i.e.* of the Cosmos as consisting of a succession of wheeling main spheres) which had itself been mended into sufficiency from time to time by multiplying the number of the supposed spheres, till from eight, they had become ten.—The following is a rather interesting passage from Bacon's *De Augmentis* (1623), showing both Bacon's dissatisfaction with the Ptolemaic system, and the hopeless, or rather hopeful, confusion of his own aspirations after a better :—"Certainly Astronomy offers to the human intellect a victim like that which Prometheus offered in deceit to Jupiter. Prometheus, in the place of a real ox, brought to the altar the hide of an ox of great size and beauty, stuffed with straw and leaves and twigs. In like manner Astronomy presents only the exterior of the heavenly bodies (I mean the number of the stars, their positions, motions, and periods), as it were the hide of the heavens; beautiful indeed and skilfully arranged into systems: but the interior (namely the physical reasons) is wanting, out of which (with the help of astronomical hypotheses) a theory might be devised which would not merely satisfy the phenomena (of which kind many might with a little ingenuity be contrived), but which would set forth the substance, motion, and influence of the heavenly bodies as they really are. For long ago have those doctrines been exploded of the force of the First Mover and the Solidity of the Heaven,—the stars being supposed to be fixed in their orbs like nails in a roof. And with no better reason is it affirmed that there are different poles of the Zodiac and of the World; that there is a Second Mover of counteraction to the force of the First; that all the heavenly bodies move in perfect circles; that there are eccentrics and epicycles whereby the constancy of motions in perfect circles is preserved; that the Moon works no change or violence in the regions above it; and the like. And it is the absurdity of these opinions that has driven men to the diurnal motion of the Earth; which I am convinced is most false. But there is scarcely any one who has made inquiries into the physical causes, as well of the substance of the heavens, both stellar and interstellar, as of the relative velocity and slowness of the heavenly bodies; of the different velocity of motion in the same planet; of the course of motions from east to west and contrary; of their progressions, stationary positions, and retrogressions; of the elevation and fall of

"motions in apogee and perigee; of the obliquity of motions, either by spirals winding and unwinding towards the Tropics, or by those curves which they call Dragons; of the poles of rotation, ~~why~~ they are fixed in such part of the heaven rather than in any other; and of some planets being fixed at a certain distance from the Sun:—such an inquiry as this (I say) has hardly been attempted; but all the labour is spent in mathematical observations and demonstrations" (Bacon's Works; Spedding's Edit. iv. 347-8; Translation of the *De Aug.*)

102. "*his line stretched out so far.*" Job xxxviii. 5. (Hume.)

107. "*attribute,*" accented on the first syllable, as it is also in line 12 of this Book.

128. "*In six thou seest*": i.e. in the Moon, and in Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.

130. "*three different motions.*" These three motions of the Earth are (1) her diurnal rotation on her axis, (2) her annual orbit round the Sun, (3) the libration or oscillation of her axis during her orbit. These three motions are exemplified in a top spinning: the spinning of the top being the first motion; the circle it describes while spinning being the second; and its balancing of itself, while circling, from a more or less slant to a more or less upright position, the third. This last motion is the "trepidation talked" of Book III. 483 (see note there). *There* it is assigned, in accordance with the Ptolemaic system, to the Ninth or Crystalline Sphere close to the Primum Mobile; but *here*, according to the Copernican doctrine, it is transferred, with the two other motions, to the Earth itself.

131—140. "*Which else,*" etc. The construction of these ten lines is somewhat difficult, by reason of the peculiar use of the word "*else,*" which here means "*either.*" They may be explained thus:—Which (i.e. the three motions of the Earth just spoken of) you must *either* ascribe, as in the Ptolemaic system, to several spheres moving in contrary directions and obliquely crossing each other, *or* you must, as has just been hinted, credit the Earth herself with the motions, and so save the Sun his labour and at the same time save (i.e. get rid of) that supposed swift nocturnal and diurnal Rhomb (ῥόμβος, a wheel) of the Ptolemaists, otherwise invisible (i.e. invisible except in supposition), beyond all stars, and known as the Tenth Sphere or Primum Mobile, whose diurnal revolution carries round all the inner spheres,—which (i.e. the existence of which Rhomb) needs not thy belief if Earth, herself taking the trouble to rotate on her axis from west to east, fetches Day by travelling east, being always luminous on that side of her rotund mass which is turned

towards the Sun, while her avers^e side is dipped in Night or Shadow.

143. "Enlightening her": i.e. the Moon.

144. "reciprocal, if," etc.: i.e. doing mutual good service, if we are to suppose the Moon inhabited.

145, 146. "*Her spots thou seest as clouds.*" In Milton's time the notions as to the constitution of the Moon were not what they are at present, and atmosphere, vapour, and clouds were supposed in it as in the Earth.

148, 149. "*other Suns, perhaps, with their attendant Moons.*" A reference to Galileo's discovery that Jupiter and Saturn have satellites. To their moons or satellites these planets would be as suns.

150. "*male and female light*": i.e. direct and reflected.

152. "*Stored in each Orb perhaps with some that live.*" I believe that "stored" here qualifies "*World*," and that the meaning is "Which two great sexes animate the World,—a World stored perhaps in each of its orbs with some living things." But it is possible that "*stored*" refers to "*sexes*" or to "*suns and moons*," in either of which connexions an intelligible meaning would arise.

155. "*contribute*": accented on the first syllable. See note, line 107.

157. "*this habitable.*" A literal translation of the Greek phrase ἡ οἰκουμένη for Earth.

164. "*inoffensive*": not striking against any obstacle.

173. "*Be lowly wise*": "*Humile sapiamus*," "Let us be lowly wise," is a phrase of Milton's own in one of his Familiar Epistles, addressed to his friend Diodati, Sept. 23, 1637. Todd noted this; and Hume quotes the Latin phrase "*Noli altum sapere*."

183—197. "*nor with perplexing thoughts to interrupt the sweet of life . . . to know that which before us lies in daily life, is the prime wisdom*," etc. Hume quotes Eccles. vi. 11, 12, and vii. 16, and Coloss. ii. 8; and Mr. Browne compares *Sam. Ag.* 300—306. Mr. Keightley notes that the whole doctrine of the passage is directly opposed to the teaching and philosophy of Bacon. Indeed, so far as it would stop inquisitiveness into the farthest secrets of Physical Nature, it is opposed to the whole tenor of Modern Philosophy; though Comte's discouragement of Sidereal Astronomy is somewhat in the same spirit. To qualify the impression of the passage in this respect, however, see Milton's enthusiastic outburst on the pleasures of scientific research and speculation in the third of his *Prolusiones Oratoria*, and also his advocacy of Physical Science in his *Tract on Education*. His real meaning in the

present passage is probably the same as Goethe's in his famous aphorism (though that was uttered with reference rather to metaphysical than to physical speculations): "Man is born not to solve the problem of the Universe, but to find out where the problem begins, and then to restrain himself within the limits of the comprehensible."

209. "*Fond*": i.e. foolish.

212. "*fruits of palm-tree*": dates; or one kind of them.

225. "*Than of our fellow-servant*." Rev. xxii. 9. (Newton.)

229. "*I that day was absent*": i.e. on the Sixth Day of the Creation; on which day, as Man was to be created on it, a special guard was kept at Hell-gates, lest any of the fallen Angels should emerge on an evil errand.

238—240. "*But us he sends*," etc. Mr. Browne compares Sonnet XIX. 11—14.

246. "*Ere Sabbath-evening*." I believe this means here not what we call usually Sabbath evening, but the evening before Sabbath, evening being used as it is in the phrase "Christmas Eve." The Angels sent to Hell-gate to watch were released from that duty as soon as Man was created, i.e. at the close of the Sixth Day, and returned to Heaven for the Sabbath.

251. "*who himself beginning knew?*" i.e. "who ever knew himself as beginning or commencing to exist?"

269. "*as lively vigour led*." So in the First Edition; but in the Second it is "*and lively vigour led*," which seems to be a misprint.

292—296. "*When suddenly stood at my head a dream . . . One came, methought, . . . and said*." Mr. Keightley notes thus: "The idea of seeing in a dream what really was taking place seems to have been suggested by the dream of Æacus in Ovid (*Met.* VII. 634 seq.) So also Dante dreams that he is carried up by an eagle, and on awakening finds that he had in effect been carried up a part of the mountain of Purgatory during his sleep (*Purg.* IX. 7 seq.)."

307. "*Loaden with fairest fruit*." See IV. 147, and note there.

319—333. "*This Paradise*," etc. Gen. ii. 15—17.

335, 336. "*though in my choice not to incur*": i.e. "dreadful, . . . though it be in my choice not to incur the danger."

337. "*Purpose*": discourse (*Fr. propos*), as at IV. 337.

342—354. "*In sign whereof*," etc. Gen. ii. 19.

350. "*these*": i.e. the beasts.

351. "*stooped*": this is the participle, and not the past tense.

356. "*Heavenly Vision.*" Acts xxvi. 19. (Dunster.)

379, 380. "*Let not my words offend thee,*" etc. Gen. xviii. 30. (Newton.)

384. "*sort*": issue, come to pass, succeed (Fr. *sortir*). Instances of the word in this sense, from Holinshed, Bacon, and others, are given in Richardson's Dictionary.

386—388. "*byt, in disparity, the one intense,*" etc. The meaning is, "but, in a state of inequality between two creatures, in which the one is intense (tensely wound up like a musical string), the other still remiss (slack), they cannot well suit or harmonise."

395. "*Much less,*" etc. The force of this expression depends on what has gone before. "It is the pairs of each kind that are found rejoicing with each other,—the lion with the lioness, the tiger with the tigress, etc.; *much less*, if you take individuals of different kinds, as an ox with an ape, a bird with a beast, or a fish with a fowl, can there be fit society between them; and least of all can man and beast be companions."

406, 407. "*none I know second to me or like.*" Newton quotes Horace (*Od. I. xii. 17*):—

"Unde nil majus generatur ipso,
Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum."

410. "*inferior infinite descents*": i.e. "inferior by infinite descents."

412—414. "*To attain,*" etc. Rom. xi. 33. (Hume.)

421. "*through all numbers absolute.*" Bishop Newton quotes from Cicero the phrases "*omnibus numeris absolutus,*" and "*expletum omnibus suis numeris,*" as suggesting Milton's expression. Hume had preceded him in the first quotation.

445. "*Knew it not good;*" etc. Gen. ii. 18.

453—459. "*My earthly, by his heavenly overpowered,*" etc. Dan. x. 17 (Todd), and Num. xxiv. 4 (Dunster).

462. "*Abstract*": i.e. borne away, removed.

465. "*left side.*" This is an addition of the commentators, Scripture (Gen. ii. 21) not mentioning from which side the rib was taken. The left is chosen as nearest the heart; hence the significance of "*cordial*" in the next line.

485. "*Lel by her Heavenly Maker.*" Gen. ii. 22.

494. "*nor enviest*": "nor grudgest," connected with "hast fulfilled."

495—499. "*Bone of my bone,*" etc. Gen. ii. 23.

503. "*That would be wooed, and not unsought be won.*" Todd quotes Shakespeare, I. *Henry VI.* V. 3 :—

"She's beautiful, and therefore to be wooed ;
She is a woman, therefore to be won."

534. "*failed in me*": made a slip in my creation.

540—559. "*For well I understand,*" etc., For farther information as to Milton's views of the relations of the sexes see his *Divorce Tracts*. See also *Samson Agonistes*, 1025—1033. The intellectual superiority of the Man over the Woman was one of Milton's characteristic tenets.

547. "*absolute*": perfect.

555, 556. "*As one intended first, not after made occasionally.*" Hume recognises this as a contradiction of an opinion of Aristotle ; who, according to an old commentator on Genesis ii. 18, calls woman "*animal occasionatum, non per se et ex principali naturæ intentione generatum, sed ex occasione.*"—"occasionally": for a supplementary purpose.

565. "*attributing*": accented on the first syllable. See *ante*, lines 107 and 155.

569. "*Thy cherishing, thy honouring, and thy love.*" Ephes. v. 28 ; 1 Peter iii. 7. There is a recollection also of the words of the English Marriage Service.

571—572. "*Oft-times nothing profits more
Than self-esteem, grounded on just and right
Well managed.*"

This aphorism is peculiarly characteristic of Milton. His own life was, in a great measure, founded upon it ; and he frequently asserts and expounds it.

576. "*adorn*": an adjective for "*adorned*,"—formed, as Mr. Keightley notes, from the Italian *adorno*.

578. "*who sees when thou art seen least wise*": i.e. "who beholds thee in those moments when thou art to be seen in thy least wise condition."

591. "*judicious*": full of judgment or correct apprehension.—"*scale*": ladder, from the Latin *scala*.

609, 610. "*from the sense-variously representing*": i.e. objects brought before me from the senses, which represent things in all their varieties.

631, 632. "*the Earth's green Cape and verdant Isles Hesperean.*" Cape Verd and the Cape Verd islands to the west of Africa. *Hesperean*, so spelt in the original edition.

634. "*whom to love is to obey*" 1. John v. 3. (Newton.)
645. "*benediction.*" The word does not mean "blessing" here, but only "gracious speaking."—"Since to part": i.e. "Since we are to part"
653. "*Adam to his bower.*" The conversation of Adam with Raphael had taken place in the bower; but Adam is to be supposed as having, at its close, followed Raphael (line 645) to the entrance of the bower.

BOOK IX.

2. "*as with his friend,*" etc. Exod. xxxiii. 11. (Todd.)
- 13—19. "*argument not less but more heroic, than the wrath of stern Achilles . . . or rage of Turnus . . . or Neptune's ire, or Juno's,*" etc. Milton here asserts the theme of his poem to be more heroic than the themes of the three greatest Epics of past ages: the *Iliad*, the main subject of which, as the first line declares, is "the wrath of Achilles," and one of the incidents of which is the pursuit of Hector by Achilles round the walls of Troy; the *Æneid*, the latter portion of which relates the anger of Turnus on account of the promise of Lavinia to Æneas, and much of the plot of which turns on the hostility of Juno to Æneas, the son of Cytherea, or Venus; the *Odyssey*, the hero of which, Ulysses, is an object of persecution to Neptune.
21. "*my celestial Patroness*": i.e. Urania. See Book VII. 1, 2, and note.
- 23, 24. "*inspires easy my unpremeditated verse.*" If this is to be understood literally, Milton's habits of composition had undergone a change since his earlier days. The manuscripts of his early poems show him to have been then, if not a laborious and slow writer, at least a most painstaking and fastidious one,—erasing, altering, and correcting with extraordinary pains.
- 25, 26. "*Since first this subject for heroic song
Pleased me, long choosing and beginning late.*"
- The subject had first pleased him, in or about 1640, when it was thought of for a Drama: after which there had been "long choosing" between it and other subjects; and not till about 1658, when Milton was fifty years of age, had the actual composition of the Epic been seriously begun. See the story in detail, *Intro.* II. pp. 40—49.
- 29, 30. "*chief mastery to dissect . . . fabled knights.*" For the

construction of this, some ellipsis must be supposed between it and what precedes; thus "wars, hitherto deemed the only heroic argument, it being deemed chief mastery to dissect," etc.—*Dissect*, "to cut and carve": an allusion to the minute descriptions of wounds in the *Iliad* and other epics.

33—35. "*races and games*," as in *Iliad*, XXIII. and *Æneid*, V. (Newton); "*tilting furniture, emblazoned shields*," as in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, Spenser's *Faery Queene*, Ariosto, Boiardo, etc.

35. "*impreses*": spelt "*impreses*" in the original text; from the Italian *impresa*, a device or emblem used on a shield or otherwise. Among the prose remains of Drummond of Hawthornden is a little *Discourse upon Impresas*, in which he distinguishes the *impresa* proper from the emblem in general. "An *impresa*," he says, "is a demonstration and manifestation of some notable and excellent thought of him that conceiveth it and useth it; and it belongs only to him, and is his property, and so properly that the successors may not use the *impresa* of their predecessor and parents, except the *impresas* be incorporated into the arms of the house of which they are descended, or they would show they have the self-same thought which they had which went before them. It is quite contrary with the emblem: emblems of the deceased may be used by others." An *impresa*, he adds, may consist of some symbolical figure or figures only, or of such figures and some relative words or motto.

36. "*Basels*." According to Todd, on the authority of Nares's Glossary, this word signifies the kilt which hung from the waists of knights on horseback to about their knees. It seems, in fact, a heroic word for lower garments.—"*tinsel trappings*." Mr. Keightley quotes the exact phrase from Spenser, *F. Q.* III. i. 15.

37, 38. "*marshal, I feast . . . seneschal and seneshals*." "Another allusion," says Todd, "to the magnificence of elder days. The *marshal* placed the guests according to their rank; the *sewer* marched in before the meats, and arranged them on the table, and was originally called *assecur* from the French *asseoir*, to set down; and the *seneschal* was the house-steward." Hume had noted to the same effect.—Skeat makes the original meaning of *marshal* to have been "horse-servant" or "groom" (Old High German *marah*, a horse, and *scalh*, a servant); *sewer* he defines as "the officer who formerly set and tasted dishes" (*sewen*, to set meat, from *sew*, sauce); and *seneschal*, a steward, means originally, he says, "old servant,"—compounded of a Gothic word for "old" and the same "*scalh*" that appears in *marshal*.

39. "*The skill of artifice (i.e. mere artizanship) or office mean*,"

etc. And yet writers of heroic poems of the kind described had been Spenser, Ariosto, and the like.

44—46. "*unless an age too late, or cold climate, or years, damp,*" etc.: i.e. "unless the present late period of the world, or this cold climate of England, or my own years, now verging on sixty, damp," etc. In his *Reason of Church Government*, Milton similarly makes the probability of his success in an epic dependent on there being "nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age." When the words were written (1641), it was not necessary to speak of his years.

52. "*Night's hemisphere.*" One half of the Earth being in shadow constitutes night.

59. "*From compassing the Earth.*" Job. i. 7. (Todd.)

60, 61. "*Since Uriel . . . descried . . . and forewarned.*" See Book IV. 555—575.

64—66. "*thrice the equinoctial line he circled . . . each colure.*" Of the seven days during which Satan went round and round the Earth, always keeping himself on its dark side, three were spent in moving from east to west on the equatorial line; four in moving round from pole to pole, or from north to south and back,—in which second way of moving he would traverse (or go along) the two colures,—viz. two great circles, so named by astronomers, drawn from the poles. Originally all great circles passing through the poles were called *colures* (κόλouroι, curtailed); but the term was at length confined to the two great circles drawn from the poles through the equinoxes and the solstices respectively. The one was called the Equinoctial colure, the other the Solstitial. The term *colure* is little used now.

67. "*on the coast averse*": i.e. "on that side of Eden which was averse."

69—73. "*There was a place, now not . . . where Tigris,*" etc. See Book IV. 223—246, and note.

70. "*wrought*": spelt "*wraught*" in the original text.

76—82. "*Sea he had searched . . . Ganges and Indus.*" Milton here returns upon Satan's seven days of wandering round and round the Earth, already described astronomically, in order to describe them more geographically. The Fiend, on leaving Eden (Book IV. 861—1015), had gone northward over the Pontus Euxinus or Black Sea, and over the Palus Mæotis or Sea of Azof, and so still northward, over what is now Russian territory, as far as beyond the Siberian river Ob or Obe, which flows into the Arctic sea; whence, continuing round the pole and descending on the other side of the globe, he had gone southward again as far as the Antarctic sea and pole. So much for his travels, north and south. In length, i.e. measured as

longitude in an equatorial direction; his journeys had extended from the Syrian river Orontes, west of Eden, to the Isthmus of Darien, and so still west, completing the great circle to India on the east of Eden. Observe how true to the imagined reality is the mention of Ganges here before Indus. In the circuit described Satan would come upon the Ganges first.

86—96. "*The Serpent subtlest*," etc. Gen. iii. 1. Mr. Browne notes that Landor censured these lines as "some of the dullest in Milton," arguing that, as the serpent had been but recently created, he was an obscure brute as yet, and nobody knew anything of his character.

87, 88. "*irresolute of thoughts revolved*": i.e. not bringing to a solution the thoughts which he was revolving.

89. "*imp of fraud*." *Imp* meant originally a graft or shoot (A.-S. *impan*, "to graft"), and the poet may have had this meaning in his mind.

92. "*Whatever sleights*": i.e. "whatever sleights might be seen."

99. "*O Earth, how like to Heaven*," etc. See Book V. 574—576. There is a fine propriety in introducing here this apostrophe to the Earth. We are to fancy that, independently of his searching for some instrument whereby to tempt Man, Satan had been interested in the appearances of things all round the Earth in his seven days of exploration. It was not only a new creation and of interest to him as such, but it was the globe which he hoped to make peculiarly his own by overmastering its human owners. He had been surveying therefore what he hoped to make his property.

113. "*growth, sense, reason*": gradation of existence is here indicated, "gradual life," as it has just been named. See previous note, V. 469—490.

130. "*him destroyed*": an imitation of the Latin ablative absolute, as at VII. 142.

155—157. "*Subjected*," etc. Psalm civ. 4 (Hume), and Psalm xci. 11 (Todd).

166. "*incarnate and imbrute*." Todd compares *Comus*, 467.

167. "*hight*": spelt "*hight*" in the First and Second Editions, —a deviation from Milton's practice, and perhaps a misprint.

176. "*son of despite*": a Hebraism, as Hume noted, after the analogy of "*sons of courage*" for courageous men, "*sons of pride*" for proud men, etc.

178. "*spite then with spite is best repaid*." Richardson quotes Æschylus, *Prom. Vinct.* 944:—

Οὕτως ὑβρίζειν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας χρᾶται.

186. "*Nor nocent*." So in the Second Edition; but in the First the reading was "Not nocent."

200. "*Lop overgrown, or prune*": "A hypercritic might ask how they could lop or prune without edged tools" (Keightley).

213. "*Or hear*." So in the First Edition; but in the Second "*bear*," which is possibly a misprint.

218. "*spring of roses*": i.e. growth or thicket of roses. Mr. Keightley cites instances to prove that *spring* originally meant a single shoot (a sprig), but came to be used by the old poets for a grove or coppice.

245. "*wilderness*": i.e. wildness. Todd quotes a similar instance from Shakespeare, *Meas. for Meas.* III. 1:

"For such a warped slip of wilderness
Ne'er issued from his blood."

249. "*For solitude*," etc. A line hypermetrical by two syllables, or a whole foot. Mr. Browne compares *Par. Reg.* I. 302. Hume quotes Cicero's phrase, "Nunquam minus solus quam quum solus."

289. "*misthought*": to be construed along with the noun "thoughts" preceding;—"to thee so dear": referring to what Adam had himself said line 228.

314. "*and raised unite*": i.e. "and knit together when raised."

320. "*attributed*": accented on the first syllable. See VIII. 12, 107, and 155, and *Par. Reg.* III. 69.

330. "*on our front*." Having already used the word "affront," Eve pursues the image which its literal meaning ("to meet face to face") suggests.

335, 336. "*unassayed alone*," etc.: i.e., "if it has not been assayed alone and unsustained by external help."

339. "*As not secure*": i.e. as not to be secure.—"*to single or combined*": i.e. to us singly or together.

341. "*Eden were no Eden*": i.e. would not answer to its name, which means "deliciousness."

347. "*ought*": spelt "*ought*" in the original text.

353. "*erect*": i.e. standing on her feet (Lat. *erectus*), watchful. To this note of Hume's Mr. Keightley adds the observation that the word *alert* is the same (Ital. *all'erba*, for *all'eretta*).

365. "*and most likely*": i.e. "to avoid temptation would be most likely."

370. "*trial unsought*": i.e. trial, if not voluntarily sought and met.

387. "*Oread*" (nymph of the mountains); *Dryad* (nymph of the oak-groves); *Delia's*, *Diana's*.

391, 392. "*Such gardening tools*," etc. See note, line 216.

393—395. "*Pales . . . Pomona . . . Ceres*." Milton, having mentioned Eve's gardening tools, aptly compares her to Pales the goddess of pastures, Pomona the goddess of orchards, or Ceres the goddess of husbandry. For the story of Pomona and Vertumnus, the god of changing seasons, Hume refers to Ovid, *Met.* XIV. 623 *et seq.*

394. "*Likest*." So in the First Edition; erroneously changed into "*likeliest*" in the Second.

396. "*Yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove*": i.e. before she became the mother of Proserpina by Jupiter. A great deal of unnecessary astonishment has been expressed over this line by the commentators. Bentley sees in it a flagrant instance of the ignorant clumsiness of that false friend or editor to whom he supposes that Milton, in his blindness, was obliged to intrust the business of seeing his poem through the press. "What a Monster of a Phrase," he exclaims, "is that, *Virgin* of Proserpina, *Virgin* of her Daughter! Any one else that was minded to speak Human Language would have said:—

"Like Ceres in her prime
Not Mother yet of Proserpin by Jove."

Subsequent editors, defending the phrase, have yet found no precedent for it classical or English. "The expression *virgin of Proserpina*," says Lord Monboddo, "is certainly not common English, and many will deny it to be English at all; but let any man try to express the same thought otherwise, and he will be convinced how much Milton has raised and ennobled his style by an idiom so uncommon." In this, as in other instances, the commentators seem to have omitted an element of some importance in the criticism of poetry,—the power of genius to invent idioms and constructions of words as well as other things. Every great writer requires, and all great writers have assumed, what may be called "elbow-room" in language. Mr. Keightley, however, has pointed out that Milton may have derived the idiom from the French or the Italian. He quotes from Montaigne such expressions as "*vierge de querelles*," and from Italian writers such expressions as "*vergine di servo encomio*."

405. "*Of thy presumed return*." To be connected with the word "failing," thus: "much failing or falling short, of thy presumed return."

410. "*or*." Bentley proposed to read "*and*."

426. "*bushing*": erroneously printed "*blushing*" in most of the editions.

432. "*Herself, though fairest*," etc. Compare IV. 269, 270.

436. "*voluble*": rolling on as serpents do (Lat. *volubilis*).

438. "*hand*": i.e. handiwork.

439—443. "*those gardens feigned . . . of revived Adonis, or renowned Alcious . . . or that, not mystic, where*," etc. A passage has been cited by Pearce from Pliny's Natural History which Milton may have had in view: "*Antiquitas nihil prius mirata est quam Hesperidum hortos, ac regum Adonidis et Alcinoi*." Otherwise the "gardens of Adonis" in the ancient writers are only the earthenware pots, with lettuce growing in them, which were carried by the women in the yearly festivals in honour of the restoration of Adonis to life by Proserpina after his death by the wound from the wild boar. But Spenser describes the gardens of Adonis, (*Faery Queene*, III. vi.), and Shakespeare mentions them (*Henry VI.* Part I. Act I. Sc. 6). See also *Comus*, 998 *et seq.* The gardens of Alcinoüs, King of the Phæacians, who received and entertained Ulysses, the son of Laertes, are described in Homer (*Odys.* VII.)—"Not mystic": i.e. not mythical, like those gardens, were, says the poet, the gardens of Solomon (Song of Solomon, vi. 2), where he dallied with his Egyptian wife, Pharaoh's daughter.

445—454. "*As one who*," etc. Mr. Keightley suggests that here Milton may have recollected actual walks of his own into the country suburbs of London.

450. "*tedded grass*": i.e. cut and spread out to dry.

491. "*not approached*": i.e. if not approached (Keightley).

505—510. "*Not those that in Illyria changed Hermione and Cadmus*," etc.: i.e. that became the substitutes for Hermione, etc. Bentley finds another error of his supposed original editor of Milton in this passage. "The ignorant mistakes," he says, "*Hermione*, the daughter of Menelaus and Helena, for *Harmonia* the daughter of Mars and Venus, wife to Cadmus." But, as the wife of Cadmus is still called indifferently *Harmonia* or *Hermione* in some classical dictionaries, so it may have been in Milton's time. The story is that Cadmus and his wife, in their old age, grieving for the fates of their children, prayed the gods to relieve them from the miseries of life, and were changed into serpents.—"*or the god in Epidaurus*": i.e. *Æsculapius*, who, being sent for to Rome in the time of the plague, accompanied the ambassadors thither from Epidaurus in the shape of a serpent.—"*nor to which transformed Ammonian Jove, or Capitoline*," etc. The construction is: "Nor those serpents into

which Jupiter Ammon and Jupiter Capitolinus were respectively seen transformed: the first with Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great; the other with the mother of Scipio." Alexander was said to be the son of Jupiter Ammon or Libyan Jove; and Scipio Africanus, whom Milton calls the "highth" or highest man of Rome, was similarly fabled to be the son of Jupiter Capitolinus.

522. "*Than at Circean call*," etc. Hume quotes Ovid, *Met.* XIV. 45, 46.

529, 530. "*with serpent-tongue organic, or*," etc.: *i.e.* "either actually with the tongue of the serpent or by striking a sound into the air."

558, 559. "*The latter I demur*" (remain in doubt about: Fr. *demeurer*, Lat. *demorari*, to delay, to linger): *i.e.* Eve was not sure whether some portion of human sense did not exist in brutes, though speechless. Milton seems to have held the opinion that brutes had a higher intelligence than was usually accorded to them: "They also know and reason not contemptibly," he had said, Book VIII. 373, 374.

581, 582. "*smell of sweetest fennel, or the teats of ewe or goat*," etc. Allusions, as Bishop Newton pointed out, to the supposed habits of serpents. Pliny, in his Natural History, speaks of fennel as "*anguibus gratissimum*," and they were said to suck ewes and goats for their milk.

612. "*Dame*": *i.e.* *Domina* or Lady. The word "Dame" has sunk in meaning since Milton's time.

613. "*spirited*": *i.e.* animated with a spirit.

624. "*beareth*." So in the original. *Birth* has been substituted in all the modern editions; but improperly. When Milton means *birth*, he uses that word and spells it so (as, for example, in line 111 in this Book); but here he intends a different form,—*beareth*, for "produce." See Essay on Milton's English, p. 50.

634—640. "*a wandering fire*," etc.: *ignis fatuus*, or Will of the Wisp. In his account of this phenomenon Milton follows the physics of his time; but, if we were to be bold enough to understand "unctuous vapour" as meaning phosphoretted hydrogen gas evolved from decaying animal matter in a marsh, the language might stand as a poetical expression of one of the modern hypotheses as to the cause of the *ignis fatuus*.

640. "*Misleads the amazed night-wanderer from his way*": a recollection surely, as Todd observed, of Shakespeare's line in *Mid. Night's Dream*, II. 1:—

"Mislead night-wanderers, laughing at their harm."

653. "*Sole daughter of his voice*." A Hebraism, as Hume notes; and he adds, "So arrows are called the sons of the quiver (Lam. iii. 13) and corn the son of the threshing-floor (Is. xxi. 10)."—"the rest": i.e. "as for the rest"; a Latinism.

656—663. "*Indeed*" etc. Gen. iii. 1—3.

673. "*Stood in himself collected*": "stood silent as yet, and summed up in himself" (Hume).

675, 676. "*Sometimes in highth began, as no delay of preface brooking*." It was suggested by Thyer that Milton may here have had in mind the opening of Cicero's first oration against Catiline, "*Quousque tandem, Catilina*," etc.

685. "*Ye shall not die*." Gen. iii. 4.

685. "*Your fear itself of death removes the fear*": i.e. "If God is to be feared, he is not just; and, if he is not just, he is not a God whom it is necessary to fear."

710. "*should*": so in Milton's own editions; changed into *shall* in modern editions.

713, 714. "*by putting off human, to put on Gods*." Hume refers to 1 Cor. xv. 53.

729, 730. "*can envy dwell in Heavenly breasts?*" *Æn.* I. 11: "*Tantæne animis cælestibus iræ?*" (Hume.)

732. "*humane*": here used for "*human*."

739, 740. "*hour of noon . . . waked an eager appetite*." Observe Milton's notion of the natural dinner-hour.

781. "*eat*." So in the original text, and not the present form "*ate*," as in some editions. See Essay on Milton's English, p. 54.

792. "*knew not eating death*": i.e. "knew not herself to be eating," a Greek idiom, used also in Latin. Mr. Browne quotes as an instance in Virgil, *Æn.* II. 376, 377:—

"Dixit; et extemplo (neque enim responsa dabantur
Fida satis) sensit medios delapsus in hostes."

793. "*hightened*." In the original editions it stands "*high'nd*," and not "*hightened*."

795. "*virtuous, precious*": two positives used for superlatives, according to a classical idiom. Richardson quotes *Iliad*, V. 381, *βία θεάων*, and *Æn.* IV. 576, "*sancte deorum*."

811—813. "*Heaven is high*," etc. Job xxii. 12. (Todd.)

815, 816. "*Our great Forbidder, safe with all his spies about him*." Bentley annotated: "*Safe* is here pure nonsense. No doubt he gave it, 'Our great Forbidder's eye, with all his spies about him.'"

A curious example of the great scholar's ignorance of the idiom of his own language. Pearce corrected him thus: "Safe here signifies as in the vulgar phrases 'I have him safe,' or 'He is safe asleep'; where not the safety of the person secured or asleep is meant, but the safety of others with respect to any danger from him." Mr. Browne refers to Shakespeare (*Tempest*, III. 1) for an instance, where Miranda says of her father, "He's safe for these three hours."

826—833. "*what if God have seen, and death ensue?*" etc. On this passage Todd notes: "Perhaps the most striking instance of imitation by Milton of the Rabbi Eleazer is this part, Archbishop Laurence has shown, of Eve's soliloquy: '*Forsitan jam moriar, et Sanctus Benedictus parabit illi aliam uxorem. Sed dabo quoque Adamo, et causa illi ero ut edat mecum, ut, si moriamur, ambo simul moriamur, si vivamus, ambo quoque in vitâ maneamus.*'"—On lines 826—833 Newton remarks: "How much stronger and more pathetic is this than that of Horace, *Od.* III. ix. 24:—

"*Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens*" !

845. "*divine of something ill.*" This peculiar use of "*divine*" for "foreboding" is, as Newton remarked, from the Latin: Hor. *Od.* III. xxvii. 10:—

"*Imbrium divina avis imminetum.*"

846. "*the faltering measure*": i.e. "the unequal beating of his heart."

853—855. "*in her face . . . to prompt.*" So in the author's own editions, but altered into "*too prompt*" by subsequent editors. The construction and meaning have puzzled commentators. I understand: "In her face, so beautiful it was, excuse for what she had done came already, as prologue to the very speech of excuse she was to make, and to prompt (quicken, help on, or prepare for) that apology which she now addressed to him."

890, 891. "*Astonied stood and blank,*" etc. Hume quotes *Æn.* II. 120:—

"*Obstupere animis, gelidusque per ima cucurrit
Ossa tremor.*"

901. "*to death devote*": from Horace (*Od.* IV. xiv. 18), "*devota morti.*"

920. "*his words to Eve he turned,*" the previous speech having been only with himself.

922—925. "*hast dared.*" So in the First Edition, but in the Second there is the misprint "*hath.*" There is no comma or other point after "*dared*" in the original; nor is any necessary,—though the syntax is rather complex.—"*coveting to eye*": to eye covetously,

932. "*He yet lives.*" This is the correct reading: corrupted in modern editions into "*Yet he lives.*"

947, 948. "*lest the Adversary,*" etc. Deut. xxxii. 27. (Gillies.)

953. "*Certain*": resolved to.

980. "*oblige,*" in its etymological sense of "bind" or "tie."

998. "*not deceived.*" 1 Tim. ii. 14. (Hume.)

1007. "*that now*": i.e. "so that now."

1010, 1011. "*wings wherewith to scorn the Earth.*" Horace, *Od.* III. ii. 24: "*Spernit humum fugiente penna*" (Keightley).

1019, 1020. "*Since to each meaning savour we apply, and palate call judicious*": i.e. "since we are in the habit of applying the term *savour* in either a physical or a moral sense, and of annexing the epithet *judicious*, which refers originally to the judgment or understanding, to the palate or sense of taste." The remark is chiefly suggested by the double meaning of *sapere* in Latin. It means either "to taste" or "to be wise."

1042. "*their fill of love.*" Prov. vii. 18. (Todd.)

1058. "*Shame!*" In the original text the stop after this word is omitted; which would make the construction impossible. Bowle quotes Ps. cix. 29.

1059—1062. "*So rose the Danite strong, Herculean Samson . . . Philistine Dalilah,*" etc. See Judges xiii. 2—25, and xvi. Observe that, though the form of the name in the Authorised Version is "*Delilah*," Milton prefers "*Dalilah*," and makes the second syllable of the name short (*Dalilah*). So in *Sams. Ag.*, save that the final *h* is there omitted and the word spelt *Dalila*. That it is pronounced *Dallla* is proved by the metre: *Sams. Ag.* 229, 724, 1072.

1064. "*strucken*": spelt *struck'n* in the original text. *See note, II. 165.

1068. "*Worm*," used for "serpent" in the old Teutonic languages. It is used in this sense in Shakespeare (*Ant. and Cleop.* V. ii., "The pretty worm of Nilus"); and Mr. Keightley quotes a still more recent instance from Donne's *Progress of the Soul* (stanza 11):—

"Nor is't writ
That Adam cropt or knew the apple; yet
The worm, and she, and he, and we, endure for it."

1088. "*Cover me*," etc. Rev. vi. 16, 17.

1101. "*not that kind for fruit renowned, but such as, at this day, to Indians known, in Malabar or Decan,*" etc.: i.e. not the common fig-tree, but the so-called *Ficus Indica* or Indian Fig-tree, more properly known now as the Bahian or Bhur. Warton points out.

that Milton must have had before him, when he wrote this passage, the following description of the Banian in "Gerard's Herbal," originally published in 1597, but of which there had been later editions: "*Of the arched Indian Fig-tree.* The ends hang down, and touch the ground, where they take roote and grow in such sort that theyr twigs become great trees; and these, being grown up unto the like greatnesse, do cast their branches or twiggy tendrels into the earth, where they likewise take hold and roote; by means whereof it cometh to passe that of one tree is made a great wood or desert of trees, which the Indians do use for coverture against the extreme heat of the sun. Some likewise use them for pleasure, cutting doune by a direct line a long walke, or as it were a vault, through the thickest part, from which also they cut certain loopholes or windowes in some places, to the end to receive thereby the fresh cool air that entreth thereat, as also for light that they may see their cattell that feed thereby." The reference to the leaves of the Indian Fig-tree (so called first by the Portuguese, from the resemblance of its fruit, though not eatable, to figs) as being "broad as Amazonian targe" is from Pliny's Natural History, as cited by Gerard; but the statement is incorrect,—the leaves of this tree being actually small. It is the large leaves of a different tree, the Platan, that are used in Malabar for the purpose described.

1115—1118. "*Such of late Columbus found the American,*" etc. The first natives of America encountered by Columbus (1492) were totally naked; and it was not till later that tribes were found scantily dressed with cinctures of feathers, as in the text, or in any other fashion. Spenser, in a passage quoted by Keightley (*F. Q.* III. xii. 8), refers to those garments of "painted plumes" worn by the American Indians.

1144. "*What words;*" etc. Thyer compares *Iliad*, XIV. 83.

1163. "*the love.*" Bentley proposed to read "*thy*"; but the change is unnecessary, as the meaning is—"the love, and the recompense of my love to thee, expressed by thee a little while ago": viz. at 961 *et seq.*

1183. "*women.*" So in the original, but perhaps a misprint for "*woman,*" as Bentley thought.

BOOK X.

9. "*and free-will armed.*" In the original text there is a comma after *armed*; which would give an intelligible reading, but probably not that intended.

16. "*manifold in sin*." On this phrase Bishop Newton remarks: "The Divines, especially those of Milton's communion, reckon up several sins as included in this one act of eating the forbidden fruit—namely, pride, uncharitableness, wicked curiosity, infidelity, disobedience," etc. The Bishop took the remark from Hume.

38. "*Foretold*": i.e. "though ye were foretold," or "inasmuch as ye were foretold."

45. "*moment*": i.e. momentum (*movimentum*), force applied to a balance. See VI. 239.

56, 57. "*To thee I have transferred all judgment*," etc. John v. 22 (Hume).

58—62. "*Easy it may*." So in the First Edition, but "*might*" in the Second.—Texts referred to in this passage are Ps. lxxxv. 10 (Newton), and John v. 27 (Hume).

66. "*all his Father manifest*," etc. Heb. i. 3.

73. "*Whoever judged*": i.e. "whoever are judged."

80. "*shall need*": i.e. shall be needed; *need* being here a neuter verb.

• 84. "*Conviction to the Serpent none belongs*": i.e. no proof is required against the mere brute serpent, which was Satan's instrument.

92—95. "*Now was the Sun*," etc. The authority for the time here is Gen. iii. 8; and in the sequel of that passage there is authority for what follows here, as far as to line 222. It may be noted how, in various parts of all this narrative (92—222), Milton, in his studiousness to bring in the very words of Scripture, is indifferent to the effects of such exactness upon his metre. This is characteristic.

106. "*obvious*," in its etymological sense of "meeting on the way."

125—136. "*O Heaven*," etc. While Milton has introduced, and almost literally, all the words of Scripture relating to the interview of God with Adam in the garden, he has here added something in a modern spirit,—"*in order*," says Stillingfleet, "to keep up some dignity in Adam."

156. "*And person*": i.e. "character," as in the phrase *dramatis personæ*.

165. "*though brute, unable to transfer*," etc., meaning "though the serpent was brute, and unable."

169—173. "*More to know concerned not Man (since he no further knew) . . . yet God at last . . . to Satan . . . his doom applied, though in mysterious terms*," etc. • The meaning is, "Since Man had fallen by the temptation, so far as he knew at the time, only of the

brute serpent, it mattered not to him, nor did it alter his offence, that this brute serpent had been the instrument of the Ruined Archangel; yet God, in the peculiar terms of his judgment on the serpent, did mean, in a mysterious manner, an *application* of the same to Satan." The word "*applied*" is 'deliberately selected, and "*his doom*" means "the Serpent's doom."

178. "*And dust shalt eat*," etc. In the apparently lame metre of this verse we have an instance of what has already been mentioned, — Milton's carefulness to quote as literally as possible the exact words of Scripture. (Gen. iii. 14, 15.)

184—191. "*Saw Satan fall like lightning*," etc. In this passage Hume noted the coagulation of Luke x. 18, Eph. ii. 2, Col. ii. 15, Ps. lxxviii. 18, Rom. xvi. 20.

214. "*the form of servant*." Philipp. ii. 7. (Hume.)

217, 218. "*or slain, or, as the snake, with youthful coat repaid*": i.e. "either slain for the purpose, or only stripped of their skins, and provided with others, as the snakes cast their skins." Death had now been brought into the world; but the poet professes ignorance whether beasts were slain or not to provide the first clothing for Adam and Eve.

221—223. "*inward nakedness . . . with his robe of righteousness arraying*," etc. Isaiah lxi. 10. (Newton.)

231. "*In counterview*": i.e. gazing on each other.

233, 234. "*since the Fiend passed through, Sin opening*." See Book II. 648 *et seq.*

241. "*avengers*." In the First Edition the reading was *avenger*: the plural form, clearly the right one, is substituted in the Second Edition.

243—263. "*Methinks I feel*," etc. Through this passage Milton assumes that, by some peculiar physical sympathy, or correspondence of atoms of a like nature at whatever distances from each other, the fact of the Fall of Man had been immediately transmitted, in a kind of telephonic shiver, down through Chaos to Hell-gate, where Sin and Death had been left sitting.

260, 261. "*for intercourse or transmigration*," etc.: i.e. "whether for going to and fro between Hell and the World of Man, or for permanent passage up to the World of Man, as may be their lot."

273—278. "*As when a flock*," etc. Newton supposes a recollection of Lucan, *Phars.* VII. 825 *et seq.* :—

"Non solum Hæmonii fœnestræ ad pabula belli
Bistonii venerè lupi, tabernaque cruentæ

Cædis odorati Phœœen liquere leones.
 Tunc ursi latebras, obsœeni tecta domosque
 Deseruere canes, et quicquid nare sagaci
 Aera non sanum, motumque cadavere sentit.
 Jamque diu volucres, civilia castra secutæ,
 Conveniunt."

Todd quotes from Beaumont and Fletcher (*Beggar's Bush*):—

"'Tis said of vultures
 They scent a field fought; and do smell the carcasses
 By many hundred miles."

Milton, however, makes the birds of prey here scent the carnage before the battle. He probably follows some popular superstition.

279—281. "*So scented the grim Feature,*" etc.: i.e. figure, form (It*al.* *fattura*, thing shaped or made, creature, as in the last part of the word manufacture). See II. 666 *et seq.*—"Sagacious of" (Lat. *sagax*, quick of scent). "*Sagire enim sentire acutè, ex quo sagaces dicti canes*": Cicero, *De Div.* I. 4" (Hume).—"Quarry, game, prey, of the Fr. *querir*, to seek for, to hunt out" says the good Hume, ignorant in his day of the truer etymology which defines quarry (see Skeat) as "a heap of slaughtered game," and derives the word from *coree* or *curee*, "the intestines of a slain animal, the part given to the hounds" (the *cor* or heart included).—In the wording of this passage there seems certainly to be a recollection of the passage just quoted from Lucan: "*quicquid nare sagaci,*" etc.

290—293. "*Upon the Cronian sea . . . beyond Petsora eastward to the rich Cathaian coast.*" The "Cronian Sea" is the Polar or Arctic Sea, which "was called the Cronian by some" (after Kronos or Saturn); "Petsora," or Petchora, is a gulf on the extreme north-east coast of the present European Russia; the "Cathaian coast" is the coast of Cathay, or China. The interval of the Arctic Sea, from Petchora eastward to the Chinese coast, is called an "*imagined way*," because it was a problem in Milton's time whether such a north-east passage to China, by the Polar coasts of Europe and Asia, could be effected. It is interesting to note the use made here, and in other parts of the poem, of geographical knowledge which Milton had acquired in compiling his *Brief History of Moscovia*. In that work, left in MS. and published after his death, he mentions and describes Petsora, Cathaia, and the supposed passage eastward from the one to the other.

293—303. "*The aggregated soil,*" etc. The editors have found a good deal of difficulty in making out the exact meaning of this passage, and have varied the pointing. The pointing in the text corresponds with that of the original; and the meaning seems to be that Death firmly fixed in one hard mass the more solid parts that had been gathered together, and solidified the more liquid parts, and

that then a portion of the aggregation was fastened, like a beach, to Hell-gate, while the rest was carried athwart Chaos dike a mole or pier.—“*Death with his mace petrify.*” Todd quotes “*Pale Death’s strong mace,*” from the *Trag. of Dido* by Marlowe and Nash (1594).—“*As Delos, floating once*”: a reference to the legend of the fixing of the floating island Delos by Zeus.—“*Gorgonian rigour*”: a stiffness like that produced by the look of the Gorgon, which changed people into stone.

304. “*from hence*”: i.e. henceforward.

305. “*inoffensive*”: see note, VIII. 164. See also Matt. vii. 13. (Greenwood.)

308. “*Susa, his Memnonian palace.*” Susa, called Memnonia by Herodotus, was the residence of the Persian kings.

312—318. “*Nqv had they brought the work . . . to the outside bare of this round World.*” In the original text there is no comma or other point between “Chaos” and “to the outside bare,” and accordingly it might be supposed that Milton intended the construction to be “where he (Satan) first . . . landed safe to the outside,” etc. But, besides that this construction is awkward and unusual in itself, a study of the whole passage as, with this exception, it is pointed in the original, shows that Milton intended the reading to be that which we have indicated by our mode of pointing,—i.e. that he meant the words “brought the work” in line 312 to be connected with “to the outside, etc.” in line 317, and the intervening clauses from “a ridge” to “chaos,” to be read continuously as in parenthesis. According to this reading “following the track of Satan to the self-same place, etc.,” refers to the “ridge of pendent rock,” and not to Sin and Death. The alternative reading, which would connect “to the self-same place, etc.” with “brought the work,” would require a comma after “Satan”; but there is none in the original. In short, in order to make “brought the work” refer to anything at all in the subsequent text, it is necessary to suppose a comma omitted after “Satan” in the original text or one omitted after “Chaos,” and it gives far the most natural construction to suppose it omitted at the latter place.—The reference in this passage is to that point of the previous narrative where Satan’s alighting on the outside of the Primum Mobile is described (III. 418—422, and 498—501).

313. “*Pontifical.*” The word means literally “bridge-making”; but it would not be inconsistent with Milton’s manner to suppose that he may have intended the pun arising from the other sense of “pontifical”—“of or belonging to the Papacy.” The Latin word “pontifex” (pontiff) meant originally “bridge-maker,”—a certain bridge in Rome having been founded and often repaired by the

priests. So some say; but Skeat finds no known reason for the name.

325. "*To the self-same place,*" etc. It is to be remembered that the place where Satan had first landed on the outer shell of the Universe was somewhere on its upper convex. See notes, II. 1051 and III. 427.

320—324

"and now in little space

The confines met of Empyrean Heaven

And of this World, and on the left hand Hell

With long reach interposed; three several ways

In sight to each of these three places led."

The expression in this passage is somewhat obscure; but I understand it thus:—The bridge from Hell has been carried to the upper convex of the shell of the Starry World and fastened to that shell somewhere near the zenith or point of intercourse between the Starry World and the overhanging Empyrean Heaven. This, already implied by previous descriptions (see immediately preceding note and references there), is distinctly asserted in the very next line (325), and again farther on (lines 389, 390), and is moreover necessary for the consistency of the story, inasmuch as the only access into the interior of the Starry Universe was by the orifice at its zenith, and it would have been bad bridge-making not to carry the end of the bridge to a part of the outer shell near that point. Now, what were the appearances near that point, when Sin and Death had completed their work? The confines of the Empyrean Heaven and of this World met as before, in a little space, *i.e.* close together, or almost touching; but now Hell, on the left hand, interposed (*i.e.* shot in between these confines) with long reach, by means of the bridge just made, and the end of which, if represented in diagram, would actually appear as inserting itself between the external arc of the Starry World and the under-surface of Heaven. "Interposed" I take to be the past tense for "interposed itself," and not the past participle; and this is consistent with the original pointing. (In the former edition I followed preceding editors and inserted a comma after "*Hell*"; but, on reconsideration, I have deleted it, and pointed as at the head of this note.) Why Milton should have inserted the explanation "on the left hand" I do not know, unless it was that, in the diagram of the poem which he had before him in his mind's eye, he took the left or sinister side of the Universe as that on which Satan first alighted upon it, and towards which consequently the bridge from Hell was thrown. Finally, what are the "three several ways" spoken of as "in sight" of Sin and Death? One is the bridge itself, leading to Hell; and the second is the golden stair or passage of intercourse between the pole of the Human Universe and Heaven; but what is

the third? It is clearly the way down from the pole of the Universe to Paradise and the central Earth, already described (III. 526—539), and of the visibility of which to Sin and Death where they stood the poet proceeds to make mention in the very next line.—If the reader will refer to the diagram in Intro. II. p. 83, he will be able easily to insert in that diagram the “three several ways.” A line shooting up from the point of suspension of the World from the Empyrean, will represent the way to Heaven; a continuation of the same, vertically downwards, will represent the way into the interior of the World; and a curved track from the same point of contact of the World with the Empyrean, drawn windingly on the left side of the World, down through Chaos, so as to strike the upper boss or convex of Hell, will represent the bridge built by Sin and Death.

327—330. “*Satan . . . betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion steering his zenith, while the Sun in Aries rose*!”: i.e. in his ascent to the opening of the Universe at its pole or zenith, carefully keeping far from the Sun, and therefore steering between the constellations Sagittarius and Scorpio,—which, if the Sun were rising in Aries, would leave a distance from him of nearly five signs of the Zodiac.

345. “*with joy*.” In the original text there is a full stop after the previous word “*time*,” and “*With*” begins a new sentence. In that case “*understood*” in line 344 would be the past tense. Feeling the awkwardness of this construction, Tickell proposed the present reading; which has been generally adopted, and which makes “*understood*” a participle,—“which being understood,” etc.

351. “*stupendious*.” So in the text of the original editions, and the word is spelt in the same way in the only other place where it occurs in Milton’s poetry (*Sams. Ag.* 1627). As the analogous word “*tremendous*” does not once occur, we do not know whether Milton would have justified a similar vulgarism in the spelling and pronunciation of that word. See Essay on Milton’s English, p. 51.

364. “*consequence*,” in its etymological sense, “con-*sequence*.”

368. “*our liberty, confined*,” etc. One of the many instances in which Milton adapts Latin syntax to English. “*Our*” being a possessive case, and equivalent to “of us,” the word “*confined*” is supposed to agree with it.

380. “*parted*”: i.e. “separated” or “shut off,” connected grammatically not with “all things,” but with “him.”

381. “*His Quadrature*.” Milton has already said of the figure of the Empyrean Heaven, as seen from underneath, that it was “undetermined square or round” (II. 1048, and note); and, though in the main it is best imagined throughout the poem as forming half of what may be called the whole *sphere* of Infinity, yet he purposely

leaves the matter vague. But here he seems (and possibly, as Hume supposed, with some reference to the description of the New Jerusalem in Rev. xxi. 16, as "four-square") to adopt for a passing purpose the idea of a distinction in shape between the Eternal Heaven and the new Universe hung underneath it,—the former square or cubical; and only the latter orbicular. Hume quotes from the mathematician Gassendi (1592—1655): "*Cælum Empyreum, mentium beatæ sedes, habetur formæ exterius quadrata, quod Civitas Sancta, in Apocalypsi descripta, posita in quadro dicatur.*"

389—391. "that so near Heaven's door," etc. The meaning is "that, so near the very gate of the Empyrean as where we now stand, have brought a triumphal act of yours to meet my triumphal act,—i.e. this glorious bridge to meet my victorious return from the achievement of my scheme of the World's ruin." See preceding note, 320—324.

392. "continent," in its etymological sense, "continuous stretch of land."

394. "on your road with ease": i.e. "which I can now do with ease on your road."

397. "these numerous orbs": in the First Edition "those." "Orbs" is here used in the ordinary sense of celestial bodies, and not in that of astronomical spheres of space.

409. "No detriment," etc. A recollection, as Hume noted, of the charge given to a Roman Consul, "*ut videret ne quid Respublica detrimenti caperet.*"—"be strong": Deut. xxxi. 7. (Newton.)

413. "planet-strook." See note, II. 165.

415. "causey": still a provincial word for "causeway," and really, as Mr. Keightley has explained, more correct; the word being from the French *chaussée*, and having nothing to do originally with the English word "way." The root is in *calx*, lime.

417. "the bars assailed": i.e. dashed against the bridge.

418. "his indignation": i.e. of Chaos.

424. "Pandemonium." See I. 756, and note.

426. "paragoned": i.e. compared, likened.

427. "the Grand": i.e. the chiefs, as opposed to "the legions" or general body; we should now say "the grandees." Todd quotes the phrase "*I grandi*" used exactly in the same connexion in Tasso.

431—436. "As when the Tartar . . . Tauris or Casbeen." Images drawn from the recent or contemporary history of the East, where wars between the Russians and Tartars and the Turks and

Persians were constant. Astracan is the country north of the Caspian, over which a Tartar host, repulsed by the Russians, might retreat on their way back into Asia; and, if the Bactrian Sophi (*i.e.* the Shah of Persia—the ancient Bactria forming a part of Persia, and the dynasty of the Sofis or Sooffees ruling in Persia from 1502 to Milton's time and beyond) were retreating from before the crescent standards of the Turks to his capital Tauris (Tabrëez), or to Casbeen (Kasveen), farther in the interior of Persia, he would leave waste the country between himself and the realm of Aladule (*i.e.* greater Armenia, the last king of which before it was conquered by the Turks was named Aladule). Milton's recollections of the maps of his time are surprisingly accurate.

441—452. "*He through the midst unmarked,*" etc. Newton perceived a recollection here of *Æn.* I. 439 *et seq.*, where Æneas behaves in like fashion.

445. "*state*": *i.e.* canopy. See VII. 440, and note.

460. "*Thrones, Dominations,*" etc. Mr. Browne notes "the occurrence of this line three times before: V. 601, 772, 840.

477. "*unoriginal*": without beginning.

478—480. "*fiercely opposed,*" etc. This is not quite consistent with the account at II. 959 *et seq.*; but we need not suppose, with Mr. Browne, that "Satan here lies to his followers."

512. "*clung,*" for "*clinging,*" a peculiar use of the word. Hume notes the resemblance here to the account of the transformation of Cadmus in Ovid (*Met.* IV. 575).

513. "*Supplanted*": *i.e.* "tripped up," "taken off his feet,"—the meaning of the Latin "*supplanto*."

524—526. "*Scorpion, and Asp,*" etc. The different kinds of serpents here enumerated are from Pliny and other old writers of Natural History; and most of them, as Hume noted, are given in a passage in Lucan (*Phars.* IX. 700 *et seq.*)

526—528. "*the soil bedropt with blood of Gorgon*": *i.e.* Libya, upon which blood dropped from the Gorgon Medusa's head, when Perseus, after the conquest of her and her two sister-Gorgons, was carrying it through the air to Ethiopia,—the drops engendering the serpents with which Libya swarms.—*Ophiusa* (meaning in Greek the "snake-island," in Latin called *Colubrasia*), a small island in the Mediterranean, abounding with serpents, now Formentara, south of the Balearic island of Iviza.

529. "*Dragon*." Rev. xii. 9.

531. "*Huge Python*": *i.e.* the serpent bred out of the slime left by Deucalion's Flood, and slain by Apollo.

546. "*triumph to shame.*" Hosea iv. 7. (Gillies.)

549. "*His will who,*" etc.: i.e. "the act or arrangement of his will who," etc.

555. "*further*": spelt "*further*" in the original text. There is one other instance in which the word is spelt so in the First Edition (XI. 193); in all other cases it is "*further*."

556. "*thirst*": spelt "*thurst*" in the original, and the spelling retained to the Third Edition. In every other place where the word occurs in *Paradise Lost*, including line 568 of this Book, the original spelling is our present one, *thirst*.

560. "*Megara*": one of the Furies, who had serpents for hair.

561—570. "*like that which grew,*" etc. The ancient story of the apples of Sodom, or the peculiar fruit growing on the shores of the Dead Sea, fair on the outside, but full of dust and ashes within, had its foundation in the fact that there is found in that district a plant, called "*Osher*" by the Arabs, producing a fruit round like an apple, but which explodes on pressure.

572. "*Whom they triumphed once lapsed*": i.e. "over whose single lapse they triumphed."

573. "*long and ceaseless hiss.*" Mr. Keightley seems right in taking "*hiss*" as a verb and "*long*" and "*ceaseless*" as qualifying adverbs.

580—584. "*fabled how the Serpent, whom they called Ophion,*" etc. According to one of the theogonies of the Greeks, there were two dynasties of gods before the supremacy of Jupiter. First ruled Ophion (which word implies "*Serpent*") and Eurynome; they were dispossessed by Kronos and Rhea, otherwise called Saturn and Ops; and they again by Jove, called Dictæan, because he was brought up on Dicte, a mountain in Crete. Milton treats this myth of Ophion and Eurynome as perhaps a tradition, kept up among the Heathen by the Devils themselves (i.e. by their own false gods), of the primeval transaction between the Serpent and Eve. *Eurynome* means "the wide-encroaching goddess," and perhaps Eve was meant under this name.

581, 582. "*wide-encroaching.*" A noticeable word here, inasmuch as it is divided between two lines. In the original text, as in ours, there is a hyphen after "*wide*," showing that the break of the compound word into two parts was deliberate.

590. "*On his pale horse.*" Rev. vi. 8.

601. "*vast un-hide-bound corpse*": i.e. vast body, not bound tightly by its skin, but with its skin hanging loose about it.

633. "*at one sling*," etc.: 1 Sam. xxv. 29. (Todd.)
 642. "*Sung Halleluiah, as the sound of seas*." Rev. xix. 6.
 645. "*Next, to the Son*," etc.: For the previous part of their song has been the Halleluiah proper—i.e. "praise to Jehovah."
 647. "*New Heaven and Earth*," etc. Rev. xxi. 1.
 651. "*As sorted best*": i.e. as suited best. See note, VIII. 384.
 656. "*blanc Moon*": i.e. white or pale Moon. See note, III. 47—49.
 657. "*the other five*": i.e. Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.

658—664. "*aspects, in sextile . . . tempestuous*." This is not the only passage in which Milton has countenanced Astrology so far as to employ its language. The following, which we translate from an old Latin catechism or text-book of Astronomy (Blebelius, *De Sphæra*, 1582), will sufficiently explain the allusions in the passage: "What are the *aspects* of planets? They are such arrangements and distances of the planets as allow them to intercommunicate their influence. How many species of aspects are there? Five—Conjunction, Sextile, Square, Trine, and Diametral or Opposition. What is the first? The first kind of aspects, called Conjunction, is when two stars or planets are conjoined and as it were connected in one line; by the Greeks it is called *Synod*. What is the Sextile aspect? When two planets or stars are distant from each other a sixth part of the Zodiac, viz. two signs or 60°. What is the Square aspect (*quadratus aspectus*)? When two stars look at each other at an interval of three signs, making a quadrant or 90°. What is Trine (*Trigonus*) aspect? When the distance of the stars measures a third of the circle,—that is, 120° or four signs. What is the Diametral aspect? It is the opposite configuration of two luminaries, which are distant from each other 180° or half a circle. . . . How are the aspects divided? Into happy and unhappy. Which are the happy and prosperous aspects? The prosperous and benign are the Trine and Sextile. Why are they called happy? Because the rays of the planets, falling obliquely and mutually yielding, infuse and communicate to inferior bodies gentler and less violent influences. What are the unhappy aspects? The unhappy or malignant are Conjunction, Square, and Opposition. Why are they called malignant? Because the planets, meeting each other with their rays, mutually collide, and neither can yield to the other on account of the directness of their onset. Therefore they exercise greater force in stimulating and varying seasons, and in mixing the temperaments of animals and the qualities of the air. Whence is this variety of effects known? The effect and variety of configuration was first observed in the case of

the Moon, and afterwards transferred to the other planets by artists (*artificers*) who, by great sharpness of intelligence, and more attentive observation, endeavoured to find out and display the causes of events from the very nature of the heavenly motions and the species of the aspects." Milton, it will be noted, names all the aspects, giving Conjunction its Greek name of *Synod*.

666.. "*the thunder when to roll.*" It has been suggested that Milton could hardly have meant "roll" to be active here,—*i.e.* can hardly have meant that the winds roll the thunder; but such seems the true reading,—the only one consistent with the syntax.

668—678. "*Some say,*" etc. It is poetically assumed here that, before the Fall, the ecliptic or Sun's path was in the same plane as the Earth's equator, and that the present obliquity of the two planes, of their intersection at an angle of $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, was a modification of the physical Universe for the worse, consequent upon the moral evil introduced by sin. But this physical alteration might be produced in either of two ways: either by pushing askance the axis of the Earth the required distance, leaving the Sun undisturbed; or by leaving the Earth undisturbed and compelling the Sun to deviate the required distance ("like distant breadth") from his former equatorial or equinoctial path. To indicate what "the like distant breadth" would amount to, Milton follows the Sun in imagination after his deviation from the equatorial line: tracing him, first, in his ascent north of the equator, through the constellations Taurus (in whose neck are the Pleiades, called the seven Atlantic Sisters, as being mythologically the daughters of Atlas) and Gemini (called "the Spartan twins," as representing Castor and Pollux, the twin-sons of Tyndarus, King of Sparta), up to his extreme distance from the equator at the Crab, in the Tropic of Cancer; then returning with him in his descending path by Leo and Virgo, till he again touches the equator at Libra; and, for the rest, simply suggesting his similar deviation from the equator to the south by naming the Tropic of Capricorn as the farthest point reached on that side. Either way of effecting the new relation of the Earth to the Sun would be consistent with the Ptolemaic system, and Milton uses Ptolemaic language in his statement of each. But he gives the larger space to the hypothesis of a change of the Sun's path. Perhaps his reason for doing so, and appearing consequently to prefer this hypothesis, is that, if the change were in the Sun's path, there would be no disturbance of the previous position of the Earth with reference to the polar opening of the Universe underneath the gate of the Empyrean, nor of the way sight down from that opening to Paradise (see III. 526 *et seq.*, and X. 323, with notes). It is evident that, if the central Earth had been shifted, the incidence of the shaft or beamy way from that opening would be on a different part of the Earth's rotundity.

682. "*unbenighted*": without alternation of Night.

685—687. "*which had forbid the snow from cold Estotiland*": i.e. which would have prevented the snow from coming so far from the north pole as to cold Estotiland (marked in the old maps as that part of North America which lies immediately east of Hudson's Bay, south of Hudson's Straits, and west of Labrador).—"and south as far beneath Magellan": i.e. and kept as great an extent of the earth beneath the Straits of Magellan, towards the south pole, also clear of snow.

"as from *Thyestean banquet*." According to the Greek myth, Atreus, King of Argos, to be avenged on his brother Thyestes for an injury done him, invited Thyestes to a banquet, at which he caused the flesh of his own sons to be served up to him disguised. Shocked by such a horror, the Sun turned out of his course, rather than behold it. Milton supposes the same effect produced on the Sun by the eating of the forbidden fruit. Bentley objects to the pronunciation "*Thyestean*" in this line as erroneous; but unnecessarily, for, consistently with Milton's notion of blank verse, the word may be read *Thyestean*.

695—706. "*Now from the north of Norumbega*," etc. Norumbega is the name inscribed on old maps of North America (at least, I find it so inscribed in the Atlas of Bertius, published in 1616) in that part of the *Nova Francia*, or New France, which corresponds with the northern coast of the present United States, nearest to Canada. The *Samoed shore* is the Siberian shore to the north-east of Russia, and is mentioned under that name in Milton's *Brief History of Moscovia*. The meaning of the passage is that from the polar regions, both of the new and the old hemispheres, lying north of these regions respectively, the several north winds, Boreas (N.), Cæcias (N.E.), Argestes (N.W.), and Thrascias (N.N.W.), burst south, and were met by the adverse blasts of the south winds Notus (S.) and Afer (S.W.) rushing north from Sierra Leone and other parts of Africa; while, to increase the confusion, this conflict of winds from the north and the south was crossed laterally by the Levant ("rising") or east winds,—Eurus (E.), and Sirocco (S.E.),—and the Ponent ("setting") or west winds, Zephyr (W.), and Libeccio (S.W.) The very arrangement of the names of the Levant and Ponent winds indicates the hubbub of their meeting. The names of the winds are partly classical, partly Italian. *Sirocco*, as Hume notes, is the Syrian wind, *Libeccio* the Libyan wind.

698. "*gust and flaw*." Apparently a popular conjunction of words in the seventeenth century. Shakespeare, as Newton noted, has it in his *Venus and Adonis* (453—456):—

- Like a red morn, that ever yet betoken'd
- Wreck to the seaman, tempest to the field,
- Sorrow to shepherds, woe unto the birds,
- Gusts and foul flaws to herdmen and to herds."

The words seem nearly synonymous.

711. "*To grate the herb all leaving.*" The use of the word "*all*" here has puzzled commentators. They say it could have been only the beasts that Milton meant, and not the fowls and fishes also. But it was evidently his notion that there were no carnivorous animals, whether fowls, fishes, or beasts, before the Fall; and he has specially mentioned the fishes as then only herbivorous (VII. 404).

• 737—741. "*besides mine own,*" etc.: i.e. besides the curses proper to myself,—"*all from me*": i.e. all the curses originating from me.—"*Heavy, though in their place*": i.e. heavy, though at their centre, and therefore, in their proper place, where, according to physical theories, they ought not to have weight at all.—On this passage Mr. Keightley remarks that it is "perhaps the most perplexed, disagreeable, and unnatural" in the poem; and he adds, "Such a mixture of bad physics and improper imagery rarely occurs." This is as the reader may feel; but the physical theory which runs through the expression may perhaps be illustrated by a reference to Chaucer's *House of Fame* (II, 221 *et seq.*), where the Eagle, who is flying up with the poet, entertains him during their flight with a lecture on Natural Philosophy:—

"Geffrey, thou wost right wel this,
That every kyndly thing that is
Hath a kyndly sted ther he
May best in hit conserved be;
Unto which place every thing
Through his kyndly enclining
Moveth for to come to
Wher that hit is away therfro . .
Thus every thing by this resoun
Hath his propre mansioun
To which hit seketh to repaire."

743. "*Did I request thee.*" Isaiah xlv. 9.

758. "*Thou didst,*" etc. Bishop Newton has an apt remark here: "The change of *persons*, sometimes speaking of himself in the *first*, and sometimes to himself in the *second*, is very remarkable in this speech, as well as the change of passions."

760—762. "*what if thy son,*" etc. Isaiah xlv. 10. (Stillington.)

780. "*Would thunder,*" etc. Job xxxvii. 5. (Todd.)

783. "*lest all I*": i.e. lest the whole of me,—soul and body. Newton quotes Horace (*Od.* III. xxx. 6), "*non omnis moriār.*"

792. "*All of me, then, shall die.*" Observe the process of reasoning by which Adam has reached this conclusion. "Thinking of the sentence "*Dust thou art, and shalt to dust return,*" he has at first been horror-struck lest this should apply only to his corporeal part, made of dust,—lest the spirit, which God had breathed into him, should somehow and somewhere survive, still to hear the dreadful voice of the offended Deity. Then absolute annihilation or sleep, to which he looked forward as his only comfort, would not be granted him. But, seeing that it was the spirit that had sinned, and it could only be on what had sinned that the sentence had been pronounced,—nay, seeing that the spirit alone was the living part that could die,—he concludes that the sentence of death does apply to it. The body will die by resolution into dust, but the spirit also will die.—For Milton's own belief on this subject see *Memoir*, I. p. 66.

795—798. "*Be it,*" etc. The meaning is "Granted that it is so,—i.e. that God's wrath must be infinite, because He is himself infinite,—yet Man, the object of this wrath, is not infinite, but mortal by doom; and even infinite wrath must come to an end with the death of its object,—unless death itself were somehow to be made deathless or everlasting."

799, 800. "*which to God himself impossible is held.*" As Milton here introduces a doctrine of the Schoolmen, it is suggested that he must be speaking in his own person, and not in Adam's. But the law of Poetry in such matters of time and place is not that of History; and it is clearly Adam who speaks.

804—808. "*That were to extend,*" etc. Adam here assigns two reasons why it is not to be supposed that the death threatened can be infinitely prolonged or extended: (1) that by this God's sentence would be prolonged beyond the term named in it,—i.e. resolution to dust; (2) that it would be in violation of that natural law, seen operating everywhere else, which limits the action of causes to the receptivity, or receptive capacity, of the object-matter affected, and does not make it coextensive with the sphere, or inherent potentiality, of the causes themselves. Bishop Newton quotes the exact dogma of the Schoolmen which Milton must have had in view: "*Omne efficiens agit secundum vires recipientis, non suas*" ("Every cause acts according to the powers of the recipient, and not according to its own intrinsic powers"),—a dogma in which we can find a good deal of useful and intelligible meaning still. A modern form of it is Sir William Hamilton's doctrine of the Relativity of Human Knowledge; by which is meant that man's knowledge is not absolute, or a know-

ledge of things as they are in their own nature, but only relative, or as they can be apprehended by his limited faculties.

846. "*Am found eternal.*" Bentley insisted that "*am*" is here a blunder for "*are*," and many editors print "*are*" instead of the "*am*" of the original text. But Todd quotes an instance of the same construction from Shakespeare, *As you Like It*, I. 3:—

"Which teacheth thee that thou and I am one";

and other instances prove that the idiom was not unusual. Indeed, in the present case, "*am*" makes the identification stronger to the mind.

824—828. "*But from one*," etc. Here Adam catches a glimpse of the doctrine of the implication of all mankind in Adam's sin.

827. "*With me? How can they, then, acquitted stand?*" In the First Edition this line is printed without the word "*then*,"—in which case the word "*they*" would have to be pronounced very emphatically. The word is inserted in the Second Edition.

834. "*wrath*": spelt "*wrauth*" in First and Second Editions.

840. "*future*": accented on the second syllable.

854—859. "*'Why comes not Death,' said he*," etc. Newton compares Sophocles, *Philoct.* 793:—

"Ὁ Θάνατε, Θάνατε, πῶς δὲ καλούμενος
Οὕτω καθ' ἡμᾶρ οὐ δύνη μολεῖν ποτέ;"

859. "*her slowest pace*." Hume quotes Horace (*Od.* III. ii. 32):

"pede Poena claudo."

861. "*With other echo late I taught*," etc. See V. 202—204. Dunster quotes Virgil (*Ecl.* I. 5):—

"Formosam resonare doces Amyrillida sylvas."

867. "*Out of my sight, thou serpent!*" Compare *Sam's. Ag.* 748, "*Out, out, hyena*," etc.

872, 873. "*pretended to hellish falsehood*": i.e. stretched forward in front of hellish falsehood, so as to mask it. Hume quotes from Virgil "*morti prætendere muros*"; and Richardson quotes from one of Milton's prose writings the same usage: "Ecclesiastical is ever pretended to political."

887, 888. "*Well, if thrown out*," etc. A reference to the opinion that Adam had been created with a thirteenth rib on his left side, out of which Eve was formed.

888—895. "*Oh, why did God*," etc. Passages with the same thought may be cited from other poets. Bishop Newton cites one in especial from Milton's favourite Euripides, *Hippol.* 616:—

"ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποις κακόν,
 γυναῖκας, εἰς φῶς ἡλίου κατέφικισας;
 εἰ γὰρ βροτεῖον ἤβηλες σπεῖραι γένος,
 οὐκ ἐκ γυναικῶν χρεὶ παρασχέσθαι τόδε."

898—908. "*For either he never shall,*" etc. In addition to the interest of this passage in itself, it has an interest arising from its evident applicability to the circumstances of Milton's own life,—especially those of his unsuitable first marriage. In not a few passages where Eve is spoken of it is possible to suppose a recollection by Milton of the incidents of his own married life; but in few passages is the personal reference so distinct as in this. Observe, however, that the words "*his happiest choice too late,*" etc., are ambiguous. They may be read as meaning that the man, when already linked and wedlock-bound to a fell adversary, may meet the woman of his real choice, and have to lament that it is too late; and most editors do understand them in this way, and see an allusion therein to Milton's own alleged desire to take steps for his marriage with a certain Miss Davis, after his first wife, Mary Powell, had forsaken him (Memoir, I. p. 25). But it is possible to read the words as implying that the man may meet his true choice too late, inasmuch as *she* may be then already married, and, what is worse, married to a fell adversary,—to one on the opposite side. The second would have seemed quite an acceptable reading but for the use of the word "*shame,*" which consists better with the other.—Newton compares the well-known passage in *Mids. N. Dream* (I. 1), "The course of true love," etc.

909—913. "*He added not,*" etc. Here, and in the following speeches, editors have supposed a recollection by Milton of the scene of his reconciliation with his first wife, when she returned and threw herself at his feet. See Memoir, I. p. 25.

931. "*Against God only.*" Ps. li. 4. (Gillies.)

953. "*that place*": i.e. the place of judgment (line 932).

978. "*As in our evils*": considering our evils. It is a Latinism, of which Richardson cites this example from Cicero:—"Non nihil, ut in tantis malis, est profectum."

989, 990. In the First, Second, and Third Editions these two lines are printed thus:

"Childless thou art, childless remaine:
 So Death shall be deceiv'd his glut, and with us two"—

the first line having two syllables defective of the usual measure, and the second two in excess. It is possible, but far from likely, that Milton intended this, to give emphasis to the first line.

1001, 1002. "*Let us seek Death, or, he not found,*" etc. Hume interprets the proposal as being first to seek death by exposure to

every possible chance of it (wild beasts, etc.), and then, that failing, to commit suicide.

1066. "*Shattering*": so in *Nycid.* 5, "shatter your leaves."

1069. "*this diurnal star*": i.e. the Sun. Compare *Lycid.* 168.

1071. "*sere*," dry; "*foment*," nourish or keep alive. The allusion is to a burning-mirror, wherewith to gather the sun's beams and kindle dry leaves.

1073. "*atritte to fire*": made into fire by attrition, an allusion to the process of obtaining fire by rubbing bodies together.

1075. "*Tine*": to light or kindle. (A.-S. *tendan*: whence "tinder.") The word occurs in Spenser, and Todd quotes an instance from Phineas Fletcher:

"Oh! why should earthly lamps then seem to tine
Their lamps alone at that first Sun divine?"

1078. "*supply*": be a substitute for.

1091. "*Frequenting*": i.e. filling, in the sense of the Latin *frequentare*: e.g. "*Italiam coloniis frequentavit*."

1098—1104. "*They, forthwith*," etc. This repetition of the words preceding with only the due changes of tense and mood is in imitation, as Hume noted, of Homer and Virgil.

Final Note to Book X.—It may be worth noting that in the First Edition of the poem there are two errors in the numbering of the lines of this Book. By a miscounting of fourteen lines for ten after line 810, what should be line 824 becomes 820; and this omission of four lines in the reckoning is continued to 880, where, by over-reckoning in the previous ten, the numbering becomes right again. But again it becomes wrong by four lines after line 940; which error again rectifies itself at line 1010. The errors do not affect the sum of the lines at the end; which is 1104, as in our edition.

BOOK XI.

1, 2. "*stood praying*": merely means continued praying; for their posture was not that of standing, but of prostration (see X. 1099).

4. "*The stony from their hearts*," etc. Ezek. xi. 9. (Todd.)

6, 7. "*which the Spirit of prayer inspired*." Rom. viii. 26. (Hume.)

10—14. "*the ancient pair . . . Deucalion*," etc. The fable

was that, after the destruction of the race of mankind by a deluge, the survivors, Deucalion and Pyrrha, consulted the oracle of Themis as to the means by which the race should be restored. In Ovid's version of the fable (*Met.* I.), which Milton has in view, the pair are represented as prostrating themselves on the steps of the Temple and praying to Themis.

14—17. "*To Heaven their prayers flew up, nor missed the way,*" etc. There is a distinct reference here to the passage (III. 444 *et seq.*) describing the Limbo of Fools. *There*, the vain hopes, and devotees of such, that would ascend to Heaven, never reach it, but, when they are at its door, are blown by violent cross winds (III. 487) "ten thousand miles away" over the outside of the Physical Cosmos. Not so the sincere prayers of Adam and Eve *here*.

17. "*Dimensionless*": without length, breadth, or depth, as not being material substances.

17—20. "*then, clad with incense, where the golden altar fumed,*" etc. Rev. viii. 3, 4. (Hume.) Compare Milton's Sonnet XIV.

28. "*manuring*." See note, IV. 628.

33, 34. "*his advocate and propitiation*." 1 John ii. 1. (Hume.)

38. "*The smell of peace*." Gen. viii. 21 (Keightley). Levit. iii. 3—5 (Hume).

44. "*Made one*," etc. John xvii. 21, 22. (Hume.)

52. "*Eject him*," etc. Levit. xviii. 25. (Stillingfleet.)

74—76. "*heard in Oreb*," etc. Exod. xx. 16—20, and 1 Thess. iv. 16. (Hume.)

84—98. "*O Som*," etc. In this speech Milton has in view Gen. iii. 22—24.

86. "*defenced*": forbidden, as in French, *défendu*.

91—93. "*longer than they move, his heart I know*," etc. The meaning is, "Except while these motions of mine move him, I know how variable and vain his heart is, being then self-left."

99. "*Michael*," etc. Bishop Newton has pointed out that there is a poetical fitness in the selection of Michael for this errand: first, because Michael was the Archangel of Severity, who had already been sent to execute similar justice on the rebel Angels; and, secondly, because less has been heard hitherto of this Archangel, in the main story of the poem, than of Uriel, Gabriel, and Raphael.

128—133. "*Four faces each*," etc. Ezek. x. 12—14. The "*Arcadian pipe*" is the shepherd's pipe with which Hermes, or Mercury, charmed to sleep the hundred-eyed Argus, employed by

Juno to watch Io; the "*opiate rod*" is the caduceus or wand of Mercury, which had the power of sending to sleep.

133—135. "*Meanwhile*," etc. Here begins the last day of the action of the poem.

135. "*Leucothea*": the "Bright Goddess" of the Greeks, identified by the Romans with their *Matuta*, the Morning-goddess.

157, 158. "*the bitterness of death is past*." 1 Sam. xv. 32. (Newton.)

159. "*Eve rightly called*," etc. Gen. iii. 20. Bishop Newton's note on the passage is, "He called her before *Ishah*, Woman, because she was taken out of *Ish*, Man (VIII. 496); but he now denominates her *Eve* or *Havah*, from a Hebrew word which signifies *to live*." But she has already been called Eve in the poem by Milton himself.

185—189. "*The bird of Jove*," the Eagle, "*stooped*,"—a term of falconry, thus explained: "*stooping* is when a hawk, being upon her wings at the highest of her pitch, bendeth violently down to strike the fowl."—"Tour," either for "tower" or in our present sense of "wheeling motion."—"the beast that reigns in woods": the lion.—Milton, in introducing these omens, has imitated Virgil and other classical poets; but it may be noted how exactly he has made the omens chosen foreshow what is to follow. The "*two birds*" of line 186, and the "*gentle brace, hart and hind*," of lines 188, 189, typify the human pair.

193. "*further*": spelt "*furder*" in the original editions.

205. "*yon western cloud*." This implies that Michael approaches Paradise on its western side; which, as Mr. Keightley notes, is the more fit because he had to expel Adam and Eve on the eastern side.

210. "*halt*": again spelt "*alt*" in the original text, as at VI. 532.

213—215. "*Not that . . . in Mahanaim*," etc. Gen. xxxii. 1—2.

216—220. "*Nor that . . . in Dothan*," etc. 2 Kings vi. 13—17.

231, 232. "*Potentate or of the Thrones*": i.e. either one of those high Spirits who sit on Thrones in Heaven, or perhaps even a Potentate among these.

242, 243. "*Melibœan*," from Melibœa, a city in Thessaly.—"*grain of Sarr*": the purple of Tyre, named *Sar* after the name of the shell-fish from which the dye was procured. See note, V. 285.—"*Sarrano indormiat ostrę*" is a phrase of Virgil's (*Georg.* II. 506), quoted by Hume.

259—262. "*But longer*," etc. Observe that Michael, in delivering his message, repeats the exact words of the Almighty (see *ante*, lines 48 and 97, 98). This is in accordance with the well-known practice in Homer.

264. "*Heart-strook*." See note, II. 165.

270. "*native soil*." Eve may say so, Hume notes, as having been created in Paradise; but Adam was created outside of Paradise, and brought into it.

280. "*Thee, lastly, nuptial bower*." Suggested, Todd thinks, by the passage in the *Alcestis* of Euripides (249 *et seq.*) where Alcestis, from the palace platform, looks her last on the scenes around her:—

"Γαῖά τε, καὶ μελάρων στέγαι,
Νυμφίδιαι τε κοῖται
Πατρὸς Ἰωλκοῦ."

296, 297. "*Thrones*," etc. See lines 231, 232, and note.

316. "*from his face I shall be hid*." Gen. iv. 14. (Gillies.)

324. "*turf*": spelt "*terfe*" in the original text. See Essay on Milton's English, p. 51.

325, 326. "*in memory or monument to ages*." Bentley asks "What's the difference of *memorial* and *monument*, that *or* must separate them?" and he proposes to read *a* for *or*. But by "*memory*" Adam may mean a mark by which he himself may remember.

332, 333. "*skirts of glory*." Exod. xxxiii. 22, 23. (Newton.)

336. "*Not this*," etc. This line is peculiar, as having a distinct syllable of over-measure.

356—358. "*I am sent*," etc. Dan. x. 14. (Todd.)

369. "*slept'st*": in the original "*slept'st*"

377. "*In the visions of God*." Ezek. xl. 2. (Hume.)

385—411. "*His eye . . . El Dorado*." In this splendid geographical survey there is a certain order:—(1) In lines 387—395 the eye sweeps eastward in a wide circuit over what is in the main ASIA. It begins with the vast central region, from the Arctic sea southwards to the confines of China and the heart of Asia, known in Milton's time as Tartary (now divided between the Chinese and Russian Empires), and there singles out the sites of two future cities,—Genghis Khan's reputed great capital of Cambalu, in the province of Cathay, to the west of the great Chinese wall, and Tamerlane's original tent of Samarcand, much more to the west, in the heart of what is now Independent Tartary, and considerably to

the north of the river Oxus. Thence it stretches to China in the extreme east, represented by its capital Paquin or Peking. Thence it returns by the Indian countries in the south of Asia, singling out as representative sites there Agra and Lahore, in northern Hindostan, both celebrated cities of the Mogul monarchs, and glancing at the still more eastern Indies as far as the golden Chersonese, or the peninsula of Malacca. It concludes the circuit with a glance at the more western dominions of Asia,—Persia, with its successive capitals of Ecbatana and Ispahan, Russia or Moscovia, with its capital Moscow (considered as belonging to Asia in the early part of the seventeenth century, and so included in the maps of Asia of that period), and Turkey, with its capital Byzantium or Constantinople. (2) Next, AFRICA comes into view, lines 396—404. Here first appears Abyssinia, the Emperor of which is called “Negus” in the native Ethiopic language, and the northernmost port of which on the Red Sea is Ercoco (Arkeoko in modern maps). Then are seen the “*less maritime*,” i.e. smaller maritime, kingdoms of the east coast,—Mombaza, Quiloa, Melinda (names still in our maps, north and south of Zanzibar), and Sofala (still farther south, in the Mozambique Channel, and thought by some to be the Ophir whence Solomon fetched his gold). So round the Cape to the states of Congo and Angola on the opposite coast of the Continent, Angola being the southernmost of these two; and finally thence, by the Niger, to the Atlas mountains, with the Barbary States on the northern margin of Africa, once included in the vast dominions of Al-Mansur (the second of the Abbaside Khalifs),—towns or divisions of which, taken indiscriminately, are Fez, Sus (Susa or Tunis), Morocco, Algiers, and Tremisen (Tlemsin in West Algeria?). (3) EUROPE is then merely glanced at, lines 405, 406, as concentrated all in all in Rome. (4) But perhaps it was given to Adam, in spirit, to see not only the hemisphere of the Earth on which he was, but also AMERICA beyond the Atlantic, lines 406—411. If so, his eye would rest chiefly on these: Mexico, the capital of the native Mexican Emperor Montezuma, whom Cortes conquered; Cusco, the capital of Peru, whose last native ruler, Atabalipa, was conquered by Pizarro; and the great country of Guiana in the north of South America, as yet uninvaded by Geryon’s sons (the Spaniards, so called from Geryon, a fabulous early King of Spain) in their persevering quest after its inland city of supposed infinite wealth, which they called El Dorado.—In this whole passage, as in others, Milton shows not only his geographical knowledge,—remarkably accurate for one who had to depend only on his recollection of maps,—but also his delight in what may be called the poetry of proper names. Most great poets have had the same delight in such strings of proper names, selected partly for their

historical and poetical associations, and partly for the music of their sound; but Milton had it pre-eminently.

411. "to," for "in order to."

412. "*Michael from Adam's eyes the film removed.*" So, as Hume noted, in the *Iliad* (V. 127) Minerva clears the sight of Diomedes, and in the *Æneid* (II. 604) Venus that of Æneas. In Tasso's *Ger. Lib.* (XVIII. 93), as Newton noted, the Archangel Michael does the same for Godfrey, to enable him to see the Angelic army aiding him.

414. "*euphrasy and rue.*" Euphrasy, popularly called "eye-bright," was supposed to have a specific effect in clearing the sight; and among the medicinal virtues attributed to rue,—which was called "herb of grace" (*Richard II.* III. 4, and *Hamlet*, IV. 5),—was also that of strengthening the eyes. Both were used for the purpose, either internally or as local applications; and Milton may have had experience of them in his own case. Shenstone celebrates Euphrasy in his *Schoolmistress*.—

"Yet Euphrasy may not be left unsung,
That gives dim eyes to wander leagues around."

416. "*the well of life.*" Ps. xxxvi. 9. (Gillie.)

432. "*I' the midst.*" Printed "*I'th'midst*" in the original editions.

433. "*sord.*" So spelt in the original,—sward, or turf. The spelling is found in other poets. The word *sward*, now meaning the grassy surface of the earth, meant originally the thick hard skin of the pig, or other such animal (A.-S. *sweard*); and "sword of bacon" was a common old phrase. Hence "*greensward*" for the green skin of the earth; and hence, by the omission of "*green*," our present simple word. "

433—447. "*Thither anon*," etc. In this account of the murder of Abel by Cain, Milton has followed Gen. iv. 2—8, but has adopted some of the additions made by commentators in their interpretations of that passage. Father Mersenne, in his vast Latin Commentary on Genesis, published at Paris in 1623, is especially copious on the manner and circumstances of the death of Abel.

447. "*Groaned out his soul*," etc. Hume quotes *Æn.* IX. 349 :—

"Purpuream vomit ille animam."

and X. 908 :—

"Undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore."

467—469. "*many shapes of Death, and many are the ways*," etc. Newton compares Seneca, *Phænissæ*, I. 131 :—

"Ubique Mors est . . .
. . . . mille ad hanc aditus patent."

477—493. "*Immediately a place before his eyes appeared,*" etc. In this passage we see Milton remembering his intention as far back as the year 1640 or 1641, when he wrote out his fourth sketch of his projected Tragedy on the subject of *Paradise Lost* (see *Introd.* II. p. 46). "The Angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise; but, before, causes to pass before his [Adam's] eyes, in shapes, a masque of all the evils of this life and world": such is one part of the old sketch.—The commentators have compared Milton's splendid poetical enumeration of diseases here with similar enumerations in older poets. Warton, in his account of the *Piers Plowman* poems in his *Hist. of English Poetry*, associates this very passage of Milton with a striking one in Langland, where Kind or Nature, at the bidding of Conscience, sends forth a train of Diseases, with Age and Death, from the planets; and Dunster refers to a briefer passage in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, 739 *et seq.* Perhaps the longest enumeration of diseases in English metre is in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (3rd Part of the 1st Day of the 2nd Week), where they are divided into four Regiments, and the names and descriptions of them fill seven quarto pages.

479. "*lazar-house,*" hospital. *Lazar* meant "a beggar," and was derived from Lazarus, the beggar in the Parable, who was covered with sores.

485—487. "*Demoniac phrenzy, moping melancholy,
And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
Marasmus, and wide-wasting pestilence.*"

These three lines do not occur in the First Edition, but are inserted in the Second; where "*moon-struck*" is so spelt, and not "*moon-strook*" (see note, II. 165).—"Marasmus" is consumption (*μαρασμός*).

494. "*deform.*" This word (from the Latin *deformis*) is repeated from II. 706. (Keightley.)

495—497. "*Adam could not, but wept,
Though not of woman born: compassion quelled
His best of man, and gave him up to tears.*"

An interesting example, as Dunster pointed out, of Milton's recollections of Shakespeare:—

"I be a charmed life, which must not yield
To one of woman born.
Macd. Despair thy charm;
And let the angel whom thou still hast served
Tell thee, Macduff was from his mother's womb
Untimely ripp'd.
Macb. Accurs'd be that tongue that tells me so,
For it hath cowed my better part of man."

Macb. V. 8.

Again:—

"The pretty and sweet manner of it forced
Those waters from me which I would have stopped;
But I had not so much of man in me,
And all my mother came into mine eyes,
And gave me up to tears."

King Henry V. IV. 6.

514. "*for his Maker's image sake*": a construction like "for conscience sake," where no sign of the 'possessive case' is given, unless sometimes an apostrophe, "conscience' sake."

519. "*Inductive*": inducing, or conducting.

531. "*The rule of Not too much*": the classic aphorism, *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, or *Ne quid nimis*. (Keightley.)

535—537. "*till, like ripe fruit, thou drop . . . mature*." Bishop Newton supposed that Milton may have had in mind a passage in Cicero's *De Senectute*, "*Quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sint, avelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas.*"

543—546. "*in thy blood will reign*," etc. Todd quotes from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* a passage where, speaking of the causes of melancholy, he says, "The first of these, which is natural to all, and which no man living can avoid, is Old Age; which, being cold and dry, and of the same quality as Melancholy is, must needs cause it, by diminution of spirits and substance, and increasing of 'adust humours.'" Milton, like Burton, followed the old physiological system, in which "humours" of various qualities performed so important a part.

549. "*cumbrous*": spelt "*combrous*" in the first three editions.

551—552. "*Of rendering up, and patiently attend
My dissolution. Michael replied*":

This is an expansion, in the Second Edition, of what formed but one line in the first, thus

"Of rendering up. Michael to him repli'd."

Gillies compares Job xiv. 14.

554. "*permit to Heaven*." Newton quotes Horace, *Od. I. ix. 9*: "*Permitte divis cætera.*"

556—573. "*whereon were tents*," etc. Gen. iv. 20—22.

561—563. "*his volant touch*," etc. Musicians admire much this description; so technically exact is it to the nature of fugue-music. For a longer description of the same kind, though in a different spirit, see Browning's poem entitled "Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha."

573. "*Fusile or graven*": i.e. by casting or by carving.

573—592. "*After these . . . a different sort*," etc.: viz. the children of Seth, "*on the hither side*," or nearer to Paradise than the descendants of the banished Cain. Some of the particulars respecting the Sethites are from Josephus and Jewish tradition; others from Gen. vi. 1, 2.

582. "*bevy*": a company, from the French *bevue*, a covey of birds, —a frequent phrase with old writers in the same connexion as in the text.

590. "*They light the nuptial torch*." Milton had used this phrase in his *Treatise on Divorce*: "while they haste too eagerly to light the nuptial torch."

607—608. "*the tents of wickedness*." Psalm lxxxiv. 10. (Todd.)

614. "*For that fair female troop thou saw'st*": i.e. "in proof of which, thou hast seen that fair female troop."

621—627. "*To these that sober race of men*," etc. Here Milton adopts that opinion which makes the Sons of God who married the Daughters of Men (Gen. vi. 1, 2) to be the Sethites; elsewhere, however, he adopts the opinion which supposes them to have been the Angels. See *Par. Lost*, V. 447, and *Par. Reg.* II. 178—181.

627. "*The world*," etc. Compare IX. 11.

632—633. "*Man's woe . . . from Woman*." Perhaps a play upon the words, according to the popular old etymology which derived *woman* from "woe to man." The correct etymology is from *wife*; the root of which Mr. Skeat reports to be obscure,—adding, however, an account of the history of the word *Woman* which is too good to be omitted here:—"WOMAN. (E.) A curious corruption of A.-S. *wif-man*, lit. wife-man, the word *man* being formerly applied to both sexes. This word became *wimman*, pl. *wimmen*, in the 10th century, and this plural is still in use in *spoken* English. In the 12th century it became *wumman*, . . . whence . . . finally *woman*."

638—673. "*He looked and saw*," etc. In the whole of this vision Milton has in view the famous description of the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* (XVIII. 478 *et seq.*), and takes hints from it. Newton, who noted the fact, says "The description of the shield of Achilles is certainly one of the finest pieces of poetry in the whole *Iliad*; and Milton has plainly shown his admiration and affection for it by borrowing so many scenes and images from it: but I think we may say that they do not, like other copies, fall short of the originals, but generally exceed them."

651. "*makes*." So in the Second Edition, but in the First it was "*tacks*."

661. "*To council in the city-gates.*" Gen. xxxiv. 20, and other texts.

665. "*Of middle age one rising*": i.e. Enoch, 365 years old when he was translated,—i.e. not half the full age attributed to the oldest patriarchs. See Gen. v. 23, 24, and Jude 14.

669. "*exploded*": execrated, hissed at, drove off the stage by hissing,—the literal meaning of the Latin *explodere*, from *ex* and *plaudo*.

679. "*massacre*": spelt "*massacher*" in the original text.

681, 682. "*But who,*" etc. The syntax of these two lines is very peculiar, the word *whom* having to be resolved, not as usual into *and him*, but into *who . . . him*—"that just man who, had not Heaven rescued him, had been lost."

688. "*these Giants.*" Gen. vi. 4.

693—695. "*shall be held . . . and, for glory done, of triumph.*" There is some difficulty in the construction here, and several meanings have been proposed. The true one seems to be "to overcome in battle, etc., shall be held the highest pitch of human *glory*, and to be styled great conquerors, etc., shall be held the highest pitch of *triumph* for glory achieved."

700. "*the seventh from thee.*" Jude 14.

706. "*Rapt,*" etc. The manner of Enoch's translation is supposed to be the same as the manner of Elijah's. 2 Kings ii. 11.

723—725. "*preached conversion and repentance,*" etc. 1 Peter iii. 19, 20. (Hume.)

729—753. "*Began to build a vessel,*" etc. Gen. vi. and vii. But with his description of the Flood Milton has interwrought recollections of similar descriptions in Ovid (*Met.* I.) and other poets.

743. "*ceiling*": spelt *ceeling* in the original text.

750. "*Sea without shore*": from Ovid (*Met.* I. 292), "*deerant quoque littora ponto.*" (Hume.)

766. "*dispensed*": distributed; literally "weighed out."

773, 774. "*neither . . . and.*" A peculiar construction, in which *neither* is not followed as usual by *nor*. Bentley supposed a misprint; but Bishop Newton pointed out that the construction is according to Latin precedent (thus Cicero, *De Orat.*, "*Homo neque meo iudicio stultus, et suo valde sapiens*"); and Todd quotes an example of it from Milton's prose-writings: "The Jews, who were neither won with the austerity of John the Baptist, and thought it too much licence to follow," etc.

801—805. "*therefore, cooled in zeal*," etc. Possibly there is a tacit reference here to the condition of the English Puritans after the Restoration.

824—828. "*all the cataracts*," etc. Gen. vii. 11, where, as Newton observed, the word translated "windows" in our version is in the Septuagint, Vulgate, and other versions, translated "cataracts."

829, 830. "*Then shall this Mount*," etc. Adopting the opinion that Paradise was obliterated by the Flood so that its exact site cannot now be determined, Milton here disposes of it very poetically. It was pushed out of its place by the violence of the flood (called "the horned flood" because a flood meeting such an obstacle would divide itself into two horns or streams in flowing round it), and swept down "the great river," i.e. Euphrates, to the opening of the Persian gulf, where it took root as a miserable island.

• 835. "*orcs*": whales, or other huge sea-animals, called by this name, says Todd, by Ariosto, Drayton, and Sylvester.

836—838. "*To teach thee*," etc. An undoubted expression of Milton's anti-ceremonialism in ecclesiastical matters.

840. "*hull*": i.e. to drift, as a mere hull, without the use of sails or other management.

842. "*North-wind*": a particular derived from Ovid, *Met.* I. 328, to be added to the main description, which is from Gen. viii.

• 846. "*their flowing*": a liberty of syntax, since "*wave*" in the preceding line is in the singular.

866. "*three listed colours*." "*Listed*" is "striped" (A.-S. *list*, a hem or edge). The three colours meant are perhaps red, yellow, and blue,—into which colours, or some similar three, and not into the seven now noted, the rainbow was usually resolved before Newton's time. Here is the description of the rainbow in Sylvester's Du Bartas:—

"Noah looks up, and in the Air he views
A semicircle of a hundred hues,
Which, bright ascending towards the ethereal thrones,
Hath a line drawn between two Orizons
For just diameter,—an even-bent bow
Contrived of three; whereof the one doth show,
To be ~~in~~ painted of a golden hue,
The second green, the third an orient blew;
Yet so that in this pure blue-golden-green
Still, opal-like, some changeable is seen."

870. "*O thou, who*." So in the Second Edition; improved from "*O thou that*" in the First.

880. "*Distended as*," etc. In the original text there is a stop after

"Heaven" in the preceding line, and none after "*distended*." This shows that the meaning is "Are they distended as the brow," etc.

884—901. In this speech of Michael's there is a coagulation of such texts of Scripture as these: Gen. v. 6—12, viii. 20, and ix. 11—16, and 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13.

901. This line, at which, in the Second Edition, Milton thought fit to close the Eleventh Book, stood as only line 896 in the First Edition. The discrepancy of five lines in the numbering is accounted for by the introduction of four new lines in the Second Edition (see notes to lines 485—487, and 551, 552) and by a wrong numbering in the First Edition, to the extent of a line, between lines 870 and 880.

BOOK XII.

THE ARGUMENT.—As the present Eleventh and Twelfth Books formed together the Tenth Book in the original edition, it is the latter part of the Argument of that Book in that edition that now stands for the Argument of the Twelfth Book. Some words of the original Argument are altered for the purpose. Instead of the words "The Angel Michael continues, from the Flood, to relate what shall succeed; then, in the mention of Abraham, comes by degrees to explain who that Seed," etc., the original Argument of the Tenth Book ran on thus: "Thence from the Flood relates, and by degrees explains who that Seed," etc.

1—5. "*As one who . . . new speech resumes.*" These five lines were added in the Second Edition, to make a proper opening for the Twelfth Book. In the First Edition there is no such break in Michael's speech,—the line

"Thus thou hast seen one world begin and end."

following immediately after what is now the last line of the Eleventh Book.

11. "*Henceforth . . . I will relate.*" Adam's glimpses of things to come have hitherto been in visions, interpreted by the Archangel; but from this point all is to be in mere narrative by the Archangel. The reason given by Michael is that Adam's organs of sight would be fatigued by farther gazing at supernatural visions; the poet's own reason, as Mr. Keightley saw, is that, as his poem is reaching its end, it is necessary to be more summary in what remains.

13—24. "*This second source of men . . . under paternal rule.*" In these twelve lines Milton sketches what has been called the

Silver Age of the World, or that in which the "second source of men" (*source* in the sense of stream or stock), Noah's descendants, lived under patriarchal or family government, in a state of peace and religiousness inferior indeed to that of the Paradisaic time before the Fall, but superior to what was to follow.

24—37. "*till one shall rise*," etc. This is Nimrod. See Gen. x. 8—10. It is characteristic of Milton that he understands the Scriptural account of Nimrod as an account of the origin of kingly government or individual tyranny among men. Nimrod's *hunting*, he understands, with the Jewish and other commentators, to be of men,—the oppressive driving to and fro and insidious snaring of his fellow-mortals. The phrase, translated in our version "before the Lord" is explained by the commentators in two ways,—as meaning either "in opposition to or in despite of God," or "in subordination to God"; and Milton (lines 34, 35) gives the choice of these two explanations,—making Nimrod either usurp his sovereignty in spite of Heaven, or claim it *jure divino*, as God's vicegerent. There are various etymologies of the name Nimrod; but the one which Milton adopts derives the name from a Hebrew word *marad*, signifying to rebel. Observe, as characteristic, the use made of this etymology. Kings and tyrants are always accusing their subjects of "rebellion," although the very first of their own order had a name which signified that he was "the rebel" *par excellence*.—Recent commentators on Gen. x. 8—10 deny that the passage necessarily implies the character attributed to Nimrod by the traditional interpretation; and they find no authority in the Bible for connecting Nimrod with the building of the Tower of Babel.

40—62. "*Marching from Eden*," etc. Gen. xi. 2—9.

42. "*the mouth of Hell*": not the Hell of the rest of the poem, but the Hell of the ordinary mythology,—Tartarus under the Earth.

56—59. "*Forthwith a hideous gabble*," etc. The following is the description of the Confusion of Tongues in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*:—

"This said, as soon confusedly did bound
Through all the work I wot not what strange sound,—
A jangling noise, not much unlike the rumours
Of Bacchus' swains amid their drunken humours,
Some speak between their teeth, some in the nose,
Some in the throat their words do ill dispose;
Some howl, some hollo, some do stut and strain:
Each hath his gibberish. . . .
And so thou mayst conceipt what mingle-mangle
Among this people everywhere did jangle.
'Bring me,' quoth one, 'a trowel quickly'; quick
One brings him up a hammer. 'Hew this brick'
Another bids, and then they cleave a tree;
'Make fast this rope,' And then they let it flee:

One calls for planks, another mortar lacks;
 They bear the first a stone, the last an axe:
 One would have spikes, and him a spade they give;
 Another asks a saw, and gets a sieve.
 Thus crossly-cross they prate and point in vain," etc.

69—71. "*man over men he made not lord*," etc. Hume compares a passage in St. Augustine's *De Civ. Dei*, where it is said of God's having made man in his own image, "*noluit nisi irrationalibus dominari, non hominem homini, sed hominem pecoræ*."

85. "*dividual*": divided, separate. See note, VII. 382; also note, IV. 486.

95, 96. "*Tyranny must be, though*," etc. Matt. xviii. 7. (Todd.)

97—101. "*Yet sometimes*," etc. Todd quotes from Milton's *History of Britain* (Book V.) the same idea: "But, when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but servile, all Estates of the Government are alike unable to prevent it."

101—104. "*witness the irreverent son*," etc. Gen. ix. 22—25. Michael assumes that the story of Ham is known to Adam, though, as Thyer noted, there is no mention of it as having been as yet told him.

106—108. "*till God*," etc. Isaiah xliii. 24, Hos. v. 6. (Dunster.)

115. "*Bred up in idol-worship*." As Abraham's father Terah is mentioned, Josh. xxiv. 2, as having "served other gods," it is assumed that Abraham was bred up in a false religion.

117—120. "*While yet the patriarch lived who*," etc. Noah, according to the Biblical chronology, survived the Flood 350 years, while Terah, Abraham's father, was born 222 years after that event. Bishop Newton says that, according to Jewish tradition, Terah, and his father Nachor, and his father Serug, were "statuaries and carvers of idols."

120—126. "*voutsafes to call by vision*," etc. Gen. xii. 1—3; but see also Acts vii. 2, 3. (Hume.)

127. "*Not knowing*," etc. Heb. xi. 8. (Newton.)

130—137. "*Ur of Chaldæa*," etc. Milton here traces Abraham's route from his native Chaldæa (between the Euphrates and the Tigris) into Palestine. First, leaving Ur (now Orfah, once Edessa) in Chaldæa, he sees him crossing the Euphrates at a ford, with all his wealth and retinue (his father Terah among them, as we learn from Gen. xi. 31; where indeed Terah is represented as heading the expedition), and arriving in Haran in Mesopotamia. There, hardly

allowing time for that stay in Haran during which Terah died (Gen. xi. 32, and Acts vii. 4), he follows Abraham in the continuation of his journey westward till he reaches Canaan, and settles first about Sichem in the plain of Moreh, near the centre of the land (Gen. xii. 4-6).

137, 138. "*There, by promise,*" etc. Gen. xii. 7.

139-146. "*From Hamath,*" etc. A poetical survey of the extent of the Holy Land, according to these texts,—Numb. xxxiv. 3-12, Deut. iii. 8, 9. *Hamath* is a town in northern Galilee; the *Desert* is the desert of Zin, bordering Palestine on the south; *Hermon* is the range of mountains of that name to the east of upper Jordan; the *great western Sea* is the Mediterranean; *Mount Carmel* is on the Mediterranean coast; *Jordan* is called "the double-founted stream" as being formed by the junction of two streams in the extreme north of Palestine; *Senir* is properly another name for Mount Hermon (Deut. iii. 9), but seems to be used by Milton for some range, also east of Jordan, but stretching farther to the south.

152. "*faithful Abraham*": Gen. xvii. 5; but the exact phrase, as Mr. Keightley points out, is from Gal. iii. 9.

173, 174. "*who denies,*" etc. Exod. v. 2.

180. "*emboss*": cover with lumps or swellings (Fr. *bosse*, a lump, or swelling). Shakespeare, as Todd noted, has the phrase "an embossed carbuncle" (*Lear*, II. 4).

191. "*The river-dragon.*" So in the Second Edition, but *this* in the First. Hume noted that the authority for the phrase, as a name for Pharaoh, is Ezek. xxix. 3.

207. "*Darkness defends between*": i.e. intervening darkness forbids.

208-210. "*Then through,*" etc. Exod. xiv. 24.

210. "*craze,*" break (Fr. *accraser*, to break, bruise, crush).

217. "*Lest, entering,*" etc. Exod. xiii. 17, 18.

220-222. "*for life,*" etc. The meaning is: "For life is more cared for by those who are not trained to military exercises, whether they are constitutionally noble or ignoble, than by those who are so trained,—except in those cases where mere rashness may lead untrained men to risk their lives."

227. "*whose grey top,*" as covered with clouds and smoke. Exod. xix. 16-18.

238. "*he grants what they besought.*" So in the Second Edition, but in the First "*he grants them their desire.*"

242—244. "*of whose day he shall foretell,*" etc. Acts iii. 22—24.

250. "*Of cedar.*" Mr. Keightley notes this as an error,—the sanctuary being of shittim-wood or acacia.

255. "*as in a zodiac,*" etc. That the seven lamps had this astronomical significance is, as Newton noted, an idea of Josephus.

256—260. "*Over the tent,*" etc. Exod. xi. 34 *et seq.*

265—267. "*'Sun, in Gibeon,'*" etc. Josh. x. 12.

267. "*so call the third,*" etc.: *i.e.* call him *Israel*.

277. "*His day,*" etc. John viii. 56.

283—306. "*So many laws argue,*" etc. On the question here propounded by Adam, and on Michael's reply, Bishop Newton remarks, "The scruple of our first Father, and the reply of the Angel, are grounded upon St. Paul's Epistles, and particularly those to the *Ephesians*, *Galatians*, and *Hebrews*. Compare the following texts with the poet: Gal. iii. 19; Rom. vii. 7, 8; Rom. iii. 20; Heb. ix. 13, 14; Heb. x. 4, 5; Rom. iv. 22-24; Rom. v. 1; Heb. vii. 18, 19; Heb. x. 1; Gal. iii. 11, 12, 23; Gal. iv. 7; Rom. viii. 15. Milton has here, in a few verses, admirably summed up the sense and argument of these and more texts of Scripture." Most of the texts had been traced by Hume.

310. "*But Joshua, whom the Gentiles Jesus call,*" Jesus is used as the Greek equivalent to Joshua in the Septuagint, and also in Acts vii. 15, and Heb. iv. 8. Joshua, Jeshua, Jehoshua, Hoshea, Oshea, and Jesus, are, in fact, but various forms of the same word, meaning either "whose help is Jehovah" or "God the Saviour."

322—330. "*a promise shall receive,*" etc. 2 Sam. vii. 16; Psalm lxxxix. 34-36; Isaiah xi. 10; Luke i. 32, 33. (Hume.)

338. "*Heaped to the popular sum*": *i.e.* added to the aggregate of the sins of the whole people.

348—350. "*Returned from Babylon,*" etc. B.C. 536. The "Kings" meant are Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes. See the Book of Ezra.

353—358. "*But first among the priests,*" etc. The events of later Jewish history here referred to are these: the contest for the high-priesthood between Jason and Menelaus, in consequence of which Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria, came to Jerusalem, plundered and polluted the Temple, and put the Maccabees to death (B.C. 173); the union of the kingly power with the high-priesthood in the person of Aristobulus, eldest son of the high-priest John Hyrcanus (B.C. 107); and, finally, the abolition of this native dynasty

by Pompey (B.C. 61), who appointed Antipater, the Idumæan, to the government. Antipater's son, Herod, became King of Judæa, B.C. 38; in whose reign Christ was born.

• 366—367. "*They gladly thither haste*," etc. Milton, as Dunster observed, has here deviated from the exact Scriptural account; which is that the carol of angels was heard by the shepherds in the fields, and before they set out for Bethlehem (Luke ii. 8—18).

374. "*with these*"? a very peculiar construction.

393. "*recure*": i.e. recover, heal again. The word, though now obsolete, was once common. It occurs in Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakespeare.

• 394. "*his works*," etc. 1 John iii. 8. (Hume.)

401. "*appaid*," paid, satisfied,—a word used by Chaucer and Spenser.

• 402—435. "*The Law of God*," etc. Among the texts recollected in these thirty-four lines Hume pointed out these: Rom. xiii. 10; Gal. ii. 16 and iii. 13; Col. ii. 14; Matt. xxviii. 1. Gillies added Rom. vi. 9.

• 409—410. "*his merits to save them*," etc. The construction is "who shall believe . . . his merits to save them," etc.

• 436—465. "*Nor after resurrection*," etc. Among the texts recollected or cited in these thirty lines are these: Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Rom. iv. 16; Col. ii. 15; Rev. xx. 2; Luke xxiv. 26; Eph. i. 20, 21 and iv. 8; Luke xxi. 27. Most of them were pointed out by Hume.

442. "*Baptizing in the profluent stream*." Mr. Keightley notes that it was Milton's opinion, expressed in his Treatise on Christian Doctrine, that baptism ought to be by immersion in running water.

485—497. "*Be sure*," etc. Texts recollected in these lines are these: John xv. 26; Luke xxiv. 49; Gal. v. 6; John xvi. 13; Eph. vi. 11—16; Psalm lvi. 11. Hume pointed out three of them; Newton and Keightley the others.

508—538. "*Wolves shall succeed*," etc. There are references in these lines to the following texts: Acts xx. 29; 1 Pet. v. 2, 3; 1 Cor. ii. 14; Jer. xxxi. 33; 2 Cor. iii. 16, 17. The whole passage is interesting as a summary of those opinions of Milton, as to the state of the Church from the Apostolic time downwards, which he had expressed more at large in some of his prose pamphlets.

522—524. "*laws which*," etc. The meaning is "laws which none shall find either in Scripture or to be such as accord with what the Spirit tells the heart to be true."

537—551. "*So shall the World*," etc. Rom. viii. 22, Acts iii. 19, Matt. xxiv. 30, and xvi. 27, 2 Thess. i. 7, 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13.

540. "*respiration*": an equivalent to the word ἀνάψυξις, translated "refreshing" in our version, Acts iii. 19. In one Latin version the word *respiratio* is used.

552. "*last*": i.e. for the last time.

561—568. "*Henceforth I learn*," etc. 1 Sam. xxi. 22; 7 Peter v. 7; Psalm cxlv. 9; Rom. xii. 21; 1 Cor. i. 27.

581—585. "*Only add*," etc. 2 Peter i. 5-7; 1 Cor. xiii. 2 and 13. (Hume.)

588—589. "*top of speculation*," both literally and metaphorically: literally, as they were on a mountain-top, whence they could watch or look far around; and, metaphorically, as they had just attained the highest point of philosophy or speculative wisdom.

608. "*found her waked*": not quite consistent with the phrase in the Argument prefixed to the Book,—"*wakens Eve*."

611. "*For God is also in sleep*," etc. Numb. xii. 6 (Hume); and Newton quotes Homer, *Iliad*, I. 63.

"καὶ γὰρ τ' ὕπαι ἐκ Διὸς ἔστιν."

615. "*In me is no delay*." Bishop Newton quotes Virg. *Ecl.* III. 52: "*In me mora non erit ulla*."

630. "*marish*": the old form of "*marsh*," used down to Milton's time, and found, as Keightley notes, in the English Bible (Ezek. xlvi. 11).

634. "*which*": i.e. the sword.

635. "*adust*": scorched, burnt: from the Latin *adustus* (*adurere*), Ital. *adusto*. The word is not uncommon in old English writers. Burton has it, and also the noun *adustion*, in his *Anat. of Melancholy*; and Bacon has the verb *adure*: "Such a degree of heat which doth neither melt nor scorch . . . doth mellow and not adure" (*Nat. Hist.* § 319).

636—639. "*whereat in either hand the hastening Angel caught our lingering parents, and*," etc. Addison has pointed out that here Milton "helped his invention by reflecting on the behaviour of the Angels who, in Holy Writ, have the conduct of Lot and his family" from the doomed city. Gen. xix. 16: "And while he (Lot) lingered, the men [*i.e.* the angels] laid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand of his wife . . . and they brought him forth, and set him without the city."

648, 649. "*They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow, Through Eden took their solitary way*."

Commenting on these closing lines of the poem, Addison ventured to suggest that it would have been better, both on account of their inferiority, as he thought, to the lines immediately preceding, and in deference to the principle of the critics that an epic poem should end happily, if they had been omitted altogether, so that the poem should have ended thus,—

“The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.”

This remark of Addison's set subsequent critics on a busy discussion of the point. Bentley was for retaining the two lines, but proposed, after his usual manner, to accomplish this and yet obviate objections by taking a little liberty with them. The concluding five lines of the poem, he said, ought to stand thus,—

“Some natural tears they drop'd, but wip'd them soon ;
The World was All before them, where to choose
Their place of Rest ; and Providence their guide :
Then hand in hand with social steps their way
Through Eden took, with Heavenly comfort chequ'd.”

“Horrible ! O horrible” the reader now will exclaim ; but, though most of the critics after Bentley have declined his emendation, it shows what a power is exercised by great names that commentators have gone on faintly differing from Addison here, instead of simply recognising Milton's ending of the poem as consummately beautiful. Adam and Eve have just been led down the steep from Paradise on its eastern side to the level Eden beneath it, around which and stretching away on all sides is all the rest of the earth ; looking back they behold the whole eastern side of the steep waved over by the flaming sword, and the gate thronged with dreadful faces and arms of fire ; they shed a few natural tears at the sense of their expulsion for ever from that happy seat ; then slowly, hand in hand, they take their way, irresolute whither, but trusting in the promised guidance, through Eden, towards the rest of a vague and unknown earth. This is our last sight of them ; and, instead of wishing the final lines away, we prolong the sight to ourselves, at a distance growing greater and greater, by fondly repeating them :—

“They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.”

APPENDIX : ON CALLANDER'S MS. COMMENTARY.

Having had access to Callander's MS. Notes on *Paradise Lost*, described at p. 138 of this volume, and having examined them

with some care, I think it but justice to, a laborious, and too slightly remembered commentator to give some farther account of them.

The nine thin folio volumes of MS. now in the Library of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh contain Callander's Notes to Books II.—XII. of the poem. The Notes to Book I. had been detached, I suppose, to be printed anonymously with the separate edition of that Book published from the Foulis press at Glasgow in 1750. The intention probably was that, should the reception of that specimen be favourable, the Notes to the other eleven Books should follow at leisure. The whole Commentary seems to have been ready, in first draft at least, before the publication of the Foulis specimen; for at the end of the Notes to Book XII., as now preserved in the MS. state, I find the date "Jan. 4, 1749," with the annexed pious ejaculation by the commentator over the completion of this work, "Τῷ θεῷ μόνῳ αὐτοκράτορι δοξά" ("Glory to God the sole absolute ruler"). Even after that seeming close of his labour, however, Callander went back upon it, inserting fresh notes, and extensions of his former notes, in the blank spaces of his MS. sheets (generally on the left-hand pages, which had been left blank purposely); and there is every evidence that the appearance of Newton's Variorum edition in 1749 (which may have hastened, by the spur of rivalry, the separate publication of the Notes to Book I.) furnished many new suggestions and led to enlargements and recasts. Indeed a considerable portion of the commentary in the present MS. volumes consists of duplicate or recast bound up with the first drafts; and at the end of such duplicate or recast of the Notes to Book IV. there is the date "Jan. 1752," verifying the assurance already given (p. 138) that Callander hung over this, his *opus magnum*, for a series of years. He evidently bestowed fond pains upon it. The handwriting, both in the first drafts and in the portion of perfected duplicate, is clear, formal, and business-like; all the Greek, Latin, and other quotations with which the notes are loaded are transcribed in full, the Greek generally without the accents, but sometimes with them, and almost always with a Latin translation appended; and the references to the books and editions quoted from are given punctually either in the text or at the foot of the page. Were the whole Commentary printed as it stands, without the poem, it would make, I calculate roughly, more than 600 pages of type such as the present; and it would then appear that, while all the poem is annotated very profusely, the annotation in some parts is more dense and minute than in others.

There is no chance that the Commentary ever will be printed; nor, so far as *Paradise Lost* is concerned, is there much reason why it should. Perhaps, indeed, had it been published in Callander's

lifetime,—say between 1750 and 1760, when Newton's Variorum edition was the one in possession of the field,—it would have procured some credit for the author, and taken rank as an operose, and not altogether useless, addition to the mass of commentation on Milton then already accumulated. Even then, however, its value towards any farther elucidation or criticism of *Paradise Lost* would not have been great. It is largely built, and with too little acknowledgment, on the early commentary of Patrick Hume, with the incorporation of hints from Addison, and of hostile references to Bentley, and also with transferences into it of a great deal from Newton and his coadjutors in the Variorum edition of 1749. The very quotations and parallel passages, from Latin, Greek, Italian, and English authors, which had appeared in Hume and in Newton, are reproduced in Callander's Notes,—with additions, it is true, from his own readings, but these additions seldom very luminous or pertinent. For any essential purpose, those who had Newton's edition at hand, with its collection of matter from all previous commentators back to Hume, might have dispensed with Callander. And, since that time, any little interest that might have attached to what was his own in the Notes has been all but extinguished by the publication of the abundant notes of Todd, Keightley, and other subsequent commentators, some of them of superior taste and acumen, and with a far better notion of the true business of a commentator on Milton. Callander's notion of the business was less that of the elucidation of the text and meaning of his author by furnishing all necessary references and explanations, with due lucidity and brevity than that of starting off at every possible point into a little excursus of independent research, suggested by some phrase, or passage, or proper name, in the poem, so as to make his commentary a kind of Bayle's Dictionary, or repertory of information, about all things and sundry mentioned or alluded to in *Paradise Lost*. There had been too much of this in Hume, and even in Newton, and there was to be more in Todd; but Callander outdoes them in sheer miscellaneous dissertation, or ranging on and on among particulars and quotations, under the pretext of comment. Milton's "*Limbo*" (III. 495) sends him out on a note on that idea and its history which extends itself to seven folio pages of close writing; one of Milton's invocations of his Muse sends him out on a dissertation nearly as long on the classical habit of such invocations; on the line "*Like those Hesperian Gardens famed of old*" (III. 568) there are two folio pages of geographical comment, with Latin and Greek quotations, the passage "*Eden stretched her line,*" etc. (IV. 210) suggests an account of the controversy as to the site of Eden, filling six folio pages; Milton's sentiment "*Whatever hypocrites austerely talk,*" etc. (IV. 744 *et seq.*), is expanded and illustrated through

eight folio pages of remark and quotation; Milton's casual reference to his favourite fancy of the music of the spheres in the phrase "*not without song*" (V. 178) occasions three pages and a half of disquisition on the Pythagorean doctrine; and Milton's brief sketch of the rise of Episcopacy and of the secular ambition of the early Bishops, put into the mouth of the Archangel Michael in the last Book of the poem (515 *et seq.*), leads to a long string of extracts on these subjects from Church-historians, ending "In short, Grotius is perfectly just, *P. I., Epist. 2: Qui ecclesiasticam historiam legit, quid legit nisi Episcoporum vitia?*" Scholarship is certainly shown in these notes, and in the shorter notes amid which such long ones are interspersed; and there is ample proof independently, in Callander's other remarks, published or in manuscript, that he was a laborious Scottish scholar of his time, not only familiar with the ordinary Greek and Latin classics, but also unusually conversant with the minor fragments of antiquity, and the works of scholiasts, critics, and historians. Not only, however, was his scholarship of the bygone type of the middle of last century, often concerning itself with questions and forms of questions that no longer exist; it was even of a rather dull and provincial variety of that type. With a love of literature and research, and a good deal of plain sense, he had no real critical faculty, and little force, felicity, or radiance. Hence, though I suppose that there may lie in some parts of his commentary on *Paradise Lost* quaint gatherings of a feeble sort of lore, the fruits of an old scholar's readings, I do not believe it could be made to yield anything of novelty now for the real purposes of annotation, unless it might perhaps be an occasional parallel passage from a Greek or Latin writer, to be added to those collected, only too plentifully, by Hume, Newton, Todd, and the rest. I doubt whether there could be much happy addition from Callander even of this kind. In several cases where I noted a really apt illustrative quotation which I thought at the moment to be Callander's own, I found it after all in Hume or Newton.

The following is perhaps as favourable and as various a specimen as could be given of Callander's shorter notes:—

II. 113, 114. "*could make the worse appear the better reason.*" Gellius has described Protagoras' rhetoric much in the same way, L. V c. 3, "*Protagoras insincerus quidem philosophus, sed acerrimus Sophistarum, fuit. Pecuniam quippe ingentem cum a discipulis acceperat annuam, pollicebatur se id docere, quam verborum industria causa infirmior posset fieri fortior: quam rem Græce ita dicebat, τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν.*" For, agreeably to what Ovid says, *Trist. I. El. 1*:—

"*Causa patrocini non bona pejor erit.*"

II. 245. "*Ambrosial odours.*" So Spenser in *Faery Queene*, Book II. iii. 22:—

"*Like roses in a bed of lilies shed
The which ambrosial odours from them threw.*"

Again, Book IV. xi. 46 :—

“The which ambrosial odours forth did throw.”

- It is common for poets to apply this epithet to express anything sweet. So Theocrit. *Id.* XI. v. 48, λευκας εκ χιονος ποτον αμβροσιον : ex candida nive potum divinum. Schol. το θειον, τουτ' εστι το γλυκυτατον.

II. 409, 410. “*arrive the happy Isle.*” Similar phrase of Shakespeare, *Henry VI.* Part 3 :—

“those powers that the queen
Hath raised in Gallia have arrived our coast.”

Again, *Julius Caesar*, Act I. :—

“But ere we could arrive the point proposed.”

Newton observes that our author in his prose works uses this word in the same manner.

- II. 642. “*Ply stemming nightly toward the pole.*” To understand this, we must remember that ships coming from the East Indies towards the Cape of Good Hope have the great Ethiopian sea open to the south of them, and generally, for fear of falling in with the land during the night, by reason of the great currents that run in those seas from the South Pole, they keep off to sea towards the south. Therefore, as Milton justly expresses it, they are obliged in this course to *stem* those currents, which set from south to north.

- III. 22 *et seq.* “*but thou revisist not these eyes,*” etc. This digression on his own blindness has been blamed, as not according to the rules of Epic Poetry. [So] that in B. IV. 750, on Conjugal Love, and in IV. 312, on Adam and Eve naked ; in B. V. 434, Angels eating. Lucan fails often in this, when he lets drop his main subject for the sake of his *diverticula*, as Scaliger calls them, as when he relates the prodigies preceding the Civil War and makes long declamations on that occasion. Mr. Addison, in his observations on Milton, remarked that the longest reflection in the whole *Æneid* is when Turnus adorns himself with the spoils of Pallas, whom he had just slain. *Æn.* X. 501 :—

“Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futuræ,
Et servare modum, rebus sub lata secundis :
Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque
Oderit.”

We must observe here that, according to critical rules, Virgil has most improperly made this reflection in the midst of a fierce engagement, while Milton's digressions come in while the reader's mind is vacant and unoccupied ; which occasions less confusion in his narration.

- IV. 110. “*Evil, be thou my good.*” The manners of an Epic Poem (says Bossu) ought to be *poetically* good, but it is not necessary they should be always *morally* so. They are *poetically* good when one may discover the virtue or vice, the good or evil inclinations, of every one who speaks or acts. They are *poetically* bad when persons are made to speak or act out of character, inconsistently, or unequally. Thus the manners of Satan and Uriel are equally good, *poetically* considered, because they equally demonstrate the piety of the one and the impiety of the other.

IV. 165. “*old Ocean smiles.*” So Lucretius (Lib. I. v. 8) :—

“tibi rident æquora ponti.”

The metaphor is frequent with the poets. Thus Hesiod (*Theog.* v. 49) :—

“ γέλα δὲ τε δώματα πατρὸς
Ζηνὸς ἐριγδουκοιο, θεῶν δὲ λειμωσσύη
Σκιδναμένη.”

(Ridet verò domus patris Jovis tonantis, deorum, suavi voce dispersæ.) And Theognis (Gnom. init.) :—

“ ἐγέλασσε δὲ γαῖα πέλωρη,
Γῆθησεν δὲ βαθὺς πόντος ἄλος πολλῆς.”

(Risit terra magna, lætatur etiam est profundus portus cavi maris.) Callimachus (*Hymn. in Dian.* v. 43) :—

“ Χαιρε δὲ Καιράτος ποταμομαγία, χαιρε δὲ Τῆθυσ.”

(Lætatur Cieratus fluvius maxime, lætatur et Tethys.) And Apollonius (*Arg.* L. II. v. 162) :—

“ περὶ δὲ σφιν λαίνοτο νημεμος ἄκτη
Μελομένοισι.”

(Ipsis vero canentibus littus tranquillum lætatur.) They also express the curling of the top of the wave, especially where it falls upon the beach, by the word γέλως. And thus Oppian :—

“ μαλα πάντες ὀλλέες ἐγγὺς ἐπονται
κυματος ἀκροτατοιο γέλως ὅθι χερσον ἀμείβει.”

(Omnes admodum densi pone sequuntur fluctus extremi risus ubi terram attingit.) In the same sense Æschylus (*Prometh.* v. 89) :—

“ ποντίων τε κυμάτων
Ἀνηριθμὸν γελάσμα.”

(Marinorum fluctum crispatione innumerabilis.) This serves to explain a passage in Strabo which is generally misunderstood by the translators. That geographer, speaking of the outlets of the river Cyrus, in Albania [says] (Lib. XI. p. 501) : “ εἰς στομάτα δώδεκα φασὶ μεμερισθαι τὰς ἐκβολὰς, τὰ μὲν τυφλά, τὰ δὲ παντέλως ἐπιγέλωτα ” (Ferunt hunc duodecim ostiis exire, partim cæcis, partim late fluctibus patentibus). This seems to be the proper meaning of the Greek, and not “ fluctum refringentibus,” as it is commonly translated, which carries no meaning at all. It is in this sense too that Apollonius expresses the breaking of the waves upon the shore (*Arg.* Lib. II. v. 572) :—

“ Λευκὴ κύμα χαζόντος ἀνεπτύε κυματος ἀχρῆ.”

(Albam ferventis expuit undæ spumam.) By a similar licence as those above mentioned we find Theocritus saying (*Idyll.* ii. 38) : σιγῇ μὲν πόντος, and Callimachus (in *Apollin.* v. 18) εὐφημεῖ καὶ πόντος. (Bona verba dicit pontus, seu silet.)

IV. 785. “ Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear.” The ancients generally used these words of command to soldiers, instead of what we now call right and left. Thus the author of the little dictionary of military terms generally printed at the end of Suidas' Lexicon : κλισίς ἐπὶ δὲξι ἔστι ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά κλισίς ἐπ' ἀσπίδα ἔστι ἢ ἐπ' ἀριστερά κλισίς (Aciei in hastam inclinatio est ea quæ fit in dextrum latus; in clypeum inclinatio est ea quæ fit in sinistrum latus). Thus, too, Ælian (*Tact.* p. m. 326) : “ Declinatio est motio militum singulorum cum vel in hastam, hoc est dextrorsum, sese convertunt, vel in scutum, hoc est sinistrorsum.” And below : “ Duplicata declinatio partem versus eandem ora militis in hostilem a tergo conatum transfert; quæ res immutatio dicitur, et vel in hastam vel in scutum fieri solita est.”

XI. 713. "*The brazen throat of war had ceased to roar.*" Homer, *Il.* X. v. 8, has an expression of the same kind :—

"πτολεμοιο μέγα στομα πευκεδανιο."

Mr. Pope has translated this verse in our poet's phrase :—

"Or bids the brazen throat of war to roar."

Eustathius observes that *the vast jaws of war*, as it is in the original, is very proper to give us the idea of the mischiefs of war under the emblem of an insatiable monster. Cic. pro Archia : E totius belli ore et faucibus.

XII. 646—649.—

"*The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide :
They hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.*"

Mr. Addison thinks these two last verses supernumerary and useless here, as beginning a new subject and therefore extraneous. Bentley, who saw the error, has emended it in such a manner that it had better remained as it was than to be changed in the manner he has done it. I imagine the last four verses would read more connectedly if one might be allowed to transpose them in this manner :—

• "They hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way :
The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide."

This manner of reading the verses (though not warranted by any edition) is at least preferable either to Addison's scheme, who is for rejecting them altogether, or to that of Dr. Bentley, who mangles them by his horrid alterations so that they are no longer discernible to be the production of our great poet. We still retain all the words of the text, and only place them so as to close the subject with propriety and grace. Neither would I have adventured to offer the alteration, but that I have the example of that learned critick Grævius before me, who has taken the same liberty with a passage of Hesiod. It is in *Erg.* v. 207. All the editions read it thus :—

"Δειπνον δ', αἰκ' ἐθέλω, ποιησομαι, ἥε μεθήσω.
'Αφρων δ' ὅς κ' ἐθέλοι προς κρεισσοντας ἀντιφεριζειν.
Νικης τε στερετα, προς τ' ἀσχεσιν ἀλγεια πασχει.
'Ὅς ἐφατ' ὠκυπეტης ἰρηξ, τανυσσιπτερος ὄρνις."

Aristarchus rejected the two last verses, because (said he) it is absurd to introduce beasts repeating moral sentences. Grævius has evaded the difficulty by changing the order of the verses as follows :—

• "Δειπνον δ', αἰκ' ἐθέλω, πθησομαι, ἥε μεθήσω.
'Ὅς ἐφατ' ὠκυπეტης ἰρηξ, τανυσσιπτερος ὄρνις.
'Αφρων δ' ὅς κ' ἐθέλοι," etc.

Heinsius has explained another passage of the same poet very successfully by a similar transposition : *Erg.* v. 374. Thus it is commonly read :—

• "Μουνογενης δε παις σωζοι πατρωνιον οικον
Φερβεμεν ὥς γαρ πλουτος ἀεξεται ἐν μεγαροιςι.
Γηραιος δε θανους, ἑτερον παιδ' ἐγκαταλειπων."

which is scarce to be made sense of. • Heinsius inverts it as follows :—

“Μονογενὴς δὲ παῖς σωζοῖ πατρῷον οἶκον”
 Γηραιὸς δὲ θανούς, ἕτερον παῖδ’ ἐγκαταλεσίων
 Φερβόμεν’ ὥς γὰρ πλούτος ἀεζέται ἐν μεγαροῖσι.”

(Unicus vero filius domum paternam servet,
 Senex vero priusquam moriarius aliam relinques
 Crescentem. Sic enim divitiæ in ædibus crescunt.)

He rightly interprets *φερβόμεν* “growing up,” not “feeding,” as the common versions have it.—Since writing the above I observe that Peck (*Mem.* 201) mentions this transposition, which he approves of. I am glad to find him of my opinion.

These are not uninteresting; and, though they have been selected precisely on that account, others as interesting may be found. On the whole, though Callander's Commentary is past date, and its publication now is utterly out of the question, one would not regret if some literary antiquarian, investigating the state of scholarship in Scotland in the last century, and thinking it worth while to pay some little attention to Callander, should include his Milton commentary rather specially in a survey of his writings. He did his best, and worse men have had more credit. During his last years, it is said, he lived in complete retirement, the victim of a deep religious melancholy.

NOTES TO PARADISE REGAINED

BOOK I.

1—7. "*I, who*," etc. In this manner of referring, at the opening of a new poem, to his previous poem of *Paradise Lost*, Milton, as Newton noted, follows precedent. Prefixed to the *Æneid* are the lines, attributed by some to Virgil himself—

" Ille ego qui quondam gracili modulatus avenâ
Carmen," etc.

Spenser also opens his *Faery Queene* with the following reference to his smaller pastoral poems which had preceded it :—

" Lo ! I, the man whose Muse whilom did mask,
As time her taught, in lowly shepherd's weeds,
Am now enforced—a far unfitter task—
For trumpets stern to change mine oaten reeds."

But there is a far closer relation between the *Paradise Regained* and *Paradise Lost* than between either the *Æneid* and Virgil's preceding poems, or the *Faery Queene* and the preceding pastoral poems of Spenser. As these first seven lines indicate, the one is a sequel and retrieval of the other.

4—7. "*By one man's firm obedience*," etc. On this passage, as announcing the theme of the entire poem, see the Introduction. It may be added that Milton in this poem resumes the history of his former hero, Satan, in order to show the fulfilment of the prophecy with which his former poem ended, that the seed of the Woman should bruise the head of the Serpent. It is to be recollected that the passages of Scripture on which the poem is mainly founded are these: Matthew iii. and iv. 1—11; Mark i. 1—15; Luke iii. 2—23 and iv. 1—14; and John, chap. i. In line 4, as Newton noted, there is a reference to Rom. v. 19, and in line 7, as Dunster noted, to Isaiah li. 3.

8—17. "*Thou Spirit*," etc. With this compare the similar

invocations, *Par. Lost*, I. 1—26, and VII. 1—39; also IX. 13—47. See notes on those passages.

8. "*Eremite*," the old and more correct form of *hermit*, from the Greek ἐρημίτης, a dweller in the desert. Todd notes that the spelling *hermit* is older than Milton's time; indeed *hermite* and *heremite* alternate with *ermite* and *eremite* in the oldest English writings.

14. "*full summed*." See *Par. Lost*, VII. 421, and note there.

16. "*unrecorded left*": i.e., as Mr. Joram explains, "not related by the Evangelists in detail." It almost looks as if Milton assumed that what he was about to *imagine*, by way of filling up the story as left by the Evangelists, might be taken as what actually did happen.

18—32. "*Now had*," etc. Matt. iii. 13—17; Luke iii. 23; and John i. 33. Dunster quotes also Isaiah lxviii. 1.

33—35. "*That heard the Adversary*," etc. *Satan* means, "Adversary." See *Par. Lost*, I. 81, 82, and note. Dunster quotes Job i. 7.

39—42. "*Flies to his place*," etc. Compare *In Quintum Novembris*, 7 et seq.

42. "*consistory*." It is not unlikely, as Thyer noted, that Milton chose this word as being the name more particularly of ecclesiastical courts, Papal or English. In *Par. Lost*, X. 457, the council of evil Spirits is called "their dark divan." (Dunster.)

43. "*aghast*": in the original *agast*; and it is the proper spelling,—the word being, as Skeat points out, a contraction of *agasted*, terrified, pp. of the old English verb *agasten*, to terrify.

44, 45. "*O ancient Powers of Air*," etc. It is to be remembered that, at the loss of Paradise, such a road or bridge was established over Chaos between Hell and the Universe of Man that the Fallen Angels were able thenceforth to go and come at their pleasure between the two, and in fact to consider the Universe an extension of their infernal empire. They are here supposed, accordingly, to have since then resided more in the Universe of Man,—"*this wide World*,"—than in Hell; and chiefly they are supposed to have made the Air their residence. See Ephes. ii. 2, and vi. 12 (Dunster), and refer to *Par. Lost*, X. 188—190, 260, 261, 320—324, 375—381, 399, 400, 463—467.

62. "*infringed*": in its primary sense, "broken" in upon, "shattered."

74. "*Purified to receive him pure*." 1 John iii. 3. (Newton.)

83. "*A perfect dove*": i.e. a real dove, not a seeming one. Luke iii. 22.

84. "*souvern*." Though in the original editions of *Paradise Lost* this word is always spelt *souvan*, it is here spelt *sou'raign* both in the First and in the Second Edition,—probably because the person who saw *Paradise Regained* through the press inclined to our present form of the word, *sovereign*, which derives it from the French rather than from the Italian. The present is the only case in which the word occurs in *Par. Reg.*; nor does it once occur in *Samson Ag.*

85. "*This is,*" etc. One rather wonders why Milton did not dictate in this line "*I am*" instead of "*am*." The metre of the line would still have been as good as that of many another line in the poem.

90. "*When his fierce thunder,*" etc. See *Par. Lost*, VI. 831—866.

91. "*Who this is,*" etc. Satan does not as yet know that Jesus is the Messiah.

94, 95. "*the utmost edge of hazard*." Newton noted that Shakespeare has the phrase, "*the extreme edge of hazard*." *All's Well*, III. 3.

97. "*well-couched*": well concealed.

100. "*I, when,*" etc. See *Par. Lost*, II. 430 *et seq.*

103, 104. "*a calmer voyage*," etc.; for then the expedition was from Hell through Chaos up to the Starry World (*Par. Lost*, II. 910—1055); now it is only from Mid-air to Earth.

104. "*the way found prosperous once*": i.e. the method of guile, previously successful in causing Adam to fall.

117. "*yea gods*": i.e. not only possessors and rulers of regions of the Earth and Air, but actually gods to men, in consequence of that process by which the Fallen Angels had in course of time been transmuted into the false gods of the various Polytheistic systems. See *Par. Lost*, I. 361 *et seq.* and note there.

128. "*frequence*": assembly (Lat. *frequentia*).

129. "*to Gabriel*." Gabriel, as Newton remarks, is here selected as the Archangel whom Scripture mentions as particularly employed in embassies relating to the Gospel. He is the Angel of Mercy, and appears in *Par. Lost* (IV. 549 *et seq.*) as the Guardian of Paradise. Michael, on the other hand, was the minister of severity, and executed the expulsion from Paradise (*Par. Lost*, XI. 99 *et seq.*)

137. "*Then told'st*": a Latinism for "*then thou told'st*," unless

we choose to suppose "*then*" a misprint for "*thou*." See Luke i. 34, 35.

146. "*apostasy*": for apostates. Dunster refers to *Par. Lost*, XII. 132, for an instance of the same figure: "numerous servitude."

157, 158. "*the rudiments of his great warfare*." Dunster quotes Virgil (*Æn.* XI. 156):—

"Primitiæ juvenis miseræ, bellique propinquit
Dura rudimenta!"

and Statius (*Sylv.* V. ii. 8):—

"Quid si militiæ jam te, puer inclyte, primæ
Clara rudimenta, et castrorum dulce vocaret
Auspicium?"

159. "*To conquer Sin and Death*," etc. See *Par. Lost*, X. 585 *et seq.*

160. "*By humiliation*," etc. In the original edition this line runs on with the preceding, and there is a semicolon after "*sufferance*." But almost certainly, as Mr. Keightley observes, the present is the true reading.

165. "*I have chose*." On this Mr. Jerram notes:—"All A.S. participles of the strong conjugation ended in *en*, and were declined as adjectives, like *wooden*, etc. Afterwards most verbs dropped this *-en* (as *fought*, etc.); others used both forms, often with a distinction of meaning (as *bid* and *bidden*, *drunk* and *drunken*, etc.) We have lately restored the *-en* to many past participles which were without it in the time of Shakespeare and Milton: e.g. *broke*, *spoke*, *trod*, *stole*, *forgot*, etc. *Chose* is less common,—in fact, Milton uses it only here and in Psalm IV. 13."

166. "*This perfect man*," etc. It has been noted that throughout this speech to Gabriel, and the Angels, there is a suppression or keeping back for the present of the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. "The Angels," says Calton, "are first to learn the mystery of the incarnation from that important event which is the subject of the poem." Yet Michael had known it, and foretold it to Adam (*Par. Lost*, XII. 360 *et seq.*)

171, 172. "*the hand sung with the voice*"; meaning that instrumental music accompanied the voice. The Latin *cano* is used sometimes in the sense in which Milton here uses "sing." Calton quotes Tibullus, III. iv. 41:—

"Sed postquam fuerant digiti cum voce locuti."

175. "*But to*." A line very peculiar metrically, unless, with Jortin, we suppose "*vanguish*" accented on the last syllable, *vanguish*.

Todd finds the word so accented in Shakespeare, *Henry VI.* Part I., III. 3:—

"I am vanquished : these haughty words of hers
Have battered me like roaring cannon-shot."

Here, however, vanquished is perhaps a trisyllable.

180. "*Be frustrate.*" See Essay on Milton's English, p. 54.

182. "*vigils.*" The nocturnal service of the Roman Catholic Church is so called; why the word should be used here is not obvious.

184. "*in Bethabara.*" John i. 28, and Judges vii. 24. Bethabara was a town on the east bank of the Jordan in the middle part of its course between the Lake of Gennesareth and the Dead Sea. There was another town, called Betharaba, on the west shore of the northern end of the Dead Sea, and not far from the Jordan at that point; and the similarity of the name has misled some commentators. But see II. 19—24, and note.

185. "*much revolving in his breast.*" Dunster compares Virgil, *Æn.* X. 890:—

"Multa movens animo."

193. "*He entered now the bordering Desert wild.*" The Desert or Wilderness which was the scene of the Temptation was, according to the Scriptural account (Matt. iii. 1-5; Luke iii. 2, 3, and iv. 1), the same as that in which John had been preaching, and from which he had gone up the Jordan to Bethabara baptizing. It was called the Wilderness or Desert of Judea, and extended from the Jordan along the whole western coast of the Dead Sea,—different parts of it receiving special names from mountains or towns situated in it. The middle part was called the Wilderness of Ziph (1 Sam. xxiii. 14), from the mountain Ziph, and the northern part, due east from Jerusalem, the Wilderness of Engedi or Engaddi (1 Sam. xxiv. 1), from Engaddi, one of the so-called cities of the Desert (Josh. xv. 62). The "bordering desert wild," into which Milton supposes Christ gradually straying after having been led on step by step (line 193) from Bethabara, was either this Wilderness of Engedi, or (as that is more than a day's journey south from Bethabara) possibly some desert part of the valley of the Jordan itself higher up. But it is clear from the sequel of the poem that he supposes that Christ, in his forty days of wandering, may have penetrated farther south into the Wilderness of Judea, and even reached the great Arabian desert itself; for he identifies the scene of the temptation with the desert through which the Israelites were led on their way to Canaan, and where Elijah spent forty days (see *seq.* 350—354). Indeed there are some topographical difficulties in the poem, arising from this

very general use of the term Desert or Wilderness; and it is possible that Milton's recollections of the maps and distances had somewhat failed him.

201—206. "*When I was yet a child*," etc. It is difficult to avoid feeling that here Milton may have had thoughts of his own childhood; and, accordingly, these lines were printed under Cipriani's etching in 1760 from the original portrait of Milton as a boy of ten.

205. "*Born to that end*," etc. John xviii. 37. (Newton.)

207, 208. "*The Law of God*," etc. Psalm cxix. 103, and Psalm i. 2. (Dunster.)

214. "*And was admired*," etc. Luke ii. 47.

221. "*Yet held*," for "*yet I held*," a Latinism similar to that noted in line 137.

226. "*subdue*." In the original text the word was "*destroy*"; but there was a direction among the Errata to change the word into "*subdue*."

240. "*Thou shouldst*," etc. Luke i. 32, 33.

242—244. "*a glorious quire*," etc. See *Par. Lost*, XII. 364 *et seq.*

248. "*For in the inn*," etc. Luke ii. 7.

249—251. "*A star*," etc. See *Par. Lost*, XII. 360 *et seq.*

254. "*thee-King*," etc. This is the reading in the First Edition, and is the correct one. In the Second "*the*" was substituted for "*thee*," and the error has been continued in subsequent editions.

255—258. "*Just Simeon*," etc. Luke ii. 25 and 36.

257. "*vested*": *i.e.* clad in his vestments.

269. "*waited*": *i.e.* waited for.

271. "*Not knew by sight*." Peculiar syntax for "*but whom I knew not by sight*." See John i. 31—33.

277. "*harbinger*": *i.e.* forerunner. There are eight occurrences of this word in Milton's poetry: the other seven being Ode Nat. 49, May M. 1, Ps. LXXXV. 54, P. L. IX. 13 and XI. 589, P. R. I. 71, and S. A. 721. The word was in earlier English *herbergeour*, meaning, says Skeat, "one who provided lodgings for a man of rank," and derived from the O. F. *herberger*, to harbour, though the word *harbour* itself is originally Scandinavian.

287. "*Now full*." Gal. iv. 4. (Newton.)

292, 293. "*I learn not yet*," etc. In the spirit of such texts as Luke ii. 52, and Mark xiii. 32, and in accordance with the view of

some theologians, Milton makes Christ as Man not omniscient, but acquiring knowledge gradually.* Mr. Jerram quotes this sentence from Milton's *Treatise of Christian Doctrine*: "Even the Son knows not all things absolutely, there being some secret purposes the knowledge of which the Father has reserved to himself alone, Mark xiii. 32."

294. "*our Morning Star.*" Rev. xxii. 16. (Newton.)

297, 298. "*The way he came,*" etc. In the original edition these two lines are pointed thus:—

"The way he came not having mark'd, return
Was difficult, by humane steps untrod";

and this pointing has been retained. It seems to me, however, that possibly the syntax which Milton intended would be better brought out by pointing thus:—

"The way he came, not having marked return,
Was difficult," etc.

299. "*still on was led*": i.e. farther into the desert. See note to line 193.

302. "*Such solitude,*" etc. A line with twelve syllables, or a whole supernumerary foot; as is also the line *Par. Lost*, IX. 249, so similarly worded. See Essay on Milton's English, p. 127.

307. "*is not revealed.*" And yet the supposition that Christ "harboured in one cave" all the forty nights of his stay in the desert, implying as it would that he kept near one spot, would appear to be inconsistent with what Milton himself assumes in the story. See note to line 193.

310. "*Among wild beasts.*" Mark i. 13. Compare *Par. Lost*, IV. 340 *et seq.*

313. "*The lion and fierce tiger,*" etc. Dunster compares *Par. Lost*, IV. 401—403.

314—320. "*But now an aged man,*" etc. Note the manner of Satan's first appearance here, and how stealthy and mean-looking he is, as compared with the fallen Archangel of *Paradise Lost*. It is as if, in the interval, the great Satan of that poem had been shrinking, in physical deportment as well as morally, into the Mephistopheles of man's modern world.

320. "*Perused him.*" Dunster quotes *Par. Lost*, VIII. 267, for a similar use of the word *peruse*, and also instances from Shakespeare: e.g. *Romeo and Juliet*, V. 3, "Let me peruse this face."

333, 334. "*aught . . . what,*" for "aught that" or "aught which"; an obsolete use now of "what," except as a vulgarity.

334. "*fame also finds us out*": i.e. not only do we hear what is

passing in the world by occasionally going to the nearest towns, but rumours are wafted to us even here in the desert.

339. "*stubs*": i.e. anything of stunted growth sticking up from the ground. The word is used by Chaucer. In A.-S. it is *styb*.

347—350. "*Is it not written?*" etc. Deut. viii. 3.

350, 351. "*who fed our fathers here with manna?*" Either Christ is here made to connect the Desert of Judea in which he was being tempted (see note to line 193) with the Great Desert through which the Israelites had come from Egypt towards Canaan, or the word "*here*" is to be supposed as only part of the quotation from Deut. viii. 3.

353, 354. "*Eliah*," etc. This name occurs four times in the poem. Twice it is spelt *Eliah* in the original edition,—viz. here and at II. 19; and twice *Elijah*,—viz. at II. 268, and II. 277.—"*Wandered this barren waste*." Elijah's wanderings were from Beersheba into the Great Desert as far as Horeb (1 Kings xix. 1—8), and therefore not strictly in that Desert of Judea which is usually supposed to have been the scene of Christ's temptation. But see notes *ante*, lines 193 and 307.

368, 369. "*I came*," etc. Job i. 6.

371—376. "*And, when . . . King Ahab*," etc. 1 Kings xxii. 19—23.

375. "*glibbed*": made glib, smooth, or voluble. Connected, Skeat says, with the Dutch *glippen*, to slip away, allied to *glide*. Milton may have coined the word for himself; but Mr. Jerram quotes from Bishop Hall "a drunken liberty of the tongue, glibbed with intoxicating liquor."

377—382. "*Though I have lost*," etc. See *Par. Lost*, I. 97 and 591.

385. "*attent*": a word used by Spenser and other old poets.

400. "*Nearer*." In the original edition the word is "*Never*"; but there is a direction among the Errata to change it into "*Nearer*."

414. "*gazed*": i.e. gazed at. See *Par. Lost*, V. 272.

417. "*imparts*": printed "*imports*" in the First Edition; where, however, there is a direction in the Errata to change the word to "*imparts*." The direction remained unattended to till Tonson's edition of 1747.

428. "*four hundred mouths*." 1 Kings xxii. 6. (Dunster.)

435. "*Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding*." Thyer thinks that Milton may have had in view what Eusebius says on the subject

of the Heathen Oracles in the Fifth Book of his *Præparatio Evangelica*; and Mr. Jerram quotes from Calton a reference to a passage in Cæcero's *De Divinatione*, where he speaks of a compilation that had been made of the oracles of the god Apollo, part "false," part "accidentally true," part "obscure," and part "ambiguous." Milton doubtless recollected famous instances of *ambiguous* answers said to have been given by the Delphic Oracle: such as that to Cræsus, "Cræsus, crossing the Halys, will destroy a great Empire," and that to King Pyrrhus, "Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse." Todd quotes Shakespeare, *Macb.* V. 8:—

" And be these juggling fiends no more believed
That palter with us in a double sense."

But, on ambiguous prophecies and oracles, see also 2 *Henry VI.* I. 4.

• 439. "*instruct*": instructed. See Essay on Milton's English, p. 54.

• 446—451. "*whence hast thou*," etc. Both the notions involved in this passage,—to wit the notion that, whenever a pagan oracle spoke truth, it was derivatively and by permission, and the notion that different parts of the earth had special or presiding Angels,—were entertained by theologians. Thyer quotes Tertullian and St. Augustine; and Warburton refers to the Septuagint version of Deut. xxxii. 8. Mr. Jerram quotes from Milton's *Treatise of Christian Doctrine* the statement that "there are certain angels appointed to preside over particular districts," with Milton's reference to Daniel iv. 13—17 in proof; and he also notes, "the demons were believed to have learnt the purposes of God before their fall, and thus to be able to foretell many things, pretending that they themselves were the authors of their predictions." • •

• 456—459. "*henceforth oracles are ceased*," etc. See *Hymn on the Nativity*, 173 *et seq.*, and note to that passage. But see also Sir Thomas Browne's dissertation "*Of the Cessation of Oracles*," forming chap. xii. of Book VII. of his *VULGAR ERRORS*, and De Quincey's Essay *The Pagan Oracles* among his Collected Writings. Both authors challenge the truth of the early Christian tradition of the Cessation of Oracles at the coming of Christ: Sir Thomas Browne hesitatingly, though with the production of instances of oracles of later date than that; but De Quincey with almost angry vehemence, because he regarded the belief as having originated in a mendacious invention of the Early Christian Fathers. Anxious to back up all their other arguments in behalf of Christianity with one likely to have strong popular effect, they had resorted, De Quincey maintained, to this fiction of the visible collapse of Paganism everywhere on the first appearance of the new religion. In days when

intercommunication between one country and another, or, between different parts of the same country, was rare and difficult, so that people knew little of the actual state of the facts about any matter beyond their own neighbourhood, such a fiction, De Quincey argued, was easily accepted; but it could not stand historical examination. Paganism and Christianity had gone on struggling with each other, he asserted, and each with its full apparatus, for many centuries after the date of the alleged collapse of all the apparatus of Paganism. "Open a child's epitome of History," he says, "and you find it to have required four entire centuries, before the destroyer's hammer and crowbar began to ring loudly against the temples of idolatrous worship; and not before five, nay, locally, six or even seven, centuries had elapsed, could the better angel of mankind have sung congratulations announcing that the great strife was over. . . . Even this victorious consummation was true only for the southern world of civilisation. The forests of Germany, though pierced already to the south in the third and fourth centuries by the torch of missionaries . . . sheltered through ages in the north and east vast tribes of idolaters, some awaiting the baptism of Charlemagne in the eighth century and the ninth, others actually resuming a fierce countenance of heathenism for the martial zeal of crusading knights in the thirteenth and fourteenth."

460. "*his living Oracle.*" Acts vii. 38. (Dunster.)

463. "*an inward oracle.*" Mr. Keightley says that in Milton's own edition there was here the misprint of "*and*" for "*an.*" This is a mistake. The misprint was in the edition of 1680; in the First Edition the reading is *an* as now.

480. "*tunable.*" The word occurs in *Par. Lost*, V. 151, and in Shakespeare, *Mid. N. Dr.* I. 1: "More tunable than lark to shepherd's ear."

488. "*to tread his sacred courts.*" Isaiah i. 12. (Dunster.)

498. "*His gray dissimulation.*" Satan had appeared in the guise of an aged man. See *ante*, 314—320. Dunster compares Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*, 77 *et seq.*

499. "*Into thin air diffused.*" Newton quotes *Æn.* IV. 278: "In tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram"; and Dunster quotes Prospero's speech in the *Tempest* (IV.): "Are melted into air, into thin air."

500. "*wing.*" So in the First Edition; but "*wings,*" which might be a better reading, occurs in the Second.—"*double-shade*": *i.e.* doubly to shade.

1. "who yet remained at Jordan with the Baptist": i.e. near Bethabara. See Book I. 184.

7. "Andrew and Simon," etc. See John, chap. i.

15. "Moses . . . missing long." Exod. xxxii. 1.

16. "the great Tishbite": i.e. Elijah the Tishbite, so called as being a native of Tishbe, or Tishbe, in Gilead, to the east of Jordan (1 Kings xvii. 1). Milton disliked the sound *sh*, and avoided it when he could; and this may be an instance. See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 51, 52.

17. "yet once again to come." Malachi iv. 5, and Matt. xvii. 11. (Newton.) On these texts the Early Church grounded an opinion that there was to be a new appearance of Elijah before the second coming of Christ.

19—24. "so in each place these nigh to Bethabara," etc.: i.e. so the first disciples sought Christ in all places along the Jordan from Bethabara. (See note, I. 184.) The places named are these: *Jericho*, which was called "the City of Palms" (Deut. xxxiv. 3), and which was to the west of the Jordan, a little north of the Dead Sea; *Ænon*, a town on the Jordan, considerably higher up and nearer the Lake Gennesareth, and mentioned in John iii. 23 as one of the places where John baptized; *Salem*, mentioned in the same text as near to *Ænon*, and mentioned also in 1 Sam. ix. 4 as *Shalim*, in the country round which Saul sought his father's asses, and under the same name in Gen. xxxiii. 18 as a dwelling-place of Jacob (hence probably called "Salem old" by Milton, and not because, as some suppose, he identified it with the Salem of Melchizedek, Gen. xiv. 18); and finally *Machærus*, on the east of the northern angle of the Dead Sea. But they searched not these places only, but also every other town or city between the Lake Gennesareth and the Dead Sea,—whether on the west of the Jordan, or in the country called *Peræa* on the eastern side of that river. With regard to the distances of the places named from *Bethabara*, it may be mentioned that there is a dispute as to the site of *Bethabara*: some placing it, as at note, I. 184, on the eastern side of the Jordan, in the upper part of its course from the Lake of Gennesareth (in which case *Ænon* and *Salem* would be quite near it); but others maintaining that it was at a more southern point of the Jordan, not far north of the Dead Sea (in which case *Jericho* and *Machærus* would be the nearest to it of the four places named). If, as is possible, Milton took the latter view, and made *Bethabara* near *Jericho*, some of the difficulties of the

topography of the poem mentioned in note I. 103, but by no means all, would be obviated.

24. "*returned in vain*": i.e., it is to be supposed, to BethaBara.

27. "*Plain fishermen (no greater men them call)*." Newton quotes from Spenser (*Shep. Cal.* I. 1) the similar line:

"A shepherd's boy (na better do him call)."

30. "*Alas, from what high hope,*" etc. Newton quotes Terence (*Heaut.* II. 2): "*Væ misero mihi, quantâ de spe decidi.*"

34. "*full of grace and truth.*" John i. 14. (Newton.)

44—47. "*Behold the kings,*" etc. Psalm ii. 2, and Neh. ix. 26. (Dunster.)

60—65. "*But to his mother Mary,*" etc. The construction of the word "*to*" in this sentence is rather difficult. Most probably it is "*But motherly cares and fears got head, within her breast, to his mother Mary,*" etc. The syntax is Latin. See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 74—82.

61, 62. Mr. Jerram notes: "The rime of 'son' to 'none' should have been avoided in blank verse." He notes, as instances of the same negligence or liberty of Milton in the present poem, IV. 73, 74 (which is doubtful, however), IV. 591, 592, and IV. 613, 614,—the second of these the most objectionable, the rhyme being repaired, impaired.

83. "*Full grown,*" etc.; construe "he being full-grown," etc.

87—91. "*as old Simeon plain foretold,*" etc. Luke ii. 34, 35.

101. "*obscures*": i.e. keeps unexplained or dark.

103, 104. "*My heart hath been a storehouse,*" etc. Luke ii. 19.

111. "*Into himself descended.*" A recollection, as Newton pointed out, of a phrase in Persius (*Sat.* IV. 23), "*Ut nemo in sese tentat descendere.*"

119. "*without sign of boast.*" etc. In contrast, as Dunster noted, to his triumphant return from tempting Adam. See *Par. Lost*, X. 460 *et seq.*

121—128. "*Princes . . . Demonian Spirits . . . expulsion down to Hell.*" There is some difficulty in the construction of this passage. I read it thus and point accordingly: "Princes, Heaven's ancient sons, Ethereal Thrones, so called once when ye dwelt in Heaven,—now rightlier called Demonian Spirits, each from that one of these nether elements which he particularly tenants and rules in; i.e. rightlier called Powers of Fire, Air, Water, and Earth,—if, indeed, it may so be that we shall hold our place, and these mild seats with-

out new trouble! Which, however, is doubtful; for an enemy is risen to invade us who threatens nothing less than our expulsion from Man's world and its elements down again to that Hell whence we ascended to possess them." A reading preferred by some editors is "Princes, Heaven's ancient sons, Ethereal Thrones, Demonian Spirits now,—rightlier called Powers of Fire, etc."; which reading, however, does not so well bring out Milton's meaning. Mr. Keightley and others also prefer to take the words "So may we hold, etc.," as the expression of a wish. They may be taken so; but the reading I have adopted seems better to fit the sequel, "Such an enemy, etc."

• 128. "*Threatens than*." In the First Edition "than" was omitted, but there was a direction in the Errata to insert it. The direction was not attended to in the Second Edition; where, moreover, the passage was further marred by changing "*who*" of the previous line into "*whom*."

130. "*full frequency*": i.e. full assembly; Lat. *frequentia*, a great company. Shakespeare, as Newton observed, has the word, *Timon*, V. 1 (unless the reading there should be *sequence*):—

• "Tell Athens, in the frequency of degree,
From high to low throughout."

131. "*tasted him*." Todd quotes several instances of this use of "taste" in the sense of "try" in old English. "He began to taste his pulse" is said of a physician visiting his patient, in an old English translation of Boccaccio (1620). An apparently stronger instance, quoted by Mr. Jerram, is "Come, let me taste my horse" in Shakespeare's 1 *Henry IV.* IV. 1; but "taste" may there have another meaning than "test." Mr. Skeat recognises no etymological identity of the two words, deriving *taste* from the Latin *tangere*, to touch, and *test* from the Low Latin *tosta*, an earthen pot or crucible, allied to *terra*, earth.

134—137. "*Though Adam*," etc. The passage is somewhat obscure. I interpret it thus: "Though it required his wife's allure-ment to make even Adam fall, however inferior he to this man; who, if he be man by the mother's side, is at least adorned from heaven with more," etc. In the original edition "If he be man by mother's side at least" is read continuously as one clause. Dunster proposed the comma before "at least."

150, 151. "*Belial . . . Asmodai*." See *Par. Lost*, I. 49 et seq., IV. 168 and VI. 365, and notes to these passages.

152. "*Incubus*": in allusion to the popular belief that some evil spirits hold sexual intercourse with their mortal victims. The sequel gives point to this appellation in the case of Belial in particular.

164. "*the ruggedst brow*." Dunster compares *Pens.* 58:

"Smoothing the *rugged brow of Night*"; and Todd finds the phrase, "rugged brow" in Spenser.

168. "*the magnetic*": i.e. the magnet, or loadstone.* As similar cases in Milton of this Elizabethan idiom of an adjective for a substantive Mr. Jerram cites "*the Celtic*" (*Par. Lost*, I. 521), "*the vast Abrupt*" (*Par. Lost*, II. 409), "*this profound*" (*Par. Lost*, II. 980), and "*the stony*" (*Par. Lost*, XI. 4).*

175. "*doat'st*": so in the original edition, though possibly intended as a contraction for *doatedst*.

178-181. "*Before the Flood, thou,*" etc. Compare *Par. Lost*, XI. 573 *et seq.* There Milton adopts the view that the "Sons of God" who are said (Gen. vi. 2) to have intermarried with the "Daughters of Men" before the Flood were Seth's posterity; but here he makes them the Fallen Angels.

182-191. "*Have we not seen . . . Calisto, Clymene, etc. . . Satyr, or Faun, or Silvan?*" One of those summaries from the ancient mythology in which Milton delights, and here recollected chiefly from Ovid. Calisto, according to the legend, was one of Diana's nymphs, seduced by Jupiter; Clymene, one of the Nereids, mother of Mnemosyne by Jupiter; Daphne, a nymph wooed by Apollo, and changed into a laurel when pursued by him; Semele, the mother of Bacchus by Jupiter; Antiope, a nymph wooed by Jupiter in the form of a Satyr; Amymone, a nymph beloved by Neptune; Syrinx, a nymph chased by Pan, and changed into a reed in the pursuit.—"*Too long,*" i.e. too long to enumerate.—"*scapes,*" an old word, meaning "frolics" or "escapades."

196. "*that Pellaan conqueror*": i.e. Alexander the Great, born at Pella, in Macedonia. The allusion is to his treatment of the wife and daughters of Darius, and other captive Persian ladies, after the battle of Issus, when he was twenty-three years of age.

199. "*he surnamed of Africa*": i.e. Scipio Africanus, whose conduct in restoring, when in his twenty-fifth year, a young Spanish lady to her family, was considered so unusually generous and self-denying by the ancient writers.

210. "*voutsafe*." For the variations in Milton's spellings of this word, see Essay on Milton's English, p. 51.

216, 217. "*How would one look from his majestic brow, seated,*" etc. A not unfrequent construction with Milton, the "*his*" taken as equivalent to "*ejus*" or "*of him*" and "*seated*" taken as agreeing with that pronoun.

217. "*Virtue's hill.*" Perhaps an allusion, as Newton thought, to the rocky eminence on which the Virtues are placed in the *Iliad*.

of Cebes, a book which Milton recommends in his Tract on Education. Keightley supposes rather a recollection of Hesiod, *Erg.* 287—289.

222—224. "*cease to admire, and all her plumes fall flat*," etc. An allusion to the peacock, and probably, as Dunster pointed out, a recollection of Ovid's lines (*De Arte Am.* I. 627):—

"Laudatas ostentat avis Junonia pennas;
Si tacitus spectes, illa recondit opes."

236, 237. "*Then forthwith*," etc. Matt. xii. 45. (Dunster.)

259. "*hungering more to do*," etc. John iv. 34. (Newton.)

262. "*hospitable cover*," Dunster quotes Horace, *Od.* II. iii. 10; where the pine and poplar form "*umbram hospitalem*."

266. "*Him thought*": i.e. "it seemed to him." An old construction, like "methinks," "methought." Todd quotes an example from Fairfax's *Tasso*:—

"Him thought he heard the whistling wind."

On the word "methinks" Dr. Latham writes (*Eng. Lang.* 5th edit. p. 611), "In the Anglo-Saxon there are two forms,—*thencan*, to think, and *thinca*, to seem. It is from the latter that the verb in *methinks* comes. The verb is intransitive; the pronoun dative."

266—278. "*by the brook of Cherith . . . Elijah . . . Daniel*." See 1 Kings xvii. 5, 6, and xix. 4, and Daniel i. 11, 12.

269. "*Though ravenous*," etc. A line of twelve syllables. See Essay on Milton's English, p. 123.

289. "*a bottom*": a sunken spot, or depression.

295. "*Nature's own work it seemed (Nature taught Art)*." The meaning seems to be, "It seemed the work of Nature herself,—of Nature instructed in Art." Another possible meaning is, "It seemed the work of Nature herself (for Nature is the teacher of Art)." Todd, by printing "Nature taught" as a compound word with a hyphen, suggests a third reading,—"*It was the work of Nature herself,—of Art taught by Nature*"; which, however, is inadmissible.—As a parallel passage, Dunster quotes Spenser, *F. Q.* II. xii. 59. See also a speech of Polixenes on Art and Nature in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, IV. 4.

299. "*Not rustic as before*." Mr. Jerram notes, after Newton: "Observe the change in the habit and demeanour of Satan, as compared with l. 314, to suit the altered character of the temptation."

302. "*officious*": ready to do service. The word has now acquired a worse meaning.

306—314. "*Others of some note*," etc.: viz., first, Hagar and

her son Ishmael (here called Nebaioth by a strange licence, that being the name of Ishmael's eldest son, Gen.^{xv.} 13); then the wandering Israelites; and lastly the prophet Elijah, here called "native of Thebez,"—by mistake, Mr. Keightley thinks, Thisbe in Gilead being the Prophet's native place, whereas Thebez was in Ephraim. See note to Book I. 353, 354. It has been remarked by Dunster that Elijah was a favourite character with Milton, and is frequently referred to by him. Among Milton's proposed subjects in 1640-1, for Scriptural Dramas (see Vol.^{I.} pp.¹⁶⁹ 84, 105, and Vol. II. pp.⁴³ 44) was one to be entitled *Elias Polemistes*.

309. "*found here relief*." Instead of "*here*," the First Edition has "*he*"; so has the Second; but "*here*" seems indubitably the true reading.

343. "*In pastry built*." Dunster notes the elaborateness of the pastry-cook's art of the seventeenth century, and adds: "A species of *mural* pastry seems to have prevailed in some of the preceding centuries, when artificial representations of castles, towers, etc., were common at all great feasts and were called *sutleties*."

344. "*Grisamber-steamed*": i.e. steamed with ambergris. Perfumes were used in old English cookery,—musk, for example, and ambergris, or grey amber: this last not being, as the name might suggest, a kind of amber, but quite a different substance. It is a substance of animal origin, found floating on the sea, or thrown up on the coast, in warm climates; is of a bright grey colour, and, when heated, gives off a peculiar perfume. Fuller, in his *Worthies*, associates ambergris with Cornwall, not as peculiar to that county, but because the "last, greatest, and best quantity thereof that ever this age did behold" had been found on the Cornish coast. He adds, "It is almost as hard to know what it is as where to find it. Some will have it the sperm of a fish, or some other unctuous matter arising from them; others that it is the foam of the sea, or some excreescency thence, boiled to such a height by the heat of the sun; others that it is a gum that grows on the shore. In a word, no certainty can be collected hereon, some physicians holding one way, and some another. But this is most sure: that apothecaries hold it at five pounds an ounce; which some say is dearer than ever it was in the memory of man. It is a rare cordial for the refreshing of the spirits, and sovereign for the strengthening of the head, besides the most fragrant scent,—far stronger in consort, when compounded with other things, than when singly itself."—An old lady who remembered the use of grisamber in English cookery told the antiquary Peck that it melted like butter, and was used on great occasions "to fume meat with, whether boiled, roasted or baked," and that she had eaten it herself "laid on the top of a baked

pudding." There are many allusions to such culinary use of grisamber or grey amber in the old poets and dramatists. In Massinger's *City Madam* there are "pheasants drenched with ambergis"; and Newton quotes lines from Beaumont and Fletcher's *Custom of the Country*, which show that even wines were perfumed with the substance:—

"Be sure
The wines be lusty, high, and full of spirit,
And ambered all."

347. "*Pontus*," the Euxine, celebrated for its fish; "*Lucrine bay*," the Lucrine Lake, near Baiæ in Italy, celebrated for its shell-fish; "*Afric coast*," where fish of large size were caught, and to which, as Dunster noted, the Roman glutton Apicius was said to have made a voyage for the express purpose of tasting its lobsters.

353. "*Ganymed*," Jupiter's cup-bearer; "*Hylas*," a youth attending on Hercules.

356. "*Amalthea's horn*." Amalthea was the Cretan nymph who nursed Jupiter, and whose horn he invested with the power of pouring out fruits and flowers.

357. "*Ladies of the Hesperides*." In the legend Hesperides is the name for the ladies themselves,—viz. the daughters of Hesperus, the brother of Atlas, who were keepers of the garden containing the golden fruit, the obtaining of which was one of the labours of Hercules. Milton here applies the name to the Garden itself, or the locality. Shakespeare, as Mr. Jerram notes, had done the same (*Love's L. L. IV. 3*):—

"For valour, is not Love a Hercules,
Still climbing trees in the Hesperides."

358. "*or fabled since*": i.e. in modern romances, and particularly in the *Morte d'Arthur* of Sir Thomas Malory; to which Milton proceeds to make special references.

360, 361. "*By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,
Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore*."

Logres, Logris, or Loegria is the Cymric name in the old legends for Britain, or the main part of Britain, from the Severn eastwards, after the departure of the Romans; *Lyones* is a name for part of Cornwall. Lancelot in the *Morte d'Arthur* is a knight of Logris, while Tristram is a knight of Lyones. Pelleas and Pellenore were also knights of Arthur's Round Table, and figure in Spenser's *Faery-Queen*.

369—371. "*These are not fruits forbidden*," etc. Note the reference to the object of Adam's temptation.—"*Defends*," forbids (French *défendre*). Mr. Jerram refers to the phrase "that defended

fruit" in *Par. Lost*, XI. 86, and quotes from Fuller "God *defend*" for God forbid.

374, 375. "*Spirits of air*," etc. There seems an echo here, as Dunster noted, from Shakespeare's *Tempest*, V. 1.

384. "*a table in this wilderness*." Ps. lxxviii. 19. (Richardson)

401. "*far-fet*": i.e. "far-fetched." The form "fet" for "fetched" occurs in Chaucer, Spenser, Jonson, Beaumont, and Fletcher, and other poets; and Milton may have preferred it, as Mr. Keightley remarks, from his dislike to the sound "sh" or "tch." See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 51, 52.

422. "*Money brings honour*," etc. Galton refers to a stanza in Spenser's *F. Q.* II. vii. 11.

423—425. "*Antipater the Edomite, and his son Herod*," etc. Newton notes: "This appears to be the fact from history. When Josephus introduces Antipater upon the stage, he speaks of him as abounding with great riches. . . . And his son Herod was declared King of Judea by the favour of Mark Antony partly for the sake of the money which he promised to give him."

427. "*Get riches first*": Horace, *Epist.* I. i. 53, "*Quærenda pecunia primum est*." (Newton.)

439. "*Gideon, and Jephtha*." See Judges vi. 15, and xi. 1, 2.

446. "*Quintius, Fabrius, Curius, Regulus*." *Quintius* is Quintus Cincinnatus, who went from his plough to the dictatorship of Rome, and retired from the dictatorship again to his plough. *Fabrius* is the patriotic Roman who resisted all the bribes of King Pyrrhus, and died poor. *Curius* is Curius Dentatus, who refused the lands assigned him by the Senate in reward for his victories, and whom the Samnite ambassadors found sitting at the fire and roasting turnips. *Regulus* is the celebrated Roman who dissuaded his countrymen from peace with the Carthaginians, and then kept his word by returning to Carthage to be tortured.

457—486. "*What if with like aversion I reject riches and realms*," etc. This passage, with the whole speech of which it is a part, is very characteristic of Milton, and repeats a strain of sentiment frequent in his writings. Observe the turn of the thought at line 457. He has been dilating on the theme, and proving by examples, that riches are not requisite for great actions, for feats even of worldly power and greatness. "But what," he now makes Jesus go on to say, "what if I equally reject riches and that kingly power in the world which you think them necessary to procure?" What follows is subtle in expression, and may escape the hasty reader. It may be thus given: "It is not because power, or the kingly state, brings

discomfort and trouble that I reject it; it is the very nobleness of a true king that he makes up his mind to bear the toil and weight of his people's concerns; and such kings may be. But a man who has dominion over his own spirit is a real king, whether he rules a nation or not; and he who is not a king of himself will ill suit to govern a nation. And greater than political kingship is that sort of kingship which consists in spiritually teaching and guiding nations,—intellectual and moral kingship." At lines 481—483 there is a reference to monarchs of ancient times who had abdicated power; and the last three lines of the book wind up the argument logically, thus: "You have tempted me with riches, for their own use, and as a necessary means to political power; and I have answered you by showing them needless whether in the one respect or in the other."—Keightley compares lines 458—465 with a passage in 2 *Hen. IV.* III. 1, and one in *Henry V.* IV. 1; and Newton compares lines 466—468 with Horace, *Od.* II. ii. 9—12.

BOOK III

11. "*the perfect shape.*" Thyer suggested that "shape" here was meant for a rendering of the Platonic *idéa* or archetype; in which sense, or simply in the sense of a visible "model," the word was familiar to Milton. Newton refers to *Par. Lost*, IV. 848, "Virtue in her shape how lovely"; and Mr. Jerram quotes from the *Areopagitica* the sentence "Truth came once into the world with her divine master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on."

13—16. "*the oracle Urim and Thummim,*" etc. The "oraculous gems" Urim and Thummim (translated in the Septuagint *ὁράματα καὶ ἀλήθεια*, i.e. Manifestation and Truth) were two gems, or images composed of gems, worn in the breast-plate of the High Priest, and used, in some manner now unknown, for the purposes of augury or prophecy. See Exod. xxviii. 30; Lev. viii. 8; Numb. xxvii. 21; Deut. xxxiii. 8; 1 Sam. xxviii. 6; Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65. While there were several ways of consulting as to the future, or "inquiring of the Lord," among the Hebrews,—one being by dreams, and another by applying to the Prophets,—the plan of inquiry by Urim and Thummim was adopted on certain solemn occasions. The High Priest on these occasions determined the doubtful point by something in the appearance of the gems on his breast-plate, or by operating with them in some manner corresponding to lot-taking. In the present passage Satan is made to say that Christ's counsel would be as infallible as either the decision by Urim and Thummim

resorted to on solemn occasions by the Hebrews, or the decisions of the old seers and prophets who were more frequently consulted.

21. "*These godlike virtues wherefore dost thou hide?*" In modern editions there is only a comma after "hide," the line forming but part of an interrogative sentence ending at "wilderness" (line 23). I have restored the original punctuation.

25—30. "*glory—the reward;*" etc. Dunster aptly compares *Lycidas*, 70 *et seq.*

27. "*Of most erected spirits.*" A classical phrase, as Dunster pointed out, quoting from Cicero "*Magno animo et erecto est,*" and from Seneca "*animo sano et erecto et despiciente fortunam.*" It passed into English, "erected" standing in old writers for our word, "elevated." See it before in *Par. Lost*, I. 679: "Mammon the least erected spirit that fell."

31—36. "*Thy years are ripe . . . The son of Macedonian Philip . . . young Scipio . . . young Pompey,*" etc. At the time of the temptation in the wilderness, Jesus, according to Luke iii. 23, was about thirty years of age. Alexander had begun his reign at the age of twenty, had overturned the Persian Empire before he was twenty-five, and died at the age of thirty-two. Scipio assumed the command against the Carthaginians in Spain at the age of twenty-four, crossed into Africa at the age of thirty, and had gained his surname of Africanus by his victories there before he was thirty-three. As regards Pompey, there is an error in the text; for, though he had become a young hero, had earned from Sulla the designation of "Magnus," and had obtained the honour of a "triumph" by his victories in Africa before he was twenty-five, it was not till nineteen years after, when he was in his forty-fourth year, that he "rode in triumph" at Rome after his return from the East, where he had "quelled the Pontic king," Mithridates.

39—42. "*Great Julius . . . wept,*" etc. Cæsar was nearly forty years of age before he had an opportunity of great political or military activity; and one of the stories told of him is that, once, when he was reading the Life of Alexander the Great (another account says, when he was looking at a statue of Alexander), he burst into tears, and, when asked the reason, declared that it made him wretched to think that he had done so little, when Alexander, at an earlier age, had achieved so much.

57. "*His lot who dares be singularly good.*" A sentiment and expression peculiarly Miltonic. In the whole passage (44—64) I trace a tinge of autobiographic reference. There may be a recollection also of Abdiel in *Par. Lost*, V. 803 *et seq.*

64—67. "*Thus he did to Job, when,*" etc. Job i. 8.

81, 82. "*must be titled Gods*" (like Antiochus, King of Syria, who was styled Θεός or "God"), "*great Benefactors of mankind*" (like Antiochus, King of Asia, and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes, who were styled Εὐεργέται, or "Benefactors"), "*Deliverers*" (i.e. Σωτῆρες, "Saviours," an appellation of several Greek sovereigns, including the two last named).

84. "*One is the son of Iove,*" i.e. Alexander; "*of Mars the other,*" i.e. Romulus.

101. "*young African*": i.e. Scipio Africanus the elder, in his youth.

136. "*ignominy*." Mr. Jerram suggests that here, as elsewhere in Milton, the word should be pronounced *ignomy*, as it is often spelt in Shakespeare. But surely that unpleasantness is not at all needed for the metre, either here or in any other of the places in which it occurs: viz. *Par. Lost*, I. 115, II. 207, VI. 383. In each case the spelling in the original is distinctly *ignominy* or *ignominie*; and the corresponding pronunciation accords well with Milton's notions of Blank Verse (see Essay on Milton's English, p. 122). Indeed in the last-cited line this pronunciation is compelled by the rhythm.

138. "*recreant*": renouncing the faith, from the old French verb *recroire*, which again is from the mediæval Latin "*recredere*," to "*Believe back*" or apostatise. *Miscreant* similarly is "*misbelieving*," from *mécroire*.

146. "*stood struck*." See note, *Par. Lost*, II. 165.

160—163. "*oft have they violated the Temple*," etc.: as did Pompey, who even penetrated the Holy of Holies; and Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Maccab. ch. v.)

165—179. "*So did not Machabeus*," etc.: i.e. Judas Maccabæus; from whom the name Maccabæus (i.e. "the hammerer"), conferred on himself for his warlike acts, was extended to his whole family. His father, Mattathias, was the great-grandson of Asmonæus, a Levite; after whom the family, who continued priests, and dwelt in the district of Modin, were called "Asmonæans." When Antiochus Epiphanes, Greek king of Syria, began his cruel persecution of the Jews, then his subjects, and sought to crush their religion, the patriotic revolt was headed by Mattathias, and his five sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. In consequence of their successes (see the Books of the Maccabees) the sovereignty came into the hands of the family, who united, or shared among themselves, the offices of high-priest, supreme magistrate, and military chief. The dynasty lasted from B.C. 166 to B.C. 37; the following being the succession of princes: JUDAS MACCABÆUS (B.C. 166-161); his

brother JONATHAN (B.C. 161-143), in whose time the Romans, with a view to the extension of their power against the kings of Syria, formed an alliance with the Jews; his brother SIMON (B.C. 143-135); his son JOHN HYRCANUS (B.C. 135-106); his son ARISTOBULUS (B.C. 106-104); his brother, ALEXANDER JANNÆUS (B.C. 104-78); his son HYRCANUS II. (B.C. 78-40); his nephew ANTIGONUS (B.C. 40-37). Satan, in his speech to Christ, is careful to call the Maccabæan or Asmonæan sovereignty a "usurpation" of the throne of David.

173. "*Occasion's forelock.*" Occasion or Opportunity was represented by the Ancients as a human figure with one lock of hair in front, but bald behind, so that when once it had passed it could not be seized. The representation has descended into modern poetry (see Spenser's *F. Q.* II. iv. 4), and we have the common proverb "to take time by the forelock."

175. "*Zeal of thy Father's house.*" Ps. lxxix. 9; John ii. 17. (Dunster.)

183. "*And time there is for all things,*" etc. Eccles. iii. 1. (Newton.)

187. "*He in whose hand,*" etc. Acts i. 7. (Newton.)

194—196. "*Who best,*" etc. The sentiment, with even the phraseology, of these lines, is quoted from Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, by Dunster and Newton.

206. "*For where no hope is left,*" etc. Compare *Par. Lost*, IV. 208 *et seq.*

217. "*From that placid aspect,*" etc. Mr. Keightley suggests that the poet must have dictated "*For,*" and not "*From.*" Then it would be the "placid aspect and meek regard" that "would stand" between Satan and God's ire. Clearly, however, the construction is "From that placid aspect and meek regard I could hope that thy reign would stand," etc.

234. "*once a year Jerusalem,*" i.e. during Passover. Luke ii. 41, 42; where it is implied that Jesus went up to the Passover for the first time, being then twelve years old. Mr. Jerram quotes Dean Alford for the fact that "at the age of twelve a boy was called by the Jews a 'son of the law,' and first incurred legal obligation." From that age, therefore, Christ's attendance at the Passover would be regular.

238. "*quickest in sight.*" Generally now printed *insight*; but in the original the words "in sight" are separated, and this is the better reading.

253—264. "*It was a mountain at whose,*" etc. Pious tradition has fixed on Mount Quarantania, on the right bank of the Jordan,

near the site of the ancient Jericho, as that "exceeding high mountain" (Matt. iv. 8) to which Satan took up Christ for the tempting vision of the kingdoms of the world. Milton, however, clearly imagines (see lines 267—270) that, by magical power, Christ and the Tempter have been transported through the air far out of the wilderness, and put of Palestine altogether. The mountain he has in view is perhaps one of the great Taurus or Armenian range north of Mesopotamia. Dunster argues for Niphates, on the top of which Satan had himself alighted on his first visit to the Earth (see *Par. Lost*, III. 742, and note to that passage). At all events the "two rivers" appear to be the Euphrates and the Tigris,—the one describable as "winding," the other as "straight." The "champaign" between is Mesopotamia; which is, however, only a part of the vast plain embraced in the survey.

269—293. "*Here thou behold'st Assyria,*" etc. Following, on the map, the geographico-historical enumeration contained in these five-and-twenty lines, we see that Satan first directs Christ's view from the mountain-top over "THE EAST,"—i.e. over those countries which, anciently included in the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires, were next comprehended in that of Persia, and so passed under Græco-Macedonian rule, till about B.C. 256, when the Parthians (a native people of the region south-east of the Caspian) threw off the government of the Seleucidæ and were formed into an independent power by their chief Arsaces. The power thus formed gradually became a great Parthian Empire, extending from the Indus to the Euphrates, and from the Oxus, Caspian, and Araxes southwards to the Persian Gulf and Arabia. The Empire lasted, under the successors of Arsaces, till A.D. 226,—holding the ascendancy of the East latterly even against Roman wars and encroachments, and frequently making its power felt in the politics of Rome. At the time when the Tempter is supposed to show Christ these realms of the East from the mountain-top, the Parthian Empire was in its most palmy state; and the object of the Tempter, as we shall presently see, is to impress Christ with the extent and power of this Empire. In order to do so, after pointing out its boundaries, he calls attention to the famous cities with which it is studded. First is *Nineveh*, on the Tigris, said to have been built by primeval Ninus, and to have been sixty miles in circumference,—the capital of the ancient Assyrian Empire, and the seat, accordingly, of that Salmanassar, or Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, who, B.C. 721, invaded Samaria, and carried away the Ten Tribes of Israel into captivity (2 Kings xvii. 1—6). Next, on the Euphrates and more to the south is *Babylon*, as old as Nineveh, but rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar; who twice (see 2 Kings xxiv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7; and 2 Kings xxv., 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13—21) invaded Judæa and carried away the Jews into that

captivity from which, after seventy years, they were set free by Cyrus, King of Persia. His (*i.e.* Cyrus's) capital, *Persepolis*, is also visible, much farther to the east, in Persia proper, and, still farther, off, *Bactra*, the chief city of the Bactrian province of the Persian Empire. Then there is *Ecbatana*, the vast capital of ancient Media; also the famous *Hecatompylos*, or "Hundred-gated city," south of the Caspian, the capital of Parthia proper, and of the Parthian Empire under the Arsacidæ; also *Susa*, in Susiana, the winter-residence and treasury of the old Persian kings, built near the Choaspes or Eulæus river,—of whose waters alone, it was said, the Persian kings would drink, so that, wherever they went, a supply of this water was taken with them. All these were ancient historical cities; but "of later fame" were others, built either by the Emathians (Macedonians) during their empire in the East, or by their successors and present rulers, the Parthians. Of these were great *Seleucia*, on the Tigris, built by Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's captains, and the founder of the dynasty of the Seleucidæ, or Græco-Syrian kings; *Nisibis*, in Mesopotamia, also built by the Macedonians; *Artaxata*, the chief city of Armenia, on the Araxes river; *Teredon*, a town on the Persian Gulf; and *Ctesiphon*, near Seleucia, the winter-quarters of the Parthian kings.

294—297. "*All these the Parthian,*" etc. See preceding note. There has been great skill in the way in which the poet has led up by the previous summary to Satan's exact intention; which now begins to be developed, though it is not fully expressed till farther on (lines 347—385). All that is said about this part of the Temptation in the Scripture text (Matt. iv. 8, 9) is that the Devil showed Christ, from the mountain-top, "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them," and then offered to give them all to Christ on condition of an act of worship. But Milton imports a political significance into the narrative. He has already represented Satan as appealing to Christ's political ambition, and trying to work upon the desire he fancies Christ may be secretly entertaining of some great enterprise whereby he may regain the kingdom of his father David and restore Hebrew independence, if not even found a Jewish Empire. Now, in this portion of the temptation, he still keeps that in view. "Mark all these lands and cities," he says to Christ; "they are those Eastern lands which have been famous for ages; they have been possessed successively by different powers or dynasties,—Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Græco-Macedonian; and now, for some ages past, they have been in possession of the Parthians. It was the great Arsaces, about 280 years ago, that first revolted from the Græco-Syrian kings, whose capital was Antioch in Syria; and his successors are still masters of all these splendid regions. These famous lands of the East now constituta, let me remind you, *The*

Parthian Empire! Mark that; for I have a scheme to propound to you in consequence.

298—344. "*And just in time thou com'st . . . for now the Parthian king,*" etc. This episode of an actual expedition of the Parthian troops against the Scythians, as happening about the time of Christ's temptation, so as to allow a glimpse of their array and manœuvres from the mountain-top, seems to be a pure invention of the poet. We know too little of Parthian history to be able to specify its incidents in any one year, or even to give an accurate list of the Parthian kings. The invasion of the Parthian dominions by Crassus, which ended so disastrously for the Romans, took place B.C. 53, when the Parthian king was Orodes I. He was murdered and succeeded by his son Phraates IV.; during whose reign (B.C. 37—A.D. 4) war was continued between the Parthians and the Romans; but latterly terms of peace were established, and four sons of Phraates were sent to Rome, as hostages, or to be educated. Murdered in turn, Phraates was succeeded by one of his sons, named Phraataces; who, however, did not reign long; and from this time the affairs of Parthia appear to have gone more and more into weakness and confusion, though it was not till A.D. 226 that the empire of the Arsacidæ was nominally abolished, and a new dynasty founded in those regions by the Persian Ardashir Babegan. At the time supposed in the text, therefore, what was going on within the Parthian Empire, whether at Ctesiphon or anywhere else, is profoundly obscure; but the incident which the poet imagines,—a review of Parthian troops, preparatory to a march against invading hosts of Scythians from the north,—is true to the possibility of the time; while it affords him an opportunity for a fine poetical description of those evolutions of the Parthian cavalry, shooting their arrows equally in retreat as in advance, which were so terrible to the Romans. Sogdiana, which the Scythian invaders are supposed to have wasted, was the extreme province of the Parthian Empire to the north-east, beyond the Oxus.

309. "*In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.*" All these, as Danster explained, are ancient military terms. The "rhomb" (ῥομβοειδὴς φάλαγξ) was an acute-angled parallelogram, with the acute angle in front; the "wedge" (ἐμβολον, or *cuneus*) was half of a rhomb, or an acute-angled triangle, with the acute angle in front; the "half-moon" was a crescent with the convex to the enemy; the "wings" (κέρατα, or *ala*) were the extremes or flanks. Mr. Keightley says these names were used only for infantry formations.

311. "*the city-gates*": i.e. the gates of Ctesiphon, where the muster takes place.

312, 313. "*In coats of mail . . . in mail their horses clad.*" True

to the Roman accounts of the Parthian troops, according to which both horses and riders wore a kind of chain armour.

316—321. "*From Arachosia . . . to Balsara's haven.*" Another of those enumerations of well-sounding proper names of which Milton is so fond. *Arachosia* is nearly the modern Afghanistan; *Gandaor* is probably the town Kandahar in Afghanistan; *Margiana* was a province on the northern frontier, adjoining the invaded Sogdiana; the "Hyrcanian cliffs of Caucasus" stand for the province of *Hyrcania*, also in the north, bordering on Margiana; the "dark Iberian dales" are those of the province of *Iberia*, north of Armenia, and between the Euxine and the Caspian; *Atropatia* or *Atropatene* was part of Media proper; *Adiabene*, part of Assyria, near Nineveh; *Media* and *Susiana* explain themselves; *Balsara's haven* is the port of Balsara, or Bussorah, on the Persian Gulf.

324. "*arrowy showers.*" In the original edition "*shower*" but with a direction, among the Errata, to change into "*showers*,"—a direction not attended to in the Second Edition.

326. "*The field all iron cast a gleaming brown.*" In this fine line Newton found a recollection of Virgil, *Æn.* XI. 601:—

"tum latè ferreus hastis
Horret ager";

and Dunster cited, as even closer, the expression of Euripides, *Phæn.* 109, Κατάχαλκον ἅπαν πεδίων ἀστράπτει.

327. "*clouds of foot.*" Homer, *Iliad*, IV. 274, has νέφος πτεῶν; and Virgil, *Æn.* VII. 793, *nimbus peditum*. (Newton.)

329, 330. "*elephants endorsed with towers of archers*": i.e. having towers of archers on their backs. "At a battle near Magnesia, where Antiochus was defeated by the Romans," Mr. Jerram writes, "his elephants had towers containing five men each; and Pliny says that as many as sixty could be thus carried. Plutarch relates how Pyrrhus once entered Argos with his elephants, and how the towers had to be removed to enable them to pass the gates."

337. "*Such forces met not,*" etc. Dunster compares *Par. Lost*, I. 574, and quotes Lucan, *Phars.* III. 288:—

"Coiere nec unquam
Tam variae cultu gentes."

338—343. "*When Agrican . . . Charlemain.*" The romance here referred to is Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, where there is a description of the siege of Albracca, the city of Gallaphrone, King of Cathay, by Agricane, King of Tartary, in order to obtain possession of the fair Angelica, Gallaphrone's daughter, already known at Charlemagne's court and celebrated throughout the world. The

numbers represented in the romance as engaged in this siege are prodigious, myriads on each side. Hence, as Warton pointed out, Cervantes in his *Don Quixote* refers to the siege very much as Milton here does: "Before we are two hours in these crossways, we shall see armed men more numerous than those that came to Albracca to win Angelica the Fair."

342. "*prowest*": bravest, most valiant, most approved.—*Prow* (Fr. *Preux*, Ital. *Próda*) and *Prowess* are derived generally from the Latin *probus*, but Mr. Skeat rejects that etymology as inconsistent with the *b* in "*probus*." He registers the etymology as "*disputed*," but seems to incline, as does Mr. Jerram, to the hypothesis of a derivation from *pro* or *prod* as in *prodesse*, to benefit. The word is found in the oldest English authors, and Spenser has the exact phrase "*prowest knight*."

343. "*Paynim*," Pagan. The two words are the same, save that *Pagan* is directly from the Latin (*Paganus*), while *Paynim* is through the French (*païen* or *payen*). *Paynim* as a noun singular, and *Paynims*, plural, are found in Robert of Gloucester.

350. "*show*": printed "*shewn*" or "*shown*" in most editions; but "*shew*" is the reading of the First.

357. "*of David's throne*": i.e. of all those dominions which had belonged to David in the palmy days of the Hebrew monarchy, before its diminution, or the division of Palestine into the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel.

358, 359. "*none opposite, Samaritan or Jew*": i.e. none opposing thee,—neither the Jews or inhabitants of Judæa, nor the Samaritans, between whom and the Jews there had been such a mutual antipathy for generations, grounded on the fact that, in consequence of colonisation, since the carrying away of the Ten Tribes, the Samaritans were not a pure Hebrew race. Palestine consisted now of three political divisions,—Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee; but, as the Galileans went with the Jews in the main, they are not here distinguished.

361, 362. "*Between two such enclosing enemies, Roman and Parthian?*" Satan is now explaining more exactly the scheme he has been keeping in reserve. After having shown Christ the Parthian Empire and its resources, he bids him remember that the whole power of the world was then divided between that Empire and the Romans. The Parthians are in the ascendant in the east and the Romans in the west; these two are the rival powers; all others hold by these or are insignificant. Now in what state is Palestine,—that country to the political deliverance and resurrection of which Christ might be looking forward? Since B.C. 65, when the

empire of the Seleucidæ was destroyed by Pompey, Syria, as a whole, had been annexed to the Roman Empire; but in Judæa, by sufferance of the Romans, the native dynasty of the Asmonæans or Maccabees (see previous note, lines 165—170) had continued to hold the kingly and priestly power for some time longer. The last prince but one of this dynasty was Hyrcanus II. (B.C. 78—40). Because of disputes for the throne between him and his brother Aristobulus, the Romans did interfere in Jewish affairs; and Jerusalem, where Aristobulus had shut himself up, was besieged and taken by Pompey (B.C. 63). Aristobulus was sent prisoner to Rome; and Hyrcanus was left in possession under Roman protection. But Antigonus, a son of Aristobulus, renewing the civil war, called in the aid of the Parthians, who were then trying to wrest Syria from the Romans. With their aid he dispossessed his uncle Hyrcanus, B.C. 40, and assumed the kingly title. The real power in Palestine, however, had passed by this time to the family of Antipater, the Idumæan, who, nominally the prime minister of Hyrcanus II., had actually governed for him. Antipater, and his son Herod, whom he had made governor of Galilee, had been careful to ingratiate themselves with the Romans; and, going to Rome, Herod had little difficulty in obtaining from the Senate a grant of the kingdom of Judæa for himself. Antigonus, though backed by the Parthians, was unable to hold his place against Herod, thus backed by the Romans; he was taken and put to death, B.C. 37; and with him ended the dynasty of the Asmonæans or Maccabees, though scions of the family still remained, one of whom was Mariamne, the wife of Herod. With Herod, called HEROD THE GREAT, began a new dynasty in Palestine, which may be called the Idumæan dynasty. Herod's dominions included not only all Palestine proper, consisting of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, but also some adjoining regions; and, though, in the civil war between Augustus and Antony, he took the side of Antony, he afterwards managed to pacify Augustus, and retained his dominions till his death. This event occurred B.C. 4; for, though Christ was born in the last year of Herod's reign (Matt. i.), our chronology dates the Christian era from a point later by four years than the actual year of Christ's birth so fixed. On Herod's death, his dominions were divided, by his will, between two of his sons: ARCHELAUS taking the southern part, including Judæa and Samaria; and HEROD ANTIPAS (the "Herod" who caused John the Baptist to be beheaded) the northern part, including Galilee. The Romans, however, as the real masters, modified this arrangement, giving a certain share to PHILIP, Herod's son by Mariamne; and at length (A.D. 7) they deposed and banished Archelaus, and converted Judæa and Samaria into a Roman province, to be governed by "procurators" under the prefects of Syria. Pontius Pilate was procurator from A.D.

26 to A.D. 36, Galilee and other northern parts of Palestine remaining with Herod Antipas, who governed them as "tetrarch."—All in all, then, "David's throne," or that region which had formed the Hebrew monarchy in its palmy state, was now a fragment of the Roman Empire,—the Romans viewing Palestine as a mere fraction of their rich Syrian prefecture. But beyond Syria were the Parthians, on whose empire the Romans, with all their efforts, had made little impression; and Syria itself was a kind of debatable land between the Romans and the Parthians. Here the two rival empires met; and, as often as the Romans tried to invade the Parthians, the Parthians retaliated by covering Syria with their clouds of horse. For an independent power to spring up, therefore, in Syria, and hold its own against two such great empires nipping it between them, was all but impossible. So Satan represents to Christ; and he then goes on to suggest that the best means of attaining the object which he supposes Christ to have in view will be to make alliance with one of the two rival powers. The real ingenuity of the policy so suggested is brought out, I think, by the historical circumstances which have been explained in this and previous notes.

363—368. "*the Parthian first . . . Antigonus and old Hyrcanus . . . maugre the Roman.*" Satan suggests that it may be better to try first what may be done through a Parthian alliance: first, because the Parthians are nearer and may be more easily negotiated with; and, secondly, because recent events have shown both the willingness and the power of the Parthians to strike a stroke against the Romans in Syria and Palestine. Here, however, well acquainted as Milton shows himself to be with the history of the Jews from the time of the Maccabees downwards, and aptly as he uses his knowledge, he falls into a slight error. The Parthians had certainly carried away "old Hyrcanus," *i.e.* Hyrcanus II., *maugre* the Roman (see preceding note); but they had never carried away Antigonus; who, on the contrary, had been the one to avail himself of the aid of the Parthians against his uncle Hyrcanus, and had been kept on the throne of Judæa three years by that aid (see preceding note). Satan's advice to Christ, in fact, is that he should repeat the feat of Antigonus. If he were to divulge to the Parthians his claims, by descent, to the throne of David,—claims so much better than those of the Asmonæans, who, after all, were originally but heroic interlopers,—might not the Parthians espouse his cause, and do even more for him than they had done for Antigonus? This would be a beginning, and the rest would depend on himself. The reign of Antigonus had been but a short one,—the Romans having taken him in spite of the Parthians, and put him to death (B.C. 37) to make way for Herod.—"Old Hyrcanus" may very well be called so; for, though dispossessed by Antigonus, and carried away by the Parthians, B.C. 40,—his ears

having^a been cut off by order of Antigonus that he might be disqualified by that mutilation from ever being again High Priest,—he returned to Jerusalem, and lived there under the protection of Herod till B.C. 30, when Herod, fearing a revival of the Asmonean dynasty, put him to death at the age of eighty. Mariamne was the granddaughter of Hyrcanus.

370. "*by conquest or by league.*" Though league with the Parthians would be the more natural plan, the plan might be, if Christ preferred it, a conquest of the Parthian Empire in the first place, so as to be able to wield its resources against Rome. Anyhow, only through these resources of Parthia could the enterprise succeed.

372—376. "*That which alone can truly reinstall thee . . . deliverance of thy brethren, those Ten Tribes,*" etc. Here is a further development of Satan's plan, the splendid ingenuity of which has not, I think, been sufficiently noted. Not only on general grounds might one say that only through Parthian influence could Syria and Palestine be wrested from Rome; but the very instrumentality by which the enterprise could be most nobly undertaken lay lodged within the Parthian Empire. For was it not "in Halah and in Hebor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (2 Kings xviii. 11), that Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, had put the Ten Tribes of Israel when he carried them away captive; and were not these cities now in the territories of the Parthians? To search out in those districts the offspring of the long-lost Ten Tribes, still serving there; to rouse and liberate them, or procure their liberation: what greater exploit could there be than this in itself, or through what agency would the further exploit of the restoration of the Hebrew monarchy be more likely?

377. "*Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph.*" The ten captive tribes of Israel were those of Reuben, Simeon, Zebulon, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali, Ephraim, and Manasseh: the first eight being Jacob's sons, and the last two Joseph's. It has been objected that the text is therefore incorrect,—that it should have been "*Eight sons of Jacob, two of Joseph.*" But it is correct enough. Joseph, being represented in Ephraim and Manasseh, brings the number of Jacob's sons concerned up to nine; and the tenth is Levi, many of whose descendants, the Levites, were, of course, carried away, mixed with the other tribes. The tribes left in Palestine were those of Judah and Benjamin, with Levites mixed with them.

384. "*From Egypt to Euphrates.*" Such is the extent of dominion promised to the seed of Abraham (Gen. xv. 18), and such is said to have been the extent of the Hebrew dominion under David and Solomon (1 Kings iv. 21).

394, 395. "*prediction else will unpredict (i.e. cancel itself), and fail me (disappoint me) of the throne*": said with reference to Satan's words at lines 354—356.

409—412. "*When thou stood'st up his tempter,*" etc. See 1 Chron. xxi. 1—14, where it is said, "And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel," and the consequences are stated.

416—418. "*calves, the deities of Egypt, Baal next and Ashtaroth,*" etc. The golden calves which Jeroboam set up for worship at Bethel and in Dan are supposed by some to have been in imitation of the animal-gods of the Egyptians; for the rest see 1 Kings xvi. 32, 1 Kings xi. 5, and 2 Kings xvii.

431, 432. "*let them serve,*" etc. Jer. v. 19. (Dunster.)

433—439. Isaiah xi. 15, 16. (Newton.)

BOOK IV

4—6. "*and the persuasive rhetoric that . . . won so much on Eve, so little here, nay lost.*" The construction is "and the persuasive rhetoric that won so much on Eve, being so little (or winning so little) *here* (i.e. with Christ), nay, being wholly lost or thrown away."

10—14. "*as a man who had been matchless held,*" etc. It is a shrewd guess of Dunster's that Milton may have thought here of his own antagonist, Salmasius. See Memoir, I. pp. 35, 36.

15—17. "*Or as a swarm of flies,*" etc. Thyer compares *Iliad*, II. 469, Jorth *Iliad*, XVI. 641, and Dunster *Iliad*, XVII. 570.

18. "*Or surging waves,*" etc. Dunster compares *Æn.* VII. 586; but the image is a frequent one in poets.

25. "*the western side*": for the coming vision is to be in that direction, and no longer over the Parthian dominions.

37—31. "*Another plain, long, but in breadth not wide*": i.e. the whole long strip of Italy, west of the Apennines,—made visible, at such a distance as is suggested in the sequel, by mysterious means.—"*washed by the southern sea,*" i.e. the Tyrrhene Sea, "*. . . backed with a ridge of hills,*" i.e. the Apennines.

31. "*thence*": i.e. from the Apennines.

32, 33. "*off whose banks on each side,*" etc. I have ventured on a slight amendment in the text. The original and all other editions

read "*of* whose banks on each side," etc. The construction thus arising is awkward in itself,—"*of* whose banks on each side" being a very unusual phrase for "on each side of whose banks"; and it gives a confused meaning,—for how could one speak of an imperial city standing on each *side* of the *banks* of a river? I have little doubt that Milton dictated "*off*"; which, indeed, is but an emphatic form of "*of*." In Chaucer and other early English writers the common spelling was *of*, even when *off* was meant,—e.g. "*smiteth of my hed*" (*Knight's Tale*, 784); but the spelling *off* as now had come into fashion afterwards, and is found in the First Folio Shakespeare.

33—39. "*an imperial city*," etc. The city is, of course, Rome. Mr. Keightley suggests that the poet is by no means careful, in his description of the city, to give only those features which were true of the Rome of the time of Tiberius, but includes some of the splendours of its state under the later emperors.—"*presented*" in line 38 connects itself with "*city*" in line 33.

40—42. "*By what strange parallax*," etc. It was, of course, by some miracle or magical illusion that Rome could be seen from a mountain-top in Asia, and seen raised above the height of all intervening mountains. How it was done Milton declines to explain; whether by some "strange parallax . . . multiplied through air," i.e. some strange atmospheric refraction causing an apparent elevation of the position of the object; or by "optic skill of vision," as in the use of a telescope. "Parallax" in astronomy is the difference between the position of a heavenly body as actually observed and its position as it would be seen from an assumed central point to which reference is made. Thus the parallax of the moon, the sun, or any of the planets is the difference between its position as seen from the earth's surface and its position as it would be seen from the earth's centre; while the parallax of a fixed star is the difference between its place as seen from the earth and its place as it would be seen from the centre of the sun. In either case the parallax is measured by the small angle made by two lines drawn to the object,—one from the actual point of observation, the other from the centre of ideal observation. But Milton uses the word simply in its original etymological sense of "alternation" or "variation" (*παράλλαξις*); and perhaps the image he has in view is that suggested by the familiar experiment of the apparent raising of a coin in a basin, so as to make it visible farther off over the intervening edges, by merely pouring water into the basin.—The means by which Satan showed Christ all the glories of the world from the mountain-top was actually a subject of speculation among Biblical commentators, some of whom suggested that optical instruments might have been used.

50—54. "*Mount Palatine, the imperial palace . . . turrets . . . glittering spires.*" Here again Milton makes poetry overbear chronology and history. It was not till Nero's time that there was any such splendid palace on the Palatine; and "turrets" and "spires" were hardly features of Roman architecture. For the peculiar idiom "*compass huge*" see Essay on Milton's English, pp. 80, 81.

57. "*My æery microscope.*" An acknowledgment that some magical art was used for the vision. There is a propriety in the word "*microscope*" here, on account of the smallness of the objects to be mentioned next.

66. "*turms of horse and wings.*" *Turma* was the Latin word for a troop of horse, consisting of thirty or more; a wing would consist of several "*turms.*"

68, 69. "*on the Appian road, or on the Æmilian,*" etc. The Appian road led from Rome to the south of Italy; the Æmilian to the north. It would be by the Appian way, therefore, that embassies from the south would approach Rome; from the north they would come by the Æmilian.

69—79. "*farthest south . . . Syene . . . the Tauric pool.*" Another of Milton's geographical enumerations. *Syene*, a town in Egypt, on the borders of Ethiopia, and accounted the southernmost bound of the Roman Empire; "*Merne*," an island and city of ancient celebrity on the Nile in Ethiopia, far to the south of Syene, and within the tropics, so that twice a year the sun would cross it vertically, changing the directions of the shadows of objects; "*The realm of Bocchus to the Blackmoor sea,*" i.e. the inland kingdom of Gætulia in northern Africa (whose king, Bocchus, was the father-in-law of Jugurtha, King of Numidia, and betrayed him into the hands of the Romans), and also the adjoining kingdoms (Numidia, Mauritania, etc.) towards the Mauritanian or Moorish sea. Observe the dexterity of the parenthesis which reminds Christ that among the embassies from Asia kings were some from those very Parthians of whose resources he has just had a survey.—"*golden Chersoness*" (*Aurea Chersonesus*), Malacca in the East Indies; "*utmost Indian isle Taprobane,*" i.e. Ceylon.—After glancing southwards to Africa, and then eastwards to Asia, there is a sweep of the eye over Europe: first westwards from Italy to Gaul, Spain (represented by the city of Gades or Cadiz), and Britain; then northwards to Germany, Scythia, and the Sarmatian regions beyond the Danube as far as "*the Tauric pool,*" i.e. the lake Mæotis or sea of Azof.

70. "*both way.*" We should now say "both ways"; but, as the word "*falls*" follows, Milton probably desired to get rid of the *s*.

76. "*turbants.*" So in the original, and it is a frequent form in

old writers. Milton uses it in his prose. It is the Italian form, *turbante*: the form *turban* is French.

84, 85. "*thou justly may'st prefer before the Parthian*": hardly consistent with what had been previously advised and declared by the speaker (III. 362—368, and 371). But it is the Serpent who is speaking.

85—89. "*These two thrones except*," etc. See preceding notes, IH. 269—293, 294—297, and 361, 362.

90. "*This Emperor*": Tiberius, then in the seventy-third year of his age, and the third or fourth of his retirement to Capræ.

95. "*a wicked favourite*": Sejanus.

102. "*A victor-people free from servile yoke*." In the original edition this line is spoilt by a comma after "*victor*"; but among the Errata there is a direction to remove it,—a direction not attended to in the Second and various subsequent editions.

115. "*citron tables or Atlantic stone*." Citron-wood, from Mount Atlas, was much prized for the beauty of its veining and polish. Atlantic stone is probably Numidian marble.

117, 118. "*wines of Setia*," etc. The first three kinds of wine mentioned,—that of Setia, that of Cales, and that of Falernus,—were native Italian wines, grown near Rome; the wine of the Greek island of Chios, and that of Crete, were among the best imported wines.

119. "*myrrhene cups*." *Myrra* or *Myrrha* seems to have been the Roman name for porcelain. Propertius, in a passage quoted by Newton (IV. v. 26), has "*myrrheaque in Parthis pocula cocta focus*," i.e. "*myrrhine cups baked in Parthian fires*." The porcelain, though only coming through Persia from China, was perhaps supposed, Mr. Keightley suggests, to be of Persian manufacture.

136. "*Peeling*": i.e. stripping or pillaging. *Pill* or *peel* was used in this sense: "a nation scattered and peeled" is a phrase in the English Bible, Isaiah xviii. 2.

142. "*the daily scene*." The daily frequenting of theatres. Mr. Browne suspects an allusion to the revived popularity of the stage in London after the Restoration.

147, 148. "*it shall be like a tree*," etc. Dan. iv. 11. (Newton.)

149, 150. "*a stone that shall*," etc. See Dan. ii. 44 (Newton), and Ps. ii. 9 (Told).

151. "*And of my kingdom*," etc. Luke i. 33. (Newton.)

166—169. "*On this condition*," etc. Matt. iv. 9.

175—177. "*It is written*," etc. Matt. iv. 10.

185, 186. "*King of kings*," etc. 1 Tim. vi. 15, and Rom. ix. 5. (Dunster.)

201. "*Tetrarchs*," etc. So called as sharing among them the four elements. See II. 122, also *Pens.* 93, 94.

203. "*God of this World invoked, and World beneath*." The connexion of *Paradise Regained* with *Paradise Lost* must never be forgotten. The seat of Satan in *Paradise Lost* was the ascent from Hell into the Starry Universe or World of Man and the annexation of that World to his empire proper of Hell beneath. Since then he has been supreme god of the two worlds,—Hell and Man's Universe; recognised as such by all the inferior angels distributed among the elements with local powers. Dunster quotes 2 Cor. iv. 4.

216. "*When*," etc. Luke ii. 46.

217. "*wast*": a correction from "*was*" in the original edition.

219. "*Moses' chair*." Matt. xxiii. 2. (Newton.)

234. "*idolisms*": peculiar opinions or prejudices; a word apparently of Milton's own coining. Mr. Keightley suggests that he may have had Bacon's "*idola*" in his mind. See *Sams. Ag.* 453.

235. "*his own arms*." A remarkable instance of *his* where we should now say *its*.

236. "*this specular mount*." Compare *Paradise Lost*, XII. 588, 589.

240. "*the eye of Greece*." Newton notes, "Demosthenes calls Athens somewhere *the eye of Greece*, ὀφθαλμὸς Ἑλλάδος; but I cannot at present recollect the place. In Justin it is called one of the *two* eyes of Greece, Sparta being the other (Lib. vi. c. 8)." Dunster adds "I cannot discover the passage in Demosthenes referred to by Bishop Newton. Thysius, in a note on Justin (Lib. II. c. 6, *Ed. Varior.*) and on a passage of Valerius Maximus (*Ed. Varior.* Lib. i. c. 6. *Exempl. Extern.* i), notices that Athens is mentioned by Demosthenes under this description, *the eye of Greece*; but no reference is made to the particular passage." The image, Dunster goes on to say, is mentioned in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. It has been repeated frequently in modern times. Thus the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have been called the two eyes of England; and Ben Jonson called Edinburgh

"The heart of Scotland, Britain's other eye,"

London, of course, being the first.

241, 242. "*native to famous wits or hospitable*": i.e. either producing them or giving them welcome.—The word *wit* has degenerated

in meaning. At one time it was equivalent to "intellect"; the restriction of its meaning to cleverness or ingenuity in comic invention seems to have come in at the Restoration.

244—246. "*the olive-grove of Academe, Plato's retirement,*" etc. The following is Mr. Grote's account of this celebrated place:—"The spot selected by Plato for his lectures or teaching was a garden adjoining the precinct sacred to the Hero Hekadēmus or Akadēmus, distant from the gate of Athens called Dipylon somewhat less than a mile, on the road to Eleusis, towards the north. In this precinct there were both walks, shaded by trees, and a gymnasium for bodily exercise: close adjoining, Plato either inherited or acquired a small dwelling-house and garden, his own private property" (*Plato, and the other Companions of Sokrates*, I. 122). The chief trees in this spot were the *μυρία* or "sacred olives."—The "*Attic bird*" is the nightingale, so called either because of the abundance of nightingales in Attica (especially at Colonos, as we gather from a famous chorus in Sophocles) or in recollection of the legend of the Athenian princess, Philomela, who was changed into a nightingale. It has been objected by Mr. Keightley that the notion of the nightingale singing "*the summer long*" is contrary to fact.

247—249. "*Hymettus,*" etc. A mountain near Athens, famous for its honey.

249, 250. "*Ilissus rolls his whispering stream.*" The scene of Plato's *Phædrus* is on the banks of the Ilissus. Mr. Keightley notes "It rolls only in the poet's imagination, like Siloa and Cedron." (*Par. Lost*, III. 30.)

250—253. "*Within the walls then view . . . Lyceum . . . Stoa.*" The Lyceum was the school of Aristotle, who had been Alexander's tutor. The Stoa was a portico in Athens, built after the Persian war, and decorated with paintings of scenes of the war: it became the lecturing-place of Zeno, the founder of the sect of the Stoics. Milton is wrong in placing the Lyceum within the walls; it was a little way out of town, on the eastern side.

254. "*There*": i.e. at Athens.

257. "*Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes*": i.e. Greek lyric poetry generally. Æolian charms (*charm* for "*carmen*," a song, as in *Par. Lost*, IV. 642) are the songs or lyrics of Alcæus and Sappho, who used the Æolic dialect; Pindar and other lyric poets used the Doric. "Æolian charm" is a literal translation of "*Æolium carmen*" in Hor. *Od.* III. xxx. 13.

258, 259. "*his who gave them breath . . . blind Melisigenes, thence Homer called.*" Milton makes Homer the true father even of Greek Lyric poetry. According to the *Life of Homer* attributed to

Herodotus, he was called *Melesigenes*, because born on the banks of the Meles in Ionia; but subsequently he was called *Homer*, on account of his blindness (ὁ μὴ ὁρῶν, "the blind man").

260. "*Whose poem*," etc. Alluding, says Bishop Newton, to a Greek epigram in the first Book of the *Anthologia*, where Apollo is made to say—

Ἡεῖδεν μὲν ἔγων, ἐχάρησσε δὲ θεὸς Ὀμηρος.
(It was I that sang; Homer but wrote it down.)

261—266. "*the lofty grave Tragedians*," etc. A singularly exact description of the Greek tragic poetry in so brief a space. Its two parts are Chorus in mixed verses and Dialogue in Iambics. The reference in "brief sententious precepts" may be chiefly to Milton's favourite, Euripides, who is called by Quintilian "sententiis densus," i.e. "thick with maxims or γνῶμαι."

268—271. "*Those ancient*," etc. The older Greek orators, such as Pericles and Demosthenes, were the greatest. It is these two that Milton is chiefly thinking of: Demosthenes being the one who fulminated over Greece to Macedon; Pericles the one whose fulminations reached the throne of Artaxerxes, or Persia. These four lines, I may mention, were a favourite quotation of the Scottish orator Dr. Chalmers.

273—276. "*the low-roofed house of Socrates*." In the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, the house of Socrates is called οἰκίδιον, "a housie"; and Xenophon, as Newton noted, makes Socrates say of his house that he believed, if he were lucky in a purchaser, he might get five minæ for it and all it contained.

275, 276. "*the oracle pronounced wisest of men*." Socrates is himself made, in Plato's *Apology of Socrates*, to tell the story of this oracular response. His friend and admirer Chærephon had asked at the Oracle of Delphi the question whether any one was wiser than Socrates of Athens, and had received the answer that none was wiser; which greatly perplexed Socrates, till he found out what the god probably meant. This was that, whereas most other men thought they possessed knowledge, he was pre-eminent in this,—that he was firmly convinced of the deficiency of his knowledge. The precise words of the oracle are said, by tradition, to have been these:—

Ἀνδρῶν πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.
(Of all men Socrates the wisest is.)

277—280. "*all the schools of Academics old and new*": viz. the original Academy of Plato (died B.C. 347), and its continuations,—the Middle Academy, founded by Arcesilas (died B.C. 271), and the Later Academy, founded by Carneades, of Cyrene in Africa (died B.C. 128); "*with those surnamed Peripatetics*," i.e. the disciples of

Aristotle (died B.C. 322), called "the Peripatetic" from his habit of walking up and down in the Lyceum when teaching; "*and the sect Epicurean*," founded by Epicurus (died B.C. 270); "*and the Stoic severe*," or followers of Zeno (died B.C. 264). All these schools did derive themselves from the teachings of Socrates; who was the real father of the whole Greek philosophic movement.

286, 287. "*or, think I know them not, not therefore*," etc. The meaning is "or, should you think I know them not, not therefore," etc. I have pointed so as to bring out this meaning.

291—308. "*But these are false*," etc. In this passage we have a less sympathetic appreciation by Milton of the worth of the various systems of Greek speculation than was to be expected; but what he has in view is their shortcoming of the higher wisdom offered by Christianity. The "first and wisest" is Socrates (see preceding note, lines 275, 276). "The next," who "fell to fabling and smooth conceits," is Plato,—of whose spirit Milton himself had far more than this estimate would suggest. The "third sort" are the Sceptics, or followers of Pyrrho. The "others," who placed happiness in virtue joined with wealth and long life, are perhaps the Aristotelians. The "*he*" is Epicurus,—not worth naming again in full. It is notable that the Stoics are described most at length perhaps, as Thyer suggested, on account of their superior ethical claims.

302, 303. "*all possessing, equal to God, oft shames not to prefer*." This passage is read variously and pointed variously in different editions. I keep the original pointing, which gives the sense clearly enough as follows:—"The Stoic, who, dwelling on his ideal of a virtuous man, wise, perfect in himself, and possessing all equal to God, is often not ashamed to prefer him to God," etc.

316, 317. "*usual names, Fortune and Fate*." Such terms were frequent with the Stoics.

320, 321. "*her false resemblance . . . an empty cloud*." In allusion, as Newton noted, to the story of Ixion, who, thinking to meet Juno, met a cloud substituted for her by Jupiter.

321, 322. "*many books . . . are wearisome*." Eccles. xii. 12. (Newton.)

324. "*A spirit and judgment*," etc. A remarkably anomalous line, consisting of twelve or even thirteen syllables.

329. "*worth a sponge*": i.e. deserving to be sponged out or obliterated from the memory. But perhaps rather "*sponge*" is here used typically for any worthless object that one would throw away, as if one were to say "not worth more than an old sponge." Mr.

Jerram favours this interpretation as more consistent with the preceding phrase "toys and trifles," and cites a story to the effect that Augustus "amused himself at the Saturnalia by throwing sponges and other worthless things among the crowd."

330. "*As children gathering pebbles on the shore.*" In the original edition and in the second *pebbles* is spelt *pibles*. All know the story of Sir Isaac Newton's saying about himself that he was but as a child playing on the sea-shore and amusing himself with pebble after pebble, and shell after shell, while the great ocean of truth stretched unfathomable away from him. Had Newton read Milton's line, or was it a coincidence?

334, 335. "*All our Law and Story strewed with hymns*": e.g. Mr. Jerram notes, "the Song of Lamech (Gen. iv. 23), the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix.), of Moses (Deut. xxxii.), the Song of Deborah (Judges v.), the Prayer of Hezekiah (Isaiah xxxii.) and many more."

336, 337. "*in Babylon that pleased,*" etc. Ps. cxxxvii. (Newton.)

338. "*rather Greece from us,*" etc. It was a favourite speculation of the old theologians,—never tenable, and now given up,—that whatever was true or good amongst other ancient nations had been derived from the Hebrews. Warburton notes that this speculation was "supported with vast erudition by Bochart, and carried to an extravagant and even ridiculous length by Huetius and Gale."

341. "*personating*": representing.

346—350. "*unworthy to compare with Sion's songs,*" etc. In Milton's *Reason of Church Government* there is a similar passage, where, after speaking of "those magnificent odes and hymns" of the Greek poets which he admired for some things, though thinking them "in their matter most and end faulty," he refers to "those frequent songs throughout the Law and Prophets" as "beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition."

351. "*Unless where,*" etc. The connexion is with line 346, "unworthy to compare . . . unless where," etc.

353—356. "*as those the top of eloquence*": i.e. as those who were the top, etc.

354. "*statists*": statesmen. The word had formerly this sense. Todd quotes Shakespeare, *Cymb.* II. 4, "Statist though I am none."

362. "*makes a nation happy, and keeps it so.*" A recollection of Horace, *Epist.* I. vi. 47, "*facere et servare beatum.*" (Richardson.)

380. "*fulness of time.*" Gal. iv. 4. (Newton.)

382. "*contrary*": on the contrary.

383—385. "*by what the stars voluminous*," etc. The meaning is, "by what I can read or spell out in the aspects of the starry heavens,—whether the volumes (*i.e.* books) of the stars collectively, or single characters (individual planets) met in conjunction."

387. "*Attends thee*." So in the original; not "attend," as in most editions. The line is conspicuous, whether purposely or not, for its hissing effect, arising from the frequency of *s* in it. So, indeed, the three lines 386—388.

391, 392. "*as without end, without beginning*": *i.e.* as without end, so without beginning.

392, 393. "*no date prefixed directs me*," etc. An image derived from the Prayer-book; the Rubric or red-letter Calendar prefixed to which gives the dates of the festival-days.

399. "*unsubstantial both*": *i.e.* nothing in themselves, but only effects of the absence of light.

409, 410. "*either tropic*": *i.e.* both north and south; "*both ends of heaven*": both east and west.—In the description of the storm which here begins and which extends to line 419, Newton, Richardson, and Dunster have traced shreds from similar descriptions in the *Æneid* and other poems. Milton wrote, I believe, with no idea of such patchwork.

411. "*abortive*": as not conducing to production.

414. "*their stony caves*." In the old mythology the winds were supposed to be kept in caves by the God *Æolus*.

415. "*the four hinges of the world*." The four cardinal points; from *cardo*, a hinge.

419—425. "*Ill wast thou shrouded then*," etc. Warburton and Jortin suggested that in this passage Milton may have remembered the legend of the Temptation of St. Anthony in the Desert, or even pictures he had seen on that subject. Calton believed that he took hints from a description of Christ's Temptation in Eusebius, *De Dem. Evan.*—Dunster quotes from Tasso (*Ger. Lib. XVI. 67*) his description of the demons gathered round Arfnida in a storm:—

"Quanto gira il palagio udesti irati
Sibili, ed urli, e fremiti, e latrati":

translated by Fairfax thus:—

"You might have heard how through the palace wide
Some spirits howled, some barked, some hissed, some cried."

420. "*only*": alone.

427. "*amice*": robe; properly a priest's vestment fastened round the neck and covering the shoulders: from the Latin *amictus*, a

garment. Dunster quotes the word from Spenser; and in Richardson's *Dic.* there is this quotation from Tyndall: "The amice on the head is the kercheve that Christ was blyndfolded with, when the souldiears buffeted him and mocked hym."

429. "*chased the clouds.*" A translation, as Thyer observed, of Virgil's *collectasq; fugat nubes*, in his similar description of the laying of a storm. (*Æn.* I. 143.)

434—438. "*the birds . . . gratulate the sweet return of morn.*" In a Latin oratorical exercise of Milton, during his days of Cambridge studentship, on the odd subject of the respective merits of Day and Night ("*Utrum Dies an Nox præstantior sit*"), there are passages of description similar to some in this place. Thus, "How pleasant and desirable Day is to the race of living things what need is there to expound to you, when the very birds themselves cannot conceal their joy, but, leaving their little nests, as soon as it has dawned, either soothe all things by their sweetest song of concert from the tops of trees, or, balancing themselves upward, fly as near as they can to the sun, eager to congratulate the returning light?"

449. "*in wonted shape.*" In his usual shape, no longer disguised.

454. "*flaws.*" See *Par. Lost*, X. 698 and note.—Mr. Ross annotates here:—"That it is derived from the Latin *flatus* is a mistake. It is from the same Teutonic root as *flag* and *flake*, and denotes a break, or crack, or sudden blast. The Swedish phrase for a 'flaw of wind' is a *vind-flaga*."

455. "*pillared frame of Heaven.*" Job xxvi. 11. (Thyer.) Compare *Comus*, 597 *et seq.*

457—459. "*Are to the main as inconsiderable,*" etc.: i.e. "are as inconsiderable to the physical universe, or sum-total of things, called the *macrocosm*, as a sneeze is to man's individual body, which is sometimes called the *microcosm*, or little universe." Satan has just said that, during the storm of the preceding night, he was himself far off, away at such a distance in the physical universe that he could hear the roar going on without being in it.

467—495. "*Did I not tell thee . . . time artful means.*" Dunster notes, "Here is something to be understood after *Did I not tell thee?* The thing told we may suppose to be what Satan had before said, Book III. 351:—

"Thy kingdom, though forsook
By prophet or by angel, unless thou
Endeavour, as thy father David did,
Thou never shalt obtain;" etc."

There is certainly, as Dunster says, a sense of a deficiency of some words in the passage as it stands; for, though the syntax is complete

if we connect line 467 with line 473, and read "*Did I not tell thee . . . thou shalt be what thou art ordained,*" etc., the meaning so resulting is not perfect. This gives interest to a note of Mr. Browne's on the passage. "There is," says Mr. Browne, "a copy of this Poem [the First Edition of *Par. Reg.*] in the King's Library [British Museum] carefully corrected throughout, apparently at the date of publication, in accordance with the printed directions [*i.e.* according to the printed list of Errata]. At this place, in the same handwriting, occurs the following alteration, for which those directions give no authority:—

" 'Did I not tell thee, soon thou shalt have cause
To wish thou never hadst rejected thus
The perfect season offered, with my aid
To win thy destined seat, prolonging still
All to the push of Fate? Pursue thy way,' etc."

478—480. "*What I foretold thee,*" etc. See *anté*, line 374, *et seq.*

500. "*virgin-born*": said sarcastically.

502. "*have heard.*" So in the original, but altered into "*had*" in most editions.

511. "*flocked.*" So in the original, but changed into "*flock*" in many editions.

517. "*which*": *i.e.* "which phrase."

519. "*stands*": continues, endures.

533, 534. "*a rock of adamant*": *i.e.* of diamond. The word also meant *steel*; but it originally meant simply "unsubduable" (from a priv., *δαμάω*, I subdue), and was transferred by metaphor to these substances.

534. "*as a centre, firm*": from the notion of the necessary stability of the centre of any sphere. Dunster quotes a similar expression from Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*: "Of his courage, as any centre, stable."—In all the modern editions there is a semicolon after "*firm*"; but there is no point at all in the original edition. Nor is it necessary; for, instead of reading "both wise and good to the utmost of mere man," we may construe "*firm*, as a rock of adamant and as a centre, to the utmost of a mere man who is both wise and good."

542. "*hippogrif*" in allusion to Ariosto's Hippogrif, or winged horse, in the *Orlando Furioso*.

549. "*the highest pinnacle.*" Matt. iv. 5, and Luke iv. 9. In Matthew this incident of the Temptation occurs in the middle; in Luke it comes last. Milton follows Luke. The word *πτερύγιον*, which in both places is rendered "pinnacle" in our version, meant

rather the parapet or ridge of the roof, spires and pinnacles in our sense hardly belonging to ancient architecture. Clearly, however, what Milton imagines is the very point of a spire: hence he makes it an equal miracle to stand there or to escape thence unhurt.

554. "*progeny*": descent, pedigree.

556. "*it is written*," etc. Ps. xci. 11, 12.

560, 561. "*Also it is written*," etc. Deut. vi. 16.

561. "*and stood*": thus proving his divine power. *Stood* is emphatic, as also *fell* in the next line.

563. "*As when Earth's son, Antæus (to compare small things with greatest)*," etc. Twice in *Par. Lost* (II. 921, and X. 306) Milton has used this phrase from Virgil in introducing comparisons; and it occurs also in his Latin poems. Two comparisons are here brought in to illustrate Satan's fall from the pinnacle: that of the great Antæus, the son of Terra and Neptune, who, wrestling with Hercules (Alcides) in Irassa (a city in North Africa, where Pindar places the conflict), and always recovering from his falls by touching his mother Earth, was at length carried up into the air by the hero and there throttled; and that of the Theban Sphinx, who, when Œdipus solved her riddle, flung herself headlong from the Cadmeia, or citadel of Thebes (called here "the Ismenian steep" as being on the river Ismenus).

576. "*So, strook*." See note, *Par. Lost*, II. 165.

581. "*So Satan fell*." Observe that this is the fifth time that the word *fell* is introduced in the description. The poet dwells on the contrast between Satan's *falling* from the pinnacle and Christ's *standing*.

581, 582. "*a fiery globe of Angels*": literally a sphere or globular body. See note, *Par. Lost*, II. 512.

591, 592. "*repaired . . . impaired*." See note *ante*, II. 61, 62. Besides the rhyme there is word-play.

598, 599. "*enshrined*," etc. John i. 14; 2 Cor. v. 1. (Dunster.)

600. "*whatever place*": i.e. in whatever place.

604. "*thief of Paradise*." See *Par. Lost*, IV. 192.

605. "*debel*": war down, from the Latin *debellare*. Richardson in his *Dict.* gives an instance of the word from Warner's *Albion's England*, and instances of *debellate* and *debellation* from Bacon and Sir Thomas More.

611. "*his spares are broke*." Ps. cxxiv. 7. (Dunster.)

612. "*be failed*": has disappeared,—in allusion to the notion,

assumed in *Par. Lost* (see XI. 829 *et seq.* and note), that after the Fall, or at least at the Deluge, the site of Paradise was obliterated.

619. "*an autumnal star*": a meteor or falling star. These are frequent in August.

620, 621. "*or lightning*," etc. Luke x. 18 (Newton), and Rom. xvi. 20 (Dunster).

624. "*Abaddon*." In Rev. ix. 11, Abaddon or Apollyon is the name of the Angel of the bottomless pit; but in the Old Testament, as Mr. Keightley remarks, the word *Abaddon* (Destruction) is used for the pit itself, or as equivalent to Hell or Erebus.

628. "*thy demoniac holds*": i.e. the terrestrial elements and all other haunts in our Universe,—the expulsion of the Devils from which back to Hell was to be, according to the poem, the true consummation of Christ's victory. But there is a reference to demoniac possession of the human body, as is shown by what follows. See Matt. viii. 28—32, and Rev. xviii. 2.

633. "*both Worlds*": Heaven, or the Empyreal World, to which the Angels who are singing belong; and the Universe or Man's World.

634. "*Queller of Satan*." Compare *Par. Lost*, XII. 311.

636—639. "*Thus they*," etc. Warton thinks these four lines a rather feeble ending for the poem, and regrets that it did not end at line 635. Few will agree with him. On the contrary, the quiet ending of the poem by the private or unmarked return of Christ to his mother's house, thence to begin his mission, is particularly fine.

NOTES TO SAMSON AGONISTES

AUTHOR'S PREFACE. "*Of that sort of Dramatic Poem,*" etc. In connexion generally with this Preface, see Introduction to the Poem. The following points may be noted here :—The "verse of Euripides" which St. Paul is said to have inserted into the text of Holy Scripture consists of the words "Evil communications corrupt good manners" (1 Cor. xv. 33). In the original Greek the phrase is *φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρηστὰ ὁμιλίας κακαί*, which is an Iambic verse, attributed by some, to Euripides, and by others to the comic poet Menander, and found in the printed fragments of both.—The "Paræus" whose opinion as to the construction of the Apocalypse Milton cites, both here and in his *Reason of Church Government* (see the passage from that pamphlet in the Introduction, II. pp. 577-8), was David Paræus, a German theologian and commentator on the Scriptures of high note among the Calvinists (1548—1622). There is an article on him in Bayle's *Dictionary*.—When Milton says "Though the Ancient Tragedy use no Prologue," he uses "Prologue" in its modern sense, as a kind of Preface to the Play, detached from the Play itself, and intended to put the audience in good humour with it beforehand. Though the Comedians Plautus and Terence had Prologues of this kind, the ancient Tragedians had none. But, according to Aristotle (*Poetics*, chap. XII.), the Prologue in another sense was a regular part of every Tragedy, and consisted of all that part of the Tragedy which preceded the entrance of the Chorus.—In the phrase "that which Martial calls an Epistle" there is an allusion to the "*Epistola ad Lectorem*" prefixed by Martial, by way of apology, to the First Book of his Epigrams.—The three terms of Greek Prosody introduced by Milton in his Preface, and printed in Italics,—viz. *Monostrophic*, *Apolelymenon*, and *Allæostrophic*,—in their present connexion may be translated "Single-stanzaed," "Released from the restraint of any particular measure," and "Divers-stanzaed." Milton's purpose is to explain to prosodians the metrical structure of his choruses in *Samson*. These choruses, he says, may be called *Monostrophic*, inasmuch as they run on without division into stanzas, or into the

mutually balanced parts called Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epodos in the regular musical chorus; the verse in which they are written is *Apoleymenon*, inasmuch as no particular measure is adopted, but each line is of any metre that the poet likes; or, if the choruses do sometimes seem to divide themselves into stanzas or rhythmical segments, then *Allæostropha* would be the name for them, inasmuch as the stanzas are of different metrical patterns.

4. "There I am wont to sit," etc. One recollects here the description given by the painter Richardson of the blind Milton's own habits in his last years. See it quoted, *Memoir*, I. p. 61, and again in *Introd. to Par. Lost*, II. pp. 74, 75.

12. "This day," etc. Here Samson begins his soliloquy, the person who had guided him to the bank on which he was now sitting, having left him to himself, as desired.

13. "Dagon, their sea-idol." Compare *Par. Lost*, I. 457—466, and note to that passage.

23—29. "Oh, wherefore," etc. See Judges, chap. xiii.

33. "captived," with the accent apparently on the last syllable. Newton cites the word, so accented, from Spenser (*F. Q.* II. iv. 16) and from Fairfax's *Tasso*.

66—109. "But, chief of all, O loss of sight," etc. The reference, in this noble lamentation, to Milton's own great calamity will strike the reader at once; but some parts of it receive painful illustration from the domestic circumstances of Milton in his old age and blindness. Thus, in connexion with the lines 75—78, it is impossible not to remember parts of the evidence given on the occasion of the lawsuit between Milton's third wife and his three daughters by the first as to the inheritance of his property. See the particulars, *Introd. to Par. Lost*, II. pp. 64—68.

87—89. "silent as the Moon when," etc. The meaning is "as invisible as the Moon is when, from the fact that her dark side is turned to us, she seems to be out of the sky altogether, and lodged in some cave where she passes the time between the disappearance of one moon and the appearance of its successor. *Luna silens*, or "silent moon," was a Latin phrase for absence of moonlight.

111. "steering." Compare *Ode on Nativity*, 146, and *Comus*, 310.

118, 119. "aimlessly diffused, with languished head," etc. Probably, as Thyer pointed out, a recollection from Ovid, *Epist.* III. iii. 8:—

"Fusaque erant toto languida membra toro,"

133. "Chalybean-tempered." *Chalybean* to be accented on the

third syllable and not on the second, as some commentators suppose to be necessary. *Chalybean-tempered* is tempered like the Chalybean steel,—so called from the Chalybes or Calybes, a people of Asia Minor, possessing excellent iron-mines, and celebrated as iron-workers.

134. "*Adamantean proof*." It is doubtful whether this means "proof against adamantean weapons" or "proof as being itself adamantean." The second meaning is the likelier. *Adamant*, literally "unsubduable," usually meant steel.

138. "*Ascalonite*": inhabitant of the Philistine city of Ascalon. See 1 Sam. vi. 17. (Newton.)

139. "*ramp*": i.e. spring (Fr. *ramper*, to mount). We speak yet of a lion "rampant," and we have the slang word "rampageous"; but "*ramp*," both as verb and as noun, was common in old English. Spenser has it; and Milton in his *Animadversions on the Remonstrant* has the phrase, "Surely the prelates would have Saint Paul's words ramp one over another."

144. "*foreskins*": i.e. uncircumcised Philistines.

145. "*In Ramath-lechi*": so called from "the casting away of the jaw-bone" there; the name implying the phrase. See Judges xv. 17.

147. "*Azza*," or *Azzah*; same as *Gaza*. See Deut. ii. 23.

148. "*Hebron, seat of giants old*." Hebron was the city of Arba, the father of Anak, whose children, the Anakim, were giants. See Numbers xiii. 33, and Josh. xv. 13, 14. (Newton.)

150. "*Like whom*": i.e. like those giants whom, etc., to wit the Titans, and particularly Atlas.

165. "*Since man on earth*": a classic idiom for "since man was on the earth." See Essay on Milton's English, p. 77.

172. "*the sphere of fortune*": i.e. the rotating globe on which Fortune was represented as standing.

176. "*I hear the sound*," etc. The Chorus have been speaking hitherto at some distance from Samson.

181. "*From Eshtaol and Zor's fruitful vale*": i.e. from Samson's native district in the tribe of Dan. See Josh. xv. 33 and xix. 41, and Judges xiii. 2 and 25. (Newton.)

191—193. "*In prosperous days*," etc. Perhaps from Milton's own experience after the Restoration, when, though distinguished foreigners would seek him out, his English friends were chiefly a few grave and little-known persons of his own way of thinking. After the publication of his *Paradise Lost* in 1667, this state of things was

changed remarkably, and many eminent men, among whom was Dryden, paid visits of respect to the blind poet.

209. "*drove me transverse*": i.e. out of my course, referring to the previous image of the ship.

219. "*at Timna*." See Judges xiv. 2, where the word is "Timnath."

219—226. "*she pleased me, not my parents*," etc. Judges xiv. 2—4. Perhaps there may be an allusion to Milton's own first marriage with Mary Powell, who was of a Royalist family, at the very time when he himself was a known Parliamentarian (1643).

222. "*motioned*": printed "mentioned" in the First Edition, but with a direction among the Errata to read "motioned."

227. "*She proving false*." Judges xiv. 5—20.

227—229. "*the next . . . Dalila*." Judges xvi. 4. Observe the pronunciation *Dalila*. See note, *Par. Lost*, IX. 1059—62.

241—255. "*That fault I take not on me*," etc.: with an occult reference perhaps to the conduct of those in power in England after Cromwell's death, when Milton still argued vehemently against the restoration of the Stuarts.

247. "*Used no ambition*": "ambition" here in its literal sense of "going about," or "canvassing."

252, 253. "*who then*," etc. Judges xv. 8.

268—276. "*But what more oft*," etc. A plain reference to the state of England, and to Milton's own position there, after the Restoration.

278—281. "*How Succoth*," etc. Judges viii. 5 *et seq.*

282—289. "*And how ingrateful Ephraim*," etc. Judges xii. 1 *et seq.*

297, 298. "*for of such doctrine*," etc. Ps. xiv. 1. Observe the peculiar effect of contempt given to the passage by the rapid rhythm and the sudden introduction of a rhyme in these two lines.

300—306. "*Yet more there be*," etc. Again observe the effect given in this passage by the peculiar versification, and the rhymes in the last four lines. We are reminded more of the metre in some parts of Goethe's *Faust* than of the older English metres.

318, 319. "*this heroic Nazarite*," etc. See Numb. vi. 1—21. Milton seems to think celibacy involved in the vow there described.

323—325. "*Though Reason here aver*," etc. Here, as in some of the preceding phrases, there is perhaps a hint of Milton's views of marriage, which regarded some of the current views as but so much

“national obstriction.” The meaning here seems to be, “Though rationally we must acquit Dalila of uncleanness, simply as being a heathen woman, yet, merely on this score, the Mosaic law did make her unclean and we need not reason on the subject. Clean or unclean when married to Samson, she was subsequently unchaste,—which, at any rate, was not his fault, if the marrying of her had been his fault.” It seems to be a mere assumption that Dalila was a harlot; but Milton makes it: *Par. Lost*, IX. 1060, 1061.

333. “*unmoueth*”: unknown.

336, 337. “*Your younger feet*,” etc. It has been acutely remarked by Newton that this passage is artfully introduced to account for the later arrival of Samson’s father than of the chorus of Danites. He had set out at once, but could not come so fast.

354. “*And such a son*”: the word “And” is omitted in the First Edition; but there is a direction among the Errata to insert it.

373. “*Appoint not*”: thought by some to mean “arraign not,” or “blame not,” according to old legal senses of the word; but perhaps simply “arrange not,” according to the present sense.

390. “*scent*”: spelt “*sent*” in the original, and always so spelt by Milton.

394. “*capital secret*”: so in a double sense, as being the chief, and also as lying in the head (caput). Compare *Par. Lost*, XII. 383.

403. “*blandished*.” To blandish is an old verb active, found in Chaucer.

424. “*I state not that*”: i.e. I discuss not that.

434—439. “*This day*,” etc. Judges xvi. 23.

453. “*idolists*”: idolaters. See *Par. Reg.* IV. 234, and note there.

471. “*blank*”: i.e. blanch, turn pale. Todd quotes Shakespeare, *Ham.* III. 2:—

“Each opposite that blanks the face of joy.”

496, 497. “*The mark of fool set on his front!*

But I God’s counsel have not kept, his holy secret.”

So printed in the original edition, and also in the Second,—only eight syllables in the first line, while there are thirteen in the second. In all recent editions the two lines are regularised by reading “But I” as part of the first line, thus—

“The mark of fool set on his front! But I
God’s counsel have not kept, his holy secret.”

I have preferred abiding by the original.

499—501. "*a sin that Gentiles in their parables condemn,*" etc. The parables alluded to are such as that of Tantalus, condemned to Hell for divulging heavenly secrets.

516. "*what offered means who knows but,*" etc. : "that offered means which who knows but," etc.,—a peculiar Miltonic syntax. Mr. Keightley places a full stop at "means," and makes the next sentence interrogative, interpreting "set before us" as meaning "appointed us as a task." Besides being too arbitrary a deviation from the original pointing, this reading is harsh.

531. "*affront*": meeting face to face.

545: "*that cheers,*" etc. Judges ix. 13, and Prov. xxiii. 31. Todd compares also *Par. Lost*, V. 633, and *Comus*, 673.

549. "*With touch ethereal of Heaven's fiery rod*": supposed by Dunster to be a recollection from Euripides (*Suppl.* 652)—

"Δαμπρά μὲν ἀκτίς, ἡλίου κανὼν σαφὴς,
Ἐβαλε γαίαν."

550. "*the clear milky juice.*" Mr. Keightley notes as follows:— "This is certainly a strange periphrasis for pure running water. He had, however, already in *Par. Lost* (V. 306) termed water 'milky stream' as resembling milk in sweetness; but 'juice' for fluid is surely a strong oxymoron. But he uses it with reference to the juice of the grape, to which he opposes it. He probably at this time had Æschylus read to him, who was addicted to the use of strong figures."

551. "*refreshed*": i.e. refreshed myself.

557. "*Whose drink,*" etc. Samson was a Nazarite (Judges xiii. 7), and therefore under the vow of the Nazarites (Numb. vi. 2-5).

569. "*Robustious*": full of force. Shakespeare has the word,— "a robustious periwig-pated fellow," *Ham.* III. 2.—Richardson in his *Dict.* quotes instances of "robustious" or "robustiousness" from Drayton, Ben Jonson, Fuller, and others.

571. "*craze.*" See *Par. Lost*, XII. 212.

574. "*draff*": refuse grains from the brewhouse; hence, any kind of refuse. Dunster quotes from Chaucer (Prol. to *Parson's Tale*):—

"Why shuld I sowen draff out of my fist
When I may sowen wheat if that me list?"

581—583. "*caused a fountain . . . to spring,*" etc. Judges xv. 18, 19. In our version of this passage it is said that "God clave a hollow space" in the jaw-bone with which Samson had fought; but Newton points out that another interpretation, which Milton follows here, supposed that the hollow space was cloven in a piece of ground (or rock) called *Lehi*, i.e. "The Jaw."

590—598. "*All otherwise,*" etc. Note the peculiar melancholy that breathes through this speech of Samson's,—the singularly

sorrowful cadence of the last five lines. In reading two of these, one feels as if Milton were remembering the similar two in one of Hamlet's soliloquies—

"How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable
Seem to me all the uses of this world."

But the last line of all has a depth of its own—

"And I shall shortly be with them that rest."

600. "*humours black*": our word *melancholy* literally means "black humour" or "black bile," and preserves for us one of the notions of the old physiology, which accounted for diseases and states of the body and mind generally by the action of various kinds of "humours." This notion runs through the language of all our old writers; and Todd quotes a very apposite passage from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*:—"The spirits being darkened, and the substance of the brain cloudy and dark, all the objects thereof appear terrible, and the mind itself, by those dark, obscure, gross fumes, ascending from black humours, is in continual darkness, fear, and sorrow," etc.

605. "*healing words*." Todd quotes the phrase from Euripides (Hippol. 778):—

"εἰς τὸ δ' ἐπὶ φθαλ καὶ λόγῳι θελκτήριοι."

610—616. "*But must*," etc. Note the sudden rhymes in lines 610-611, and lines 615-616. See previous notes, lines 297-298, and 300—306.

612. "*accidents*": attributes, properties.

627. "*medicinal*": in the original "*medcinal*"; and, therefore, it we spell "*medicinal*," we must not pronounce *medicinal* as some propose, and as was common enough. *Medicinal* pronounced in our present way comes nearer Milton's metre. Todd compares *Camus*, 636.

628. "*Alp*": used for mountain generally. See *Par. Lost*, ll. 620.

632. "*swoonings*": in the original "*swoonings*."

645. "*repeated*": again and again made: the verb; and not, as Mr. Keightley supposes, a substitute for the adverb "repeatedly."

652—659. "*Many are the sayings*," etc. In the original edition there is a full stop after "frail life"; but there is a direction in the Errata to remove it. The construction is "Many are the sayings, etc., extolling patience as the truest fortitude, and many are the consolatories to the bearing well, etc., writ with studied argument, etc."

658, 659. "*with studied*," etc. Observe the rhyme. * See previous note, 610—616.

659. "*Lenient of grief.*" Newton quotes Horace, *Epist.* I. i. 34, "*lenire dolorem.*"

667—686. Again here note the rhymes introduced—lines 668-669, 672-673, and 674-675.

688—691. "*To life obscured,*" etc. These four lines form a peculiar rhymed stanza. See previous note, lines 300—306.

693, 694. "*their carcasses to dogs and fowls a prey*": a translation, as Newton observed, of a well-known phrase at the beginning of the *Iliad*:—*καὶ τοὺς θεῖς ἐλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν, οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι.*

694. "*captived*": the accent on the second syllable. See line 33 and note there.

695—702. "*Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times,*" etc. There has been an occult reference all through this chorus to the wreck of the Puritan cause by the Restoration; but in these lines the reference becomes distinct. Milton has the trials of Vane and the Regicides in his mind. He himself had been in danger of the law; and, though he had escaped, it was to a "crude (premature) old age," afflicted by painful diseases, from which his temperate life might have been expected to exempt him. See note to line 4, and Memoir, I. pp. 48—52.

713, 714. "*Sailing, like a stately ship.*" The comparison of a full-dressed woman to a stately ship in full sail was, and is, common. Milton, as Todd noted, has (*Of Ref. in England*) the same image for prelates in their full canonicals: "under sail in all their lawn and sarcenet, their shrouds and tackle."

715, 716. "*Tarsus*" (in Cilicia) . . . "*the isles of Javan,*" i.e. of Greece or Ionia . . . "*Gadire,*" Gades in Spain.

720. "*amber scent*": i.e. scent of grey amber or ambergris. See note, *Par. Reg.* II. 344.

748. "*hyæna.*" This beast was said to deceive people to its den by cries like those of the human voice in distress. Todd quotes from Ben Jonson (*Fox*, IV. 2):—

"Out, thou chameleon harlo! Now thine eyes
Vie tears with the hyæna."

759—762. "*That wisest and best men,*" etc., Milton himself among them; whose reconciliation with his first wife, in July or August 1645, after her desertion of him for about two years, is thus described by his nephew Phillips: "One time above the rest, he making his usual visit [at the house of a relative, named Blackborough, living in St. Martin's-le-Grand], the wife was ready in another room; and on a sudden he was surprised to see one whom he thought to have never seen more, making submission, and begging pardon on

"her knees before him. He might probably at first make some show of aversion and rejection; but partly his own generous nature, more inclinable to reconciliation than to perseverance in anger and revenge, and partly the strong intercession of friends on both sides, soon brought him to an act of oblivion and firm league of peace for the future." The wife returned to her husband's house, and lived with him about seven years, bearing him three daughters before her death in 1652. Whether the reunion was as irksome as that described in the text can also be inferred: too probably it was.

778—789. "*Was it not weakness also,*" etc. The strain here much resembles that of Eve's speech to Adam, *Par. Lost*, IX. 1155 *et seq.*

785. "*parle*": treaty, negotiation. So Shakespeare, *Ham.* I. 1:—

"So frowned he once, when, in an angry parle,
He smote the sledged Polacks on the ice."

840. "*Knowing . . . by thee betrayed*": i.e. knowing myself to be betrayed by thee. See the same idiom, *Par. Lost*, IX. 7925, and see Essay on Milton's English, p. 78.

850, 851. "*Thou know'st,*" etc. Judges xvi. 5.

934. "*Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms*": with a thought of Circe and the Sirens.

936. "*adder's wisdom*": a recollection, as Newton has pointed out, of Ps. lviii. 4, 5: "They are like the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ear; which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely."

939. "*could*": so in the original, but altered into "*couldst*" in most of the editions since.

950. "*To thine*": compared to thine.

971—974. "*Fame*," etc. The manner in which Fame is personified and equipped here seems due to Milton's own imagination. In Chaucer's *House of Fame* the goddess Fame is attended by the wind-god Aeolus, with two trumpets: one a black trumpet of foul brass, which may be called the Infamy or Slander trumpet; the other a gold trumpet, or trumpet of Praise. In the "*contrary blast*" Milton remembers this; but he makes Fame or Rumour a god, and gives him also wings of opposite colours, on both of which the greatest names and reputations are carried as Fame flies.—There is a striking personification of Rumour or Fame as a goddess in Milton's Latin Poem *In Quintum Novembris*. There he uses suggestions from Chaucer, but also introduces the notion of wings of different colours, —*variis plumis*. Dunster quotes a passage from Silius Italicus, where

Infamy, as one goddess, is represented as black-winged, and Glory and Victory, as different goddesses, both white-winged. In one of Ben Jonson's masques, *Fama Bona* or Good Fame is white-winged. See also Shakespeare's personification of Rumour, Induction to *Henry IV.*

973, 974. "On both his wings," etc. The rhyme in these lines is probably intentional.

982—984. "the famousest of women," etc.: a distinct recollection, as Dunster observed, of line 598 of the *Heracleid* of Euripides.

988—990. "in Mount Ephraim Jael" etc. Judges, chapters iv. and v.

1003—1007. "Yet beauty," etc. See preceding note, lines 759—762.

1008. "Love-quarrels," etc. Terence, *And.* III. iii. 23, "*Amanitium iræ amoris integratio est.*" (Newton.)

1010—1061. "It is not," etc. Again observe, throughout this chorus, the art of the versification, and the peculiar introduction of rhymes. Again one is reminded of the metre of parts of Goethe's *Faust*. See note, 300—306.

1016. "thy riddle, Samson." Judges xiv. 12—18.

1020. "Thy paronymph": i.e. Samson's companion who had acted as bridesman on his marriage with his first wife, and to whom she was afterwards given by her father, to Samson's disgust. See the story, Judges xiv. and xv. *Paronymph* is "bridesman" or "bridegroom's-man"—the φίλος τοῦ νυμφίου, mentioned in John iii. 29.

1034—1045. "Whatever it be," etc. Compare with this passage, so full of reference to Milton's own experience, the following from his first pamphlet on Divorce: "The soberest and best-governed men are least practised in these affairs; and who knows not that the bashful muteness of a virgin may oft-times hide all the unliveliness and natural sloth which is really unfit for conversation." The same pamphlet (*Doct. and Disc. of Divorce*) abounds with passages describing the intolerable misery of an ill-assorted marriage.

1038, 1039. "far within defensive arms a cleaving mischief": i.e. a mischief cleaving or sticking to one far inside the armour which might defend one against ordinary mischiefs. There is an allusion to the poisoned shift sent to Hercules by his wife Dejanira.

1046—1049. "Favoured of Heaven who," etc.: i.e. he who finds, etc. See Prov. xxxi. 10 et seq. (Newton.)

1048. "combines": agrees with him.

1053-1060. "Therefore God's universal law," etc. A very decisive assertion of the doctrine, which Milton held, of the general inferiority of woman to man. Compare *Par. Lost*, X. 144 *et seq.*

1075. "fraught" freight, burden. The word "fraught" (pronounced *fracht*), is still used in the north of Scotland: e.g. "a fraught of water," as much as can be carried at once from the well.

1079. "Men call me Harapha." No such giant is mentioned by name in Scripture; but see 2 Sam. xxi. 16-22. The four Philistine giants mentioned there are said to be sons of a certain giant in Gath called "the giant"; and the Hebrew word for "the giant" there is *Rapha* or *Harapha*. Milton has appropriated the name to his fictitious giant, whom he makes out in the sequel (1248, 1249) to be the actual father of that brood of giants.

1080, 1081. "Og . . . Anak . . . the Emims . . . Kiriathaim." See Deut. iii. 11, Deut. ii. 10, 11, and Gen. xiv. 5.

1081, 1082. "Thou know'st me now, if," etc. The same idea as in the much-quoted line *Par. Lost*, IV. 830:—

"Not to know me argues yourselves unknown."

1093. "Gyves": fetters. The word, Skeat says, is of Celtic origin; but it is found in early English writers.

1095. "ass's": printed *asses* in the original, the apostrophe not then customary as a mark for the possessive.

1120, 1121. "brigandine": coat of mail (supposed to be from *brigands* who wore such); "*habergeon*," mail for the neck and shoulders (same as *hauberk*, and derived from *hals*, the neck, and *bergan*, to protect); "*vant-brace*," mail for the arms (*avant bras*); "*greaves*," leg-armour (*greve*, shin); "*gauntlet*," glove of mail (*gant*), for the hands.

1122. "A weaver's beam": like Goliath's; whose armour Milton has had in view in the preceding lines. See 1 Sam. xvii. 5-7.

1125. "me" *mee* in the original edition, and probably therefore emphatic.

1127 and 1129. "shalt." Mr. Keightley says that in both these lines the word in the original edition is printed "*shall*." This is a mistake. In the original edition the word is "*shalt*" in both cases; it is the second edition that has "*shall*."

1132, 1133. "had not spells," etc.: a reference, as Warton noted, to the belief that arms might be made unlawfully strong by magical arts. In the mediæval knightly combats the champions took oath that they trusted to no such arts, but to God only.

1137, 1138. "*bristles . . . ruffled porcupines*": possibly, as Newton thought, a recollection of Shakespeare, *Ham.* I. 5:—

"And each particular hair to stand on end
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine."

1162. "*comrades*": accented on the second syllable.

1181. "*Tongue-doughty*": tongue-valiant; spelt in the original edition *tongue-doubtie*. A.-S. *dychtig*, valiant; Ger. *tuchtig*, solid.

1183—1191. "*Their magistrates*," etc. For the incidents referred to in this speech, see Judges xiv. 19, and xv. 10 *et seq.*

1185—1200. "*your ill-meaning politician lords*," etc. Judges xiv. 10—18. Milton follows Jewish tradition in supposing the thirty bridal friends there mentioned to have been spies appointed by the Philistines.

1220. "*appellant*": the challenger in a combat, as "*defendant*" was the challenged.

1222. "*thrice*": for the third time, as was the custom in challenges.

1224—1226. "*With thee*," etc. Criminals and persons of servile condition were disqualified for "the proof of arms," or trial by combat.

1231. "*O Baal-zebub*." Harapha fitly swears by this god, "the god of Ekron" (2 Kings i. 16), and again (line 1242) by the Phœnician goddess Astaroth.

1235. "*My keels are fettered*," etc. Throughout the greater part of the play Samson is to be conceived, as this line informs us, chained or fettered at the ankles, though still so that he could walk slowly; but not handcuffed. See line 1093 and note.

1238. "*bulk without spirit vast*": i.e. vast bulk without spirit; the first three words almost forming one compound noun.

1248, 1249. "*Though fame*," etc. See previous note, line 1079. Four of the giant-sons of whom Milton takes the liberty of making his Harapha the father, were Ishbi-benob, Saph, and two others, whose respective fates are given in 2 Sam. xxi. 16—22; where it is also said, in our translation, that they were brothers of Goliath, previously slain by David. As the date of the death of Samson, in the Biblical chronology, is some eighty years before the accession of David to the throne, it is only on the supposition that the giants were unusually long-lived that Milton's accuracy in making the five sons of Harapha, who were all slain in David's time, full-grown in Samson's time, can be defended.

1278. "*seats . . . defeats*": a play on the words.

1308. "*Ebrews*." So spelt in the original edition, and also in the Second, but changed in all recent editions. Thinking the spelling intentional on Milton's part, I restore it. The word occurs five times in Milton's poetry—once in *Par. Reg.* (IV. 336), three times in *Samson* (here, and in lines 1319 and 1540), and once in the Paraphrase of Ps. cxxxvi. (line 50). In the first instance and in the last the word is an adjective and is spelt "Hebrew"; in the other three it is a substantive and is spelt "Ebrew."

1309. "*manacles*": means here fetters at the legs, not handcuffs. See line 1235.

1377—1379. "*Yet that he may dispense*," etc. 2 Kings v. 18, 19. (Thyer.)

1418—1422. "*Lords are lordliest*," etc. In this passage may be detected a reference to England in Milton's time.

1461.—1471. "*Some much averse I found*," etc. The different shades of feeling among the men in power in England after the Restoration may be supposed to be glanced at in this passage: obstinate and revengeful Royalism, strongest among the High Church party; and so on.

1481. "*part*": in the sense of "go" (*partir*).

1507. "*as next*": i.e. next in interest or kindred.

1512. "*inhabitation*": community or inhabitants. So Shakespeare (*Macb.* IV. 1):—

"Though the yesty waves
Confound and swallow navigation up." *

1525, 1526. "*The sufferers*," etc. Is the rhyme here intentional?

1527—1535. "*What if . . . and tempts belief*." These nine lines are omitted in their proper place in the original edition, but printed on a page at the end, with a direction where to insert them. In the Second Edition they are rightly placed.

1529. "*dole*." The word has two meanings,—a portion dealt out (as in "*a beggar's dole*"), and sorrow or grief (Lat. *doleo*). The two are combined here.

1537. "*Of good or bad*," etc. This line also is not in its proper place in the original edition, but comes as an *omission* at the end. It seems to me that it may have been an afterthought with Milton to break up what was at first a continuous speech of the Chorus, by inserting ten additional lines, distributed between the Chorus and Manoa, so as to prolong the suspense before the messenger arrives. Originally the Chorus ran on continuously thus:—

". . . Not much to fear.
A little stay will bring some notice hither,

For evil news rides fast, while good news baits.
And to our wish I see one hither speeding—
An Ebrew, as I guess, and of our tribe."

The sense is here complete; but the addition of the ten lines, and their distribution between Manoah and the Chorus, are certainly an improvement.

1540. "*An Ebrew*." See previous note, line 1308.

1552. "*here*": "heard" in the original text, but corrected in the *Erfata*,—a correction not attended to in the Second Edition.

1594. "*Eye-witness*": i.e. as having been eye-witness.

1605—1610. "*The building was*," etc. Conceive the building as follows:—There is a large semicircular covered space or amphitheatre, filled up with tiers of seats; the roof of which semicircular building is supported by two great pillars rising from the ground about mid-point of the diameter of the semicircle. There is no wall at this diameter, but only these two pillars; standing near which Samson would look *inside* upon the congregated Philistine lords and others of rank, occupying the tiers of seats under the roof. Behind Samson was then an uncovered space where the poorer spectators could stand on any kind of benches under the open sky, seeing Samson's back, and, save where the pillars might interrupt the view, all that went on inside.

1608. "*sort*": mark, distinction.

1619. "*cataphracts*": i.e. men in mail on horses also mailed: hence called *καταφρακτοι*, i.e. "protected."

1627. "*stupendious*." This is Milton's own spelling. See note, *Par. Lost* X. 351, and Essay on Milton's English, p. 51.

1630—1634. "*he his guide requested*:" etc. Judges xvi. 26.

1645. "*strike*": an ironical play on the word.

1651, 1652. "*The whole roof*," etc. The account of the feat and its effects is consistent with the imagined shape and structure of the building. See previous note, lines 1605—1610. The Scripture narrative (Judges xvi. 27) speaks of many on the roof of the building; but here nothing is said of such. The deaths are caused by the falling in of the roof upon those seated in the covered part of the theatre.

1667, 1668. "*in number more*," etc. Judges xvi. 30.

1669. "*Semick-r*." Here the Chorus divides into two halves,—one continuing as far as line 1686.

1674. "*Silo*." Another instance of Milton's dislike of the sound *sh*. See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 51, 52. In Samson's time the tabernacle and the ark were in Shiloh. Josh. xviii. 1.

1686. "*struck*." See note, *Par. Lost*, II. 165.

1687—1707. "*Semichor*." This is the second Semichorus; which, as I have remarked elsewhere, though directly a chant of triumph over Samson's great revenge and end, will bear, and even requires, an interpretation appropriating it to Milton himself. No one can study the subtle wording and curious imagery without seeing that the secondary idea in Milton's mind was that of his own extraordinary self-transmutation, before the eyes of the astonished Restoration world, out of his former character of horrible prose iconoclast into that of supreme and towering poet.

1692—1696. "*And as an evening dragon came*," etc. The first impression on reading these five lines may be that there is a confusion of metaphor. Samson comes as a dragon, and all at once the dragon is an eagle. To avoid this jar of figures, it has been supposed by some commentators that there is an error of the press. They propose to read thus:—

"And *not* as evening dragon came, etc.
... *but* as an eagle, etc."

or thus:—

"Nor as an evening dragon came, etc.
... *but* as an eagle, etc."

It seems to me, however, that there is no necessity for supposing an error of the press, and that Milton's meaning is stronger and bolder as the text stands. The blind Samson came among the assembled and seated Philistines like an evening dragon among tame fowl perched on their roosts: *i.e.* a fearful object, certainly, but on the ground and darkly groping his way; but anon this enemy on the ground is transmuted into an enemy swooping down resistlessly from overhead, and he who came as a dragon ends as an eagle, the bird of Jove, dealing down thunderbolts from a clear sky. I am pretty sure Milton had the contrast strongly in his mind of the Philistines at one moment gazing at the terrible Samson on the ground before them from their rows of seats, and not sure but he might rush or spring among them furiously, and the next moment experiencing destruction coming from him in the direction where all had seemed safe,—*i.e.* vertically downwards. To bring out the contrast he resorts to the bold change of metaphor.

1695. "*villatic fowl*": *i.e.* farm-house fowl; villatic from *villa*, a country-house. Bliny, as Richardson noted, has the very phrase, "*villaticas alites*."

1696. "*cloudless thunder*": *i.e.* thunder from a clear sky, the more dreadful, because unexpected.

1697—1707. "*So Virtue*," etc. Observe the complexity of rhymes in this passage.

1699. "*that self-begotten bird*": the fabled Phoenix, periodically consumed by fire and rising again into life out of its own ashes. See *Par. Lost*, V. 272—274, and *Epitaph. Dam.* 181—189.

1700. "*embost*": hidden, or, the same as "*embosked*." Todd and Keightley quote several instances from old poets in which a deer surrounded in the chase is said to be "*embost*."

1702. "*holocaust*": a sacrifice burnt entire.

1703. "*teemed*": produced, sent forth. See *Par. Lost*, VII. 454.

1707. "*A secular bird*": i.e. a bird lasting for many generations or centuries, *secula*. Newton, Todd and others, omitting the comma after *survives*, make that verb an active one governing "*a secular bird*," and the meaning of the passage to be, "Virtue, like the Phoenix, teemed out of its own ashes, revives, etc.; and, though her body die, her fame outlives for ages of lives any ordinary phoenix or bird living a few centuries." This reading is singularly languid and does violence to the original text, which has a distinct comma after "*survives*," clearly put there to bring out the other meaning, i.e. "Virtue, like the Phoenix, etc., revives, etc., and, though her body die, her fame survives, a real phoenix, ages of lives."

1713. "*the sons of Caphtor*." Mr. Keightley says "This is spelt *Chaphtor* in the original edition." Not so. It is spelt "*Caphtor*" there, and the error is in the Second Edition.—The "*Sons of Caphtor*" are the Philistines, said to have come from the isle of Caphtor or Crete.

1755. "*acquist*": acquisition. The word, sometimes in the form, "*acquest*," is not unfrequent in old writers.

THE END.

